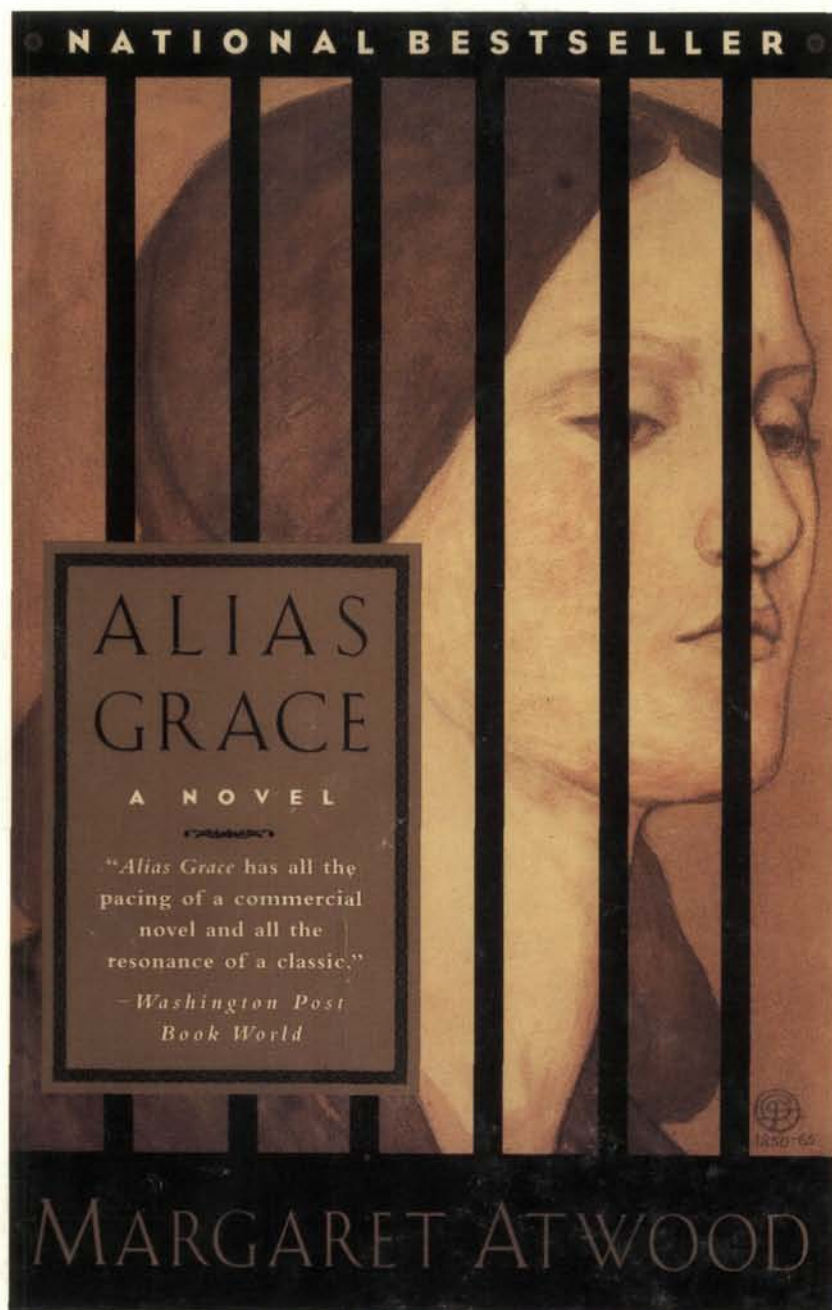


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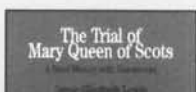
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In This Issue

This issue contains three articles, an *AHR Forum*, and a review essay. The articles analyze debates over ministers and money in eighteenth-century America, gender and citizenship in the United States, and a recent photography exhibit on World War II at a Japanese art museum. The *Forum* probes the relationship between histories and historical fiction. The centerpiece is an essay by novelist Margaret Atwood. It is accompanied by three comments. The article section concludes with a review essay assessing the emerging scholarship on the history of the Internet. In addition, the issue contains our usual array of book and film reviews.

Articles

T. H. Breen and **Timothy Hall** explore the striking similarities between two seemingly unrelated eighteenth-century New England debates. One debate erupted over itinerant preachers of the Great Awakening, the other over paper currency issued by the short-lived Massachusetts Land Bank. Breen and Hall analyze the two controversies as artifacts of attempts to deal with unsettling social changes that engulfed the British North Atlantic world in the mid-eighteenth century. Chronic imperial warfare, burgeoning transatlantic commerce, the expansion of print culture, and the rise of transatlantic evangelicalism were a few of the developments eroding the bonds of traditional society and thrusting people from England and British North America into an expansive world of shared experience. Seen within this context, they argue, the debates over ministers and money formed parallel efforts by colonists to make sense of the experience of social change. Breen and Hall contend that participants in these debates, like those embroiled in similar controversies erupting throughout the Western world, sought to devise accounts of commercial change that could give coherence to their shared experience. The attempts to do so helped extend the boundaries of the public sphere, develop a recognizably “modern” self, and adapt cherished ideals and sensibilities to an emerging capitalist social order. Through

their persuasive argument, Breen and Hall deftly demonstrate how particular events can be recovered to illuminate broad changes.

Nancy F. Cott analyzes the changing content and meanings of citizenship in the United States by asking what its history would look like if assessed from the vantage point of the female citizen. She makes an initial inquiry into this critical subject by focusing on the citizenship consequences for American women who married foreigners. In doing so, Cott contends that the institution of marriage must be made central to an inquiry about women and citizenship. She explains, for instance, that while common law had kept marriage and citizenship separate, in 1855 the United States Congress gave American men the privilege of endowing their foreign wives with citizenship. And then in 1907, the Congress decreed that American women who married aliens would take on their husband's nationality. Cott analyzes the timing and implications of these and subsequent changes. She also explores evidence that reveals that at any particular time citizenship status has never been a singular status but has always ranged from the nominal (nationality) for some to the participatory (full civil and political rights) for others. Most significantly, Cott compels us to understand that in the United States civic status has historically been intertwined with marital status, and thus marriage must be examined as a public institution to make such vital connections visible. Her finely crafted analysis of this critical connection suggests the insights to be gained by a thoughtful blending of legal, gender, and immigration history.

Julia A. Thomas argues that analyzing photography in fine art museums can reveal the ideological nature of a nation's relationship with time. As an example of this assertion, she examines a recent exhibition of photography from the 1940s held at the Yokohama Museum of Art in Japan. She contends that the exhibition exemplified two current and contradictory realities in Japan: a shift toward remembering the nation's past, including World War II, and a strong resistance to memory. Thomas suggests that while the urge to remember can take democratic form when it embraces multiple, even competing modes of time, right-wing resistance to representing Japan's past has two variants, one promoting amnesia, the other glory. Both of these variants, she explains, promote the belief that the interests of the people are fully represented by the state and, therefore, that prescribed public memory must overshadow private or idiosyncratic recollection in public forums. Thomas argues that still photography, in particular, reveals these tensions because its uneasy status as an art form readily illuminates multiple, competing approaches to the past. She thus concludes that

curating fine art photography to represent national history in Japan is a charged act where social, technological, and art historical pasts, private sensibilities, and public ideals of civil propriety are brought together in disquieting juxtaposition. Thomas's compelling argument makes a significant contribution to debates about the analytical use of visual sources such as photography exhibits as well as attempts to historicize the present.

AHR Forum

Margaret Atwood's essay "In Search of *Alias Grace*: On Writing Canadian Historical Fiction" is the centerpiece of a *Forum* on "Histories and Historical Fictions." In a lecture at the University of Ottawa, Atwood uses her experiences in writing a historical novel about an infamous mid-nineteenth-century Canadian double-murder to ruminate on what drew her to historical fiction and the act of writing it. Focusing on the intersection of memory, history, and story, she probes the sources of the growing interest in historical fiction and recounts the travails of a novelist conducting historical research. In doing so, Atwood offers us her story of how and why she turned to historical fiction and what she hoped her fictional excursion would produce. Comments by **Lynn Hunt**, **Jonathan D. Spence**, and **John Demos** complete the *Forum*. These three historians pen thoughtful assessments of Atwood's ideas that raise their own compelling questions about notions of time and memory, commonalities and differences between writing history and writing fiction, the subjectivity of authorship, and the importance of studying human nature historically. Together, the essay and comments address some fundamental issues embedded in the recent return of the narrative to history.

Review Essay

Roy Rosenzweig begins his review essay by noting that, in just the past decade, the Internet has gone from a subject only understood by a small band of scientists, engineers, and computer geeks to a topic of everyday conversations. He wonders where it came from, thus how its history is being written. In response to such queries, Rosenzweig assesses several recent books on the origins of the Net and related computer developments. He concludes that even though the Internet may be heralded as an entirely novel development, its historians have generally followed some well-worn paths in the history of technology by offering biographic, bureaucratic, ideological, and social portraits of the Net and its founders. While acknowl-

edging that these rather conventional approaches are often illuminating, Rosenzweig argues that the full story will only be told when histories are written that bring together biographical and institutional studies with a fully contextualized social and cultural history. The rise of the Net, he maintains, must be rooted in the 1960s and in particular in both the closed world of the Cold War and the open and decentralized world of the antiwar movement and the counterculture. Recognizing this dual heritage, Rosenzweig insists, enables us to better understand current controversies over whether the Net will be “open” or “closed” and whether it will foster democratic dialogue or centralized hierarchy, community or capitalism, or some mixture of both. His timely and thoughtful essay is a compelling initial attempt to address these important issues by analyzing them historically.

Whitefield



The Reverend George Whitefield as a religious counterfeiter, July 1760. Center panel from a triptych of Whitefield flanked by English men of letters Laurence Sterne and Samuel Foote, in "The Scheming Triumvirate." Copyright The British Museum.

Structuring Provincial Imagination: The Rhetoric and Experience of Social Change in Eighteenth-Century New England

T. H. BREEN and TIMOTHY HALL

COLONIAL NEWSPAPERS SOUNDED THE ALARM. Soon, the authors of pamphlets and sermons came forward to warn the people of New England. Something had gone terribly wrong in provincial society. One writer warned in the hyperbolic language of the moment that the entire region would soon be reduced to “Confusion, and every Evil Work.” He anticipated “unlawful Meetings, Routs, Riots, perpetual Quarrels among Friends, and Neighbours, continual Insults, and Bullying.”¹ Others took up the theme, decrying the “*Disorders* . . . already too visible among us” that were “breaking in upon *Family Order*” and had “filled *several Towns* with Faction and Schism, and general Confusion.”²

What is startling about these particular reports is that they referred to quite different social phenomena: the first to the possibility that a private group might circulate thousands of pounds in paper currency, the second to dangers associated with the Reverend George Whitefield’s celebrated evangelical tour of colonial America. In 1740, these two apparently unrelated developments ignited the popular imagination in New England, forcing ordinary people to rethink traditional social categories. In the process of reappraising the meaning of order and disorder, appearance and reality, authenticity and fraud, they accommodated themselves to the demands of a new liberal society in which reasoning, well-informed, free individuals determined the ultimate sources of social authority.³ Seen in this way, the debates over ministers and money reveal a genuinely radical moment in the history of American thought.

THE SIDE-BY-SIDE PUBLICATION of these debates over ministers and money—so apparently incommensurate yet so strikingly similar in rhetoric and passion—invites

A number of individuals have commented on early versions of this article; the authors would like to thank James Oakes, John Crowley, David MacLeod, Thomas Benjamin, and the anonymous reviewers. For errors and omissions, we are responsible.

¹ “A Letter from a Gentleman in Boston to his Friend in the Country,” *New England Weekly Journal*, June 17, 1740.

² *The Wonderful Narrative: or, A Faithful Account of the French Prophets, their Agitations, Extasies, and Inspirations* (Boston, 1742), 104.

³ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Thomas Burger, trans., with the assistance of Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), 57–67.

a reexamination of the relationship between two threads of eighteenth-century discourse. The Boston presses of the early 1740s concurrently poured forth an unprecedented quantity of rival newspaper and pamphlet literature to shape public opinion on these two topics, yet participants in each discourse showed almost no awareness of the principal issues raised by the other debate.⁴ Most historians have followed suit. Those who have written about colonial money have treated the discourse as a separate, self-contained strand of thought and experience, and have not concerned themselves much about religion.⁵ Historians of the eighteenth-century revivals have generally done the reverse.⁶ Those who have considered the debates on ministers and money together have generally been guided by a search for some direct causal link between them—that the paper currency supporters were apt to pray in evangelical churches, for example, or that Whitefield's revivals in some areas of Massachusetts constituted corporate expressions of remorse for Land Bank excesses. The results have proved uneven and sometimes contradictory, revealing a multiplicity of causal patterns rather than a single verifiable link.⁷ Nevertheless, these studies do suggest that more than mere chance led two apparently unrelated discourses to dominate the public sphere at the same moment.

Telling similarities of structure and trope between these two discourses further strengthen the sense that their concurrent appearance in the pages of New England newspapers and pamphlets was more than coincidental. To be sure, the contest over ministers was couched in scriptural terms while the Land Bank controversy turned on issues of finance and exchange. Yet if we distance ourselves from the particular vocabularies of each contest, we discover that participants structured both debates around a dramatically similar set of categories. Both discourses reveal creative

⁴ See Charles E. Clark, *The Public Prints: The Newspaper in Anglo-American Culture, 1665–1740* (New York, 1994), 258–66; Michael Warner, *The Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 34–49.

⁵ Leslie Brock, *The Currency of the American Colonies, 1700–1764: A Study in Colonial Finance and Imperial Relations* (New York, 1975), 17–64; John McCusker, "Colonial Paper Money," in *Studies on Money in Early America*, Eric P. Newman and Richard G. Doty, eds. (New York, 1976); Joseph A. Ernst, *Money and Politics in America, 1755–1775: A Study in the Currency Act of 1764 and the Political Economy of Revolution* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1973), 18–42; Andrew McFarland Davis, ed., *Colonial Currency Reprints, 1682–1751*, 4 vols. (New York, 1964), 1: 86–102.

⁶ See, for example, Michael J. Crawford, *Seasons of Grace: Colonial New England's Revival Tradition in Its British Context* (New York, 1991), 141–223; Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 164–93; Leigh Eric Schmidt, "'A Second and Glorious Reformation': The New Light Extremism of Andrew Croswell," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 43 (1986): 214–44; Harry S. Stout, *The New England Soul: Preaching and Religious Culture in Colonial New England* (New York, 1986), 185–255; Edwin S. Gaustad, *The Great Awakening in New England* (New York, 1957); Joseph Tracy, *The Great Awakening: A History of the Revival of Religion in the Time of Edwards and Whitefield* (Boston, 1842).

⁷ John C. Miller, "Religion, Finance, and Democracy in Massachusetts," *New England Quarterly* 6 (1931): 29–58; Alan Heimert, *Religion and the American Mind: From the Great Awakening to the Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 299–300; Richard L. Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee: Character and the Social Order in Connecticut, 1690–1765* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 117–20, 186–87; J. M. Bumsted, "Religion, Finance, and Democracy in Massachusetts: The Town of Norton as a Case Study," *Journal of American History* 57 (1971): 817–33; Harry S. Stout, "The Great Awakening in New England Reconsidered: The New England Clergy," *Journal of Social History* 8 (1974): 25–27, 40–41; Gary B. Nash, *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), 212–19; Rosalyn Remer, "Old Lights and New Money: A Note on Religion, Economics, and the Social Order in 1740 Boston," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 47 (1990): 566–73; John L. Brooke, *The Heart of the Commonwealth: Society and Political Culture in Worcester County, Massachusetts, 1713–1861* (New York, 1989), 70–71.

concern about the nature of boundaries, social and spatial, about the fluidity of social relations, about the problematic character of foundational values, and, finally, about the possibility of a recognizably “liberal” or “modern” self, one defined primarily by the exercise of individual choice in an expanding marketplace of ideas and goods.⁸ These four categories—boundary, fluidity, value, and choice—clustered to form the center of rival accounts in each discourse.

Theorists and practitioners of what has been dubbed the “linguistic turn” in historical analysis have taught us to attend closely to features of language once thought merely rhetorical, especially when employed with the passion characteristic of these debates over ministers and money.⁹ Eighteenth-century writers charged their prose with figures calculated to play alternately on readers’ hopes and fears, to invoke deeply ingrained assumptions concerning propriety and indiscretion, order and chaos, right and wrong, and to fire the imagination with competing visions of the social worlds that might be created from a welter of economic and social change.¹⁰ The figures, tropes, and rhetorical flourishes such writers employed gave shape to linguistic constructions at once so powerful and so protean that postmodern critics have challenged the possibility of reconstructing any historical reality beyond discourse itself.¹¹ In this essay, we follow historians such as the medievalist Gabrielle Spiegel in rejecting such radical skepticism. Writers of the past deployed words and figures against other words and figures within specific social and historical settings over which they were attempting to gain interpretive purchase. The texts they produced in these interpretive enterprises undoubtedly helped to constitute particular social worlds of meaning, disposing those who accepted a particular writer’s account to understand their world and frame their actions in particular ways. Yet such interpretations were also constituted in part by the particular social circumstances in which they were generated, and contemporaries accepted accounts of those circumstances that seemed to accord best with their own experience.¹²

⁸ Elizabeth E. Dunn has recently argued that the Massachusetts currency debates extended beyond simple economic concerns to “fundamental issues of value.” See Dunn, “‘Grasping at the Shadow’: The Massachusetts Currency Debate, 1690–1751,” *New England Quarterly* 71 (1998): 54–76. On the self and economic change, see Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), 305; Joyce Appleby, *Capitalism and the New Social Order: The Republican Vision of the 1790s* (New York, 1984), 15.

⁹ John E. Toews, “Intellectual History after the Linguistic Turn: The Autonomy of Meaning and the Irreducibility of Experience,” *AHR* 92 (October 1987): 879–907.

¹⁰ On the role of tropes in the construction of social reality, see Paul Friedrich, “Polytropy,” in *Beyond Metaphor: The Theory of Tropes in Anthropology*, James W. Fernandez, ed. (Stanford, Calif., 1991), 54–55; Paul Ricoeur, *The Rule of Metaphor: Multi-disciplinary Studies of the Creation of Meaning in Language*, Robert Czerny, trans., with Kathleen McLaughlin and John Costello (Toronto, 1977), 239–56. On the moral dimension of debates over social change, see Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, 212–15, 308.

¹¹ See, for example, Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, trans. (Baltimore, Md., 1976), 65–73; Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge; and The Discourse on Language*, A. M. Sheridan Smith, trans. (New York, 1972), 71–76; compare Patrick Joyce, “The End of Social History?” *Social History* 20 (1995): 73–91; Geoff Eley and Keith Nield, “Starting Over: The Present, the Post-Modern and the Moment of Social History,” *Social History* 20 (1995): 355–64; compare Bryan D. Palmer, *Descent into Discourse: The Reification of Language and the Writing of Social History* (Philadelphia, 1990), 187–218.

¹² Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore, Md., 1997), 53; compare David A. Hollinger, “The Return of the Prodigal: The Persistence

The historical setting of the eighteenth-century British Empire confronted its theorists with a crisis of interpretation, one in which competing ways of understanding the individual self loomed large. Chronic imperial warfare, burgeoning transatlantic commerce, the expansion of print culture, and the rise of transatlantic evangelicalism were only a few of the developments eroding the bonds of traditional society. They thrust people from British and colonial localities into an expansive world of shared experience.¹³ Scribblers throughout the empire responded by exploring new themes such as politics and power, money and commerce, war and empire, slavery and freedom, religion and irreligion, gender roles and polite behavior. These debates held significant implications for the social construction of the self, touching in various ways on questions of authority, citizenship, consumer choice, national identity, liberty, status, the meaning of manhood or womanhood.¹⁴ Opponents projected alternative models of the eighteenth-century world, each of which envisioned different ways of situating the self in that world and projected alternative schemes of value for assessing and setting limits to human action.¹⁵

These separate strands of eighteenth-century discourse generated distinct lexicons and themes apparently unrelated to the others. Nevertheless, as we contend, this surface incommensurability obscured a common effort to imagine and articulate experience during a critical moment of social change. Debates over the Land Bank and itinerancy afford an opportunity to probe the extent of underlying unity. Shared categories of boundaries, fluidity, value, and choice invite us to break with earlier efforts to establish a causal relationship between the two controversies, approaching them instead as parallel efforts to gain interpretive control over a larger social and economic reality.¹⁶ By analyzing their homologies of structure and

of Historical Knowing," *AHR* 94 (June 1989): 610–21; Lynn Hunt, "Introduction: History, Culture, and Text," in Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989), 1–22.

¹³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn. (London, 1991), 37–46, provides a valuable framework for conceptualizing the meanings placed on the changes overtaking both eighteenth-century colonists and inhabitants of the British Isles.

¹⁴ On the emergence of the modern self, see Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, 207–08, 285–302, 305–06; on politics, see Ronald Hamowy, "Cato's Letters, John Locke, and the Republican Paradigm," *History of Political Thought* 11 (1990): 273–93; Joyce Appleby, *Liberalism and Republicanism in the Historical Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), 1–33; on empire and nationalism, see Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, Conn., 1992), 55–145; on commerce, consumption, and the construction of self, see Jean-Christophe Agnew, *Worlds Apart: The Market and the Theater in Anglo-American Thought, 1550–1750* (Cambridge, 1986), 13–14, 181–86; T. H. Breen, "Narrative of Commercial Life: Consumption, Ideology, and Community on the Eve of the American Revolution," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 50 (1993): 471–501; on race and slavery, see David Brion Davis, "Constructing Race: A Reflection," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 54 (1997): 7–18; Ira Berlin, "From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American Society in Mainland North America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 53 (1996): 251–88; on gender roles and polite behavior, see Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York, 1992), 30–60; Patricia Cleary, "'She Will Be in the Shop': Women's Sphere of Trade in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia and New York," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 119 (1995): 181–222; Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (Chicago, 1987), 18–28; Margaret R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680–1780* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996), 22–45.

¹⁵ Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, 3 vols., Kathleen McLaughlin and David Pellauer, trans. (Chicago, 1984–88), 1: 52–87; Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (New York, 1970), 144–45; Roger Chartier, *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations*, Lydia G. Cochrane, trans. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988), 4–5.

¹⁶ For a fuller discussion of how apparently disparate narratives may be united by a single underlying

trope, we can illuminate the rhetorical strategies New Englanders, like their counterparts in other American colonies as well as Europe itself, employed to make sense out of commercial capitalism and the novel social practices it generated, how ordinary women and men gave meaning to economic forces that were transforming the character of everyday life throughout the Atlantic world.¹⁷

The texts of these interpretive exercises provide the historian with a body of evidence detailing how colonists situated themselves effectively and persuasively within this larger community. From the printed debates over itinerancy and the Land Bank, we can reconstitute a language colonists employed to begin legitimating a new liberal conception of self. This notion bore certain affinities with the Renaissance individualism described by the historian John Martin as envisioning a self fraught with the possibility of “agency, dissent, and opposition.”¹⁸ Its stress on private choice, however, constituted a new departure that heightened the potential for individual assertiveness. The alarming surge of self-interested, self-assertive behavior posed a direct challenge to those institutional legacies of the Puritan past that sought to control “the selfishness of mankind” by “obliterating the individual” through stern subordination to the good of the community.¹⁹ Some New England thinkers scrambled to adapt old Puritan ideals to the disturbing new realities. Others drew on contemporary civic humanist discourse to craft a moral economy that could restrain the self’s excesses.²⁰

significance, see Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1981), 39–40. For a consideration of the cultural meaning of money and the potential of financial discourse to sustain such an enterprise, see Marc Shell, *Money, Language, and Thought: Literary and Philosophical Economies from the Medieval to the Modern Era* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982); Jonathan Parry and Maurice Bloch, “Introduction: Money and the Morality of Exchange,” in Parry and Bloch, eds., *Money and the Morality of Exchange* (New York, 1989), 1–33. The capacity of religious discourse to function in this way is undisputed, but for a recent discussion of how it did so in eighteenth-century America, see Timothy D. Hall, *Contested Boundaries: Itinerancy and the Reshaping of the Colonial American Religious World* (Durham, N.C., 1994), 41–100. Successful attempts to connect economic and religious discourse include Mark Valeri, “Religion, Discipline, and the Economy in Calvin’s Geneva,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 28 (1997): 123–42; Valeri, “Religious Discipline and the Market: Puritans and the Issue of Usury,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 54 (1997): 747–68; Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795–1865* (Oxford, 1988).

¹⁷ In this respect, our interpretation diverges significantly from Michael O’Malley’s comparative analysis of Reconstruction-era debates over money and race. O’Malley attempts to establish Americans’ anxiety to preserve racial and gender inequality as a powerful determinant of the outcome of post–Civil War debates over the “money question.” We believe that such quests for causal relationships between discourses may actually obscure important features of the discourses’ response to larger social and economic realities. See O’Malley, “Specie and Species: Race and the Money Question in Nineteenth-Century America,” *AHR* 99 (April 1994): 369–95.

¹⁸ John Martin, “Inventing Sincerity, Refashioning Prudence: The Discovery of the Individual in Renaissance Europe,” *AHR* 102 (December 1997): 1321–23.

¹⁹ Barry Alan Shain, *The Myth of American Individualism: The Protestant Origins of American Political Thought* (Princeton, N.J., 1994), 104–05; Philip Greven, *The Protestant Temperament: Patterns of Child-Rearing, Religious Experience, and the Self in Early America* (New York, 1977), 13; Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1939), 398–462; David D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England* (New York, 1989), 166–212.

²⁰ Daniel Walker Howe, *Making the American Self: Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), 33–45; Mark Valeri, *Law and Providence in Joseph Bellamy’s New England: The Origins of the New Divinity in Revolutionary America* (New York, 1994), 76–101; Norman Fiering, *Jonathan Edwards’s Moral Thought and Its British Context* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1981); J. E. Crowley, *This Sheba, Self: The Conceptualization of Economic Life in Eighteenth-Century America* (Baltimore, Md.,

The emergent liberal self was more than an empty construct. It sparked a war of words that referred beyond eighteenth-century discourse to the social practices around which the arguments swirled: the disruptive, threatening activity of *individuals* engaged in itinerancy and Land Bank investment. As interpreters of meanings, symbols, and discourse, we are operating at the intersection of intellectual and social history, in an imagined cultural space where experience challenged and transformed ideology, where those discursive transformations provided fresh explanations of everyday behavior.

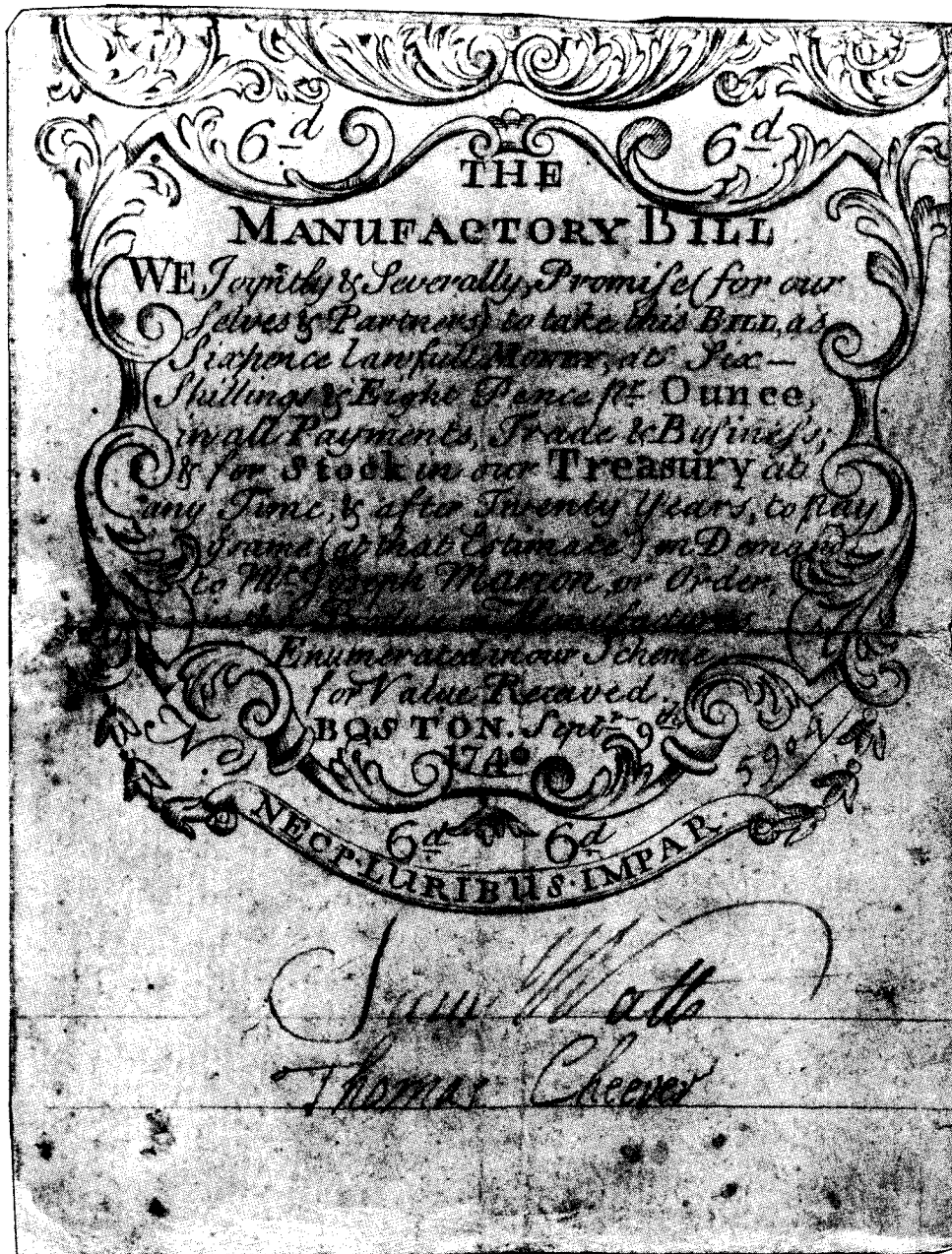
THE LAND BANK CONTROVERSY OF 1739–1741 erupted when a group of Massachusetts investors gave fresh urgency to an old theoretical debate over the nature of money by issuing subscriptions for a new paper currency backed by land mortgages. For many decades, the demands of a growing commercial economy had confronted New Englanders with the problem of maintaining an adequate supply of specie. Hard currency, they noted, would “not stay with us, this being a plantation very much depending on our Mother Country, and having always so large a Debt due to the Merchants there, more than we can possibly discharge without sending them all the Silver and Gold we Import.”²¹ Since the 1680s, the Massachusetts government had sought to encourage commerce by printing paper bills of credit supported in various ways, but, even so, the money supply was never sufficient.

By 1739, the time seemed propitious for trying a long-debated scheme for backing paper currency through a privately funded Land Bank. A surge in transatlantic debt over the previous decade had transformed a chronic problem into a major crisis, one exacerbated in 1739 by a tightening of royal policy governing bills of credit that threatened draconian cuts in the existing currency supply.²² When the Massachusetts General Court called for currency proposals to meet the challenge, the Boston merchant John Colman submitted a petition to establish a private land bank. Under Colman’s proposal, the bank would issue £150,000 in paper money by lending bills to subscribers against the security of land mortgages. The bills would be paid off over a twenty-year period. In the meantime, they would circulate as currency among all who accepted them. Such proposals had appeared in England as early as 1650

1974), 96–124; Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), 447–63.

²¹ *New England Weekly Journal*, September 2, 1740.

²² In 1739, the royal government sought to put an end to the Massachusetts General Court’s practice of postponing redemption of paper bills beyond the date originally set for cancellation, a strategy for increasing the money supply. Royal policy made it mandatory to call in outstanding public bills of credit on the actual dates set for their redemption, a change that promised to take more than £250,000 in outstanding bills out of circulation by 1741. See Leonard W. Labaree, ed., *Royal Instructions to British Colonial Governors, 1670–1776*, 2 vols. (New York, 1935), 220; George Athan Billias, *The Massachusetts Land Bankers of 1740*, University of Maine Studies, 2d ser., 74 (Orono, Me., 1959), 8. McCusker and Menard note the beginning of a fresh surge in colonial production around 1740 after a period of relative stability, and T. H. Breen notes a corresponding surge in the volume of imported goods at the same time, one in which Massachusetts fully participated. See John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607–1789* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1985), 68; T. H. Breen, “An Empire of Goods: The Anglicization of Colonial America,” *Journal of British Studies* 25 (1986): 491; Breen, “‘Baubles of Britain’: The American and Consumer Revolutions of the Eighteenth Century,” *Past and Present* 119 (May 1988): 78–79.



Manufactory Bill for sixpence issued by the Boston Land Bank in September 1740. Courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

and been floated in Massachusetts and other colonies ever since. Colman himself first attempted to organize a private land bank in 1714 but had received very little support. The currency crisis of 1739, however, breathed new life into Colman's scheme. His petition garnered 395 signatures in January of 1740, and by July the number of subscribers reached 920. Moreover, the Land Bank's popularity extended far beyond elite investors to include the farmers and artisans that comprised

the bulk of the colony's electorate, ensuring that a large majority in the Massachusetts legislature would support it. The idea proved contagious, generating petitions for additional private land banks in the town of Ipswich as well as Middlesex and Essex counties.²³

The Land Bank faced stiff opposition from many Boston merchants and colonial officials, however, including Governor Jonathan Belcher. The merchants among this group countered with an alternative proposal for a Silver Bank whose paper currency would be backed by specie, redeemable after fifteen years. Silver schemers also pledged not to accept notes issued by the Massachusetts Land Bank. The Massachusetts General Court remained deadlocked over the proposals throughout the summer of 1740, and in September the Land Bank began to release bills without waiting for legislative action.

The Land Bankers' move touched off a firestorm of popular debate, setting the controversy of 1740–1741 apart from earlier currency disputes in two ways. First, Colman's Land Bank, with broad support from Massachusetts legislators and their constituents, bid fair to become the first private land bank authorized by the General Court. Indeed, after September of 1740, contestants in the Land Bank controversy were battling over a fully functioning and private institution that was already issuing bills with which investors were beginning to pay their debts. This marked a sharp departure from the Massachusetts policy of 1714, which had authorized a land bank but had preserved a corporate, moral economy by providing that it would be administered publicly by counties and towns. The Land Bank of 1740, by contrast, proposed entrusting a group of private citizens with a public function distinct from the state, a familiar feature of a liberal capitalist political economy. As one historian has argued, the Land Bankers "were pursuing a liberal experiment in a Harringtonian environment."²⁴

The second distinction between this and earlier debates lay in the need for both sides to reach out beyond the elite circle of lawyers, wealthy merchants, gentry, and government officials within which such discussions were customarily confined to appeal to a broader court of public opinion. Legislators had to be persuaded not only by debates in the General Court and Boston taverns but by the pressure of constituents back home, including many farmers, artisans, and shopkeepers who had come to possess a stake in Atlantic commerce.²⁵ It is impossible to know whether many husbandmen in the Massachusetts hinterland actually read newspaper essays or currency tracts. Yet whether writers expected yeomen to purchase their tracts directly or simply hoped to equip local opinion-makers to disseminate

²³ Billias, *Massachusetts Land Bankers*, 8–16; Brooke, *Heart of the Commonwealth*, 57–58.

²⁴ Brooke, *Heart of the Commonwealth*, 65; Billias, *Massachusetts Land Bankers*, 2–3, 9; Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Edwin Cannan, ed. (New York, 1937), 440–45.

²⁵ Elizabeth E. Dunn has argued that the currency debates became increasingly marked by appeals to the public by soft money advocates, and other historians have long noted the popular element in the Land Bank controversy of the 1740s. See Dunn, "Grasping at the Shadow," 70; Heimert, *Religion and the American Mind*, 299–300; Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee*, 117–20; Richard L. Bushman, *King and People in Provincial Massachusetts* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1985), 144–49; Nash, *Urban Crucible*, 212–19; Remer, "Old Lights and New Money," 566–73. John Brooke has shown that in Worcester County, Massachusetts, many ordinary yeomen on the make were indeed investing their money in the Land Bank. Brooke, *Heart of the Commonwealth*, 59–60.

their arguments in tavern conversations and casual gatherings, they self-consciously appealed to “every individual member of the Province” to enter the public sphere to act in his own economic interest.²⁶

This task became even more urgent once investors began issuing Land Bank notes, for the fortunes of investors on both sides hung in the balance. Opponents worried that the circulation of worthless bills would rapidly erode their wealth. They sought to undermine public confidence in Land Bank currency by attacking the bank in the press, forming pacts among merchants to refuse Land Bank bills, and petitioning Parliament to suppress the institution. Those who had mortgaged property for Land Bank notes faced financial ruin if no one would accept them as payment. Samuel Adams, to cite one famous example, was still embroiled in litigation during the 1760s over debts his father and others had incurred from Land Bank mortgages more than twenty years before.²⁷ In the absence of legislative authorization, the bills depended entirely on popular support for effective circulation. Investors needed to persuade Massachusetts buyers and sellers that Land Bank money held real value.²⁸

Proponents of the Land Bank wrote excitedly about its liberating possibilities for ordinary people. Easier money would free them from traditional dependency and open up their lives more fully to the alluring challenge of participation in a wider Anglo-American economy. In his criticism of the hard money advocates, one Vincent Centinel insisted that without a more generous supply of paper bills “there should be no common Man own a Canoe, Fishing Boat, Sloop, or the like; but they should Fish, go a Coasting, cross the Seas as . . . Servants [of the rich]; nor should any Countryman own one Inch of improved Land between Boston and the

²⁶ *Boston Gazette*, May 28, 1739. Richard D. Brown argues that the great issues debated in colonial pamphlet literature occupied the elite but not most farmers and artisans, who used their literacy primarily as another tool of their trade for mundane tasks such as keeping records and accounts. Brown, *Knowledge Is Power: The Diffusion of Information in Early America, 1700–1865* (New York, 1989), 119–31, 134–40, 157–59. Yet Charles Clark suggests in *Public Prints* that the audience of the newspapers he studied may well have “overflowed the narrow readership that was implied by the papers’ contents” (249–50). In the case of the Land Bank, at least, the small farmers such as those in Worcester County, Massachusetts, who appear in John Brooke’s *Heart of the Commonwealth*, 55–65, as avid Land Bank speculators evidently possessed a keen awareness of how this issue affected their interests. Furthermore, the high levels of literacy in Massachusetts, the growing competition among printers of books, pamphlets, and newspapers, the reliance of these papers on advertising sales, and, most important, the self-conscious appeals to popular sovereignty among the writers of newspaper and pamphlet literature all suggest the probability that printers and pamphleteers expected their literature to reach a much wider audience than cautious historians are willing to acknowledge on the basis of available evidence. On literacy, see Kenneth Lockridge, *Literacy in Colonial New England: An Enquiry into the Social Context of Literacy in the Early Modern West* (New York, 1974), 72–101; on competition among New England newspapers, see Clark, *Public Prints*, 165–78. On the readiness of ordinary people throughout the British Empire to keep abreast of larger events that bore on their interests, compare Kathleen Wilson, “Empire, Trade and Popular Politics in Mid-Hanoverian Britain: The Case of Admiral Vernon,” *Past and Present* 121 (November 1988): 74–109.

²⁷ William M. Fowler, *Samuel Adams: Radical Puritan* (New York, 1997), 20–25.

²⁸ For fuller accounts of the Land Bank controversy, see Billias, *Massachusetts Land Bankers*; Davis, *Colonial Currency Reprints*, 1: 86–94; Bushman, *King and People*, 144–49. For a helpful overview of colonial Massachusetts’ currency policy in its broad colonial context, see Marc Egnal, “The Economic Development of the Thirteen Continental Colonies, 1720 to 1775,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 32 (1975): 191–222; Brock, *Currency of the American Colonies*, 17–34; Theodore Thayer, “The Land-Bank System in the American Colonies,” *Journal of Economic History* 13 (1953): 145–59. For an account of Governor Belcher’s role, see also Thomas Hutchinson, *The History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts-Bay*, Lawrence Shaw Mayo, ed., 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), 2: 298–304.

Blue Hills. This Spirit has been reigning some Years; and as there was no way better to bring this Scheme about, than to deceive the People into Debt over Head and Ears, so they have contrived a Scheme, to have no Money amongst Us.”²⁹

At stake in this controversy was the freedom of choice. Within the new consumer economy of the eighteenth century, access to money meant a personal liberty expressed to a great degree through the unrestricted purchase of British manufactures. A fluid currency created opportunities that some persons by mid-century—no doubt relying on a tendentious reading of the works of John Locke—had come to regard as a natural right. In a blunt statement entitled *A True Friend of Liberty, Good of the Community*, an anonymous New Englander took note of an offensive argument circulating in Boston to the effect “that the Rich are the only Persons that ought to be allow’d to indulge themselves in the Luxuries of Life, the poorer Sort of People have no Business to indulge themselves.” Such thinking had no place in a flourishing commercial society. “Every Man,” the author declared in classic liberal language, “has a *natural Right* to enjoy the fruit of his own Labour, both as to the *Conveniencies*, and *Comforts*, as well as the *Necessaries* of Life, *natural Liberty* is the same with one Man, as another; and unless in the Enjoyment of these Things they hurt the Community, the Poor ought to be *allow’d* to use them as freely as the Rich.”³⁰

In this context, the counter-argument—the appeal for a hard and restricted currency—takes on special significance. There was no disagreement over the fundamental structure of the debate. Indeed, the metaphoric language was remarkably similar. What animated the controversy were conflicting interpretations of shared categories, different meanings projected onto choice, fluidity, and boundaries. Like their opponents, the hard money advocates seemed obsessed by the dynamic quality of paper currency. But the mobility of paper currency was for them anarchic, not liberating. It struck them as too volatile, subject to movements and fluctuations that no one fully understood, a mysteriously fluid element that crossed social and spatial boundaries as if it had a mind of its own.³¹ One New Englander noted uncertainly—as one might explain a magic trick that one did not fully comprehend—“*Money* has this extraordinary Faculty, that altho’ it be the Cause of a *greater Demand* for many Things, yet (as it circulates vastly quicker than any other Commodity) it gives a Spring and Encouragement to the *Invention* and *Industry* of Mankind, and so becomes also the Means of *increasing* the *Quantity* of many Things, equal to, and often vastly exceeding, the most extravagant Demand.”³²

Where some men envisioned a new currency with new opportunities, these writers worried about loss of control. Paper money simply would not stay where it

²⁹ Vincent Centinel, *Massachusetts in Agony: or, Important Hints to the Inhabitants of the Province: Calling aloud for Justice to be done to the Oppressed; and avert the Impending Wrath over the Oppressors* (Boston, 1750), 5.

³⁰ *The Good of the Community Impartially Considered* (Boston, 1754), 18–19; Hamowy, “Cato’s Letters,” 273–94.

³¹ See Appleby, *Liberalism and Republicanism*, 58–89, for an account of similar anxieties voiced during the recoinage debate in 1690s England. Appleby’s analysis shows that the question of the character of money was profoundly upsetting in newly commercializing societies.

³² [Hugh Vans], *An Inquiry into the Nature and Uses of Money; More especially of the Bills of Publick Credit, Old Tenor* (Boston, 1740), 10.

was printed. It refused to respect political boundaries. Rhode Island bills circulated in Massachusetts; Connecticut farmers and traders accepted Massachusetts money. New York money appeared throughout New England. As one writer observed, the value of local currency could not be preserved once it entered “the universal trading Part of the World.”³³ And a typical contributor to the *Boston Gazette* asked rhetorically, “is it not better for this People (if they must be bubbled), to be bubbled by their own Inhabitants . . . than by those of a neighbouring Government?”³⁴

Paper money showed even less respect for social boundaries. Its very existence destabilized traditional status relationships. It infected ordinary people with an “itch” for profits, for new careers in merchandising, and for consumer goods that they neither deserved nor, properly considered, could rightly afford. An anonymous letter to a “Merchant in London,” “Printed for the Publick Good,” warned that, in early 1741, the managers of the “Land-Bank Combination” were “spiriting the people to *Mutiny, Sedition, and Riots*,” supporting this assertion with a statement from Governor Belcher that the Land Bank would “*disturb the Peace and good Order of the People, and . . . give great Interruption, and bring much Confusion into their Business.*”³⁵

Motion confused social categories, but motion itself had become a signature of commercial capitalism. As the public debate over money swept along dialectical channels, simultaneously defining and testing interpretive categories, the contestants inevitably raised other, even more troubling issues. Money, but especially paper currency, compelled New Englanders at mid-century to contemplate the meaning of value itself. It was an extremely disturbing prospect. Not surprisingly, many people in this Calvinist culture found it difficult—indeed, philosophically repellent—to contemplate “value” as a human construction, as a problematic category, or as a fluctuating, possibly relativistic element in daily life. Truth required a firm foundation, unassailable epistemological grounding. This seemed as true for money as for morality. According to one writer in the *Boston Gazette*, “As Money is absolutely necessary to the Order, Œconomy and very Existence of the Civil Society; so this Money must be something that has in it a real intrinsick Value, known, settled, and establish’d.”³⁶ But what did “Lawful Money” mean when applied to paper bills, another writer wanted to know. “Is there any intrinsick Value in them? Do they promise anything certain?”³⁷ “What is the real difference in value” between various issues of paper money, “A Country Man” wanted to know. “I can conceive of no Rule of Trial than that of Hudibrass: ‘What is the worth of any Thing, But so much Money as ’twill bring.’”³⁸

For hard money advocates, the only reasonable response in the face of paper

³³ [William Douglass], *A Discourse Concerning the Currencies of the British Plantations in America* (Boston, 1740), 4.

³⁴ *Boston Gazette*, September 25, 1738. The term “bubbling” refers to ruinous inflation in the value of stocks, commodities, or, in this case, currency. See John Carswell, *The South Sea Bubble* (1960; rpt. edn., Dover, N.H., 1993), 123–58.

³⁵ [William Douglass], *A Letter to — — Merchant in London, Concerning a late Combination in the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England, to Impose or Force a Private-Currency called Land-Bank-Money* (Boston, 1741), 78.

³⁶ *Boston Gazette*, June 11, 1739.

³⁷ *Boston Weekly Post-Boy*, April 7, 1740.

³⁸ *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, March 23, 1738.

currency's unstable value was that money must "be reduced to a Certainty." If its value was not sure, one writer asked, then "what signifies the utmost Care to keep *Number, Weight, and Measure* to a certain Test?" Such thinking argued for gold and silver, for an "Idea of Money" that could precisely define "a *Pound in Money . . . as three Ounces of coin'd Silver, Troy Weight, Sterling Alloy,*" on the assumption that such a definition could ensure real value.³⁹ But, of course, it could not. In a complex world economy, the very notion of intrinsic value seemed naïve. "It's known by Experience," paper money advocates pointed out, "Silver and Gold is liable to rising and falling in Price. Exchanges are so reciprocally subject to the same Alterations, the one being commonly influenced by the other."⁴⁰ The value even of hard money varied with fluctuating exchange rates, with the availability of goods, with the cost of labor, indeed with a host of commercial factors that mocked certainty. The whole subject was vexing, as one colonial essayist noted, even to European writers on commerce who "generally confessed . . . that their money is a subject of a curious and very intricate nature."⁴¹

Curiously enough, some New Englanders accepted these conditions with remarkable cheer. Instead of lamenting the erosion of foundational values, they imagined a highly participatory society in which the general will defined value. Within this interpretive environment, the plebiscite was a radical notion, as much so for economic as for political theory. As the author of *An Inquiry into the Nature and Uses of Money* explained in 1740, most objects of everyday life had what he called "accidental" value. "In short," he wrote, "every Article of Provision, Cloathing, or Lodging . . . have their Value or Estimation from the *voluntary Choice* of Mankind, guided either by Reason, or meer Humour & Fancy, in choosing one Thing and neglecting or refusing another at one Time, and again choosing what they before neglected or refused."⁴² From this perspective, value became an aesthetic category, a matter of taste. It was a human invention, a set of hermeneutic projections. As this author stated, accidental values can "change with the Fashion for the Year or a particular Season." Money, especially paper money, was no exception. It, too, possessed accidental value. "It is not the Act of Government," the writer explained, "that gives Value to our Bills of Credit in the Market; but the common Consent of the People."⁴³ Such thinking infused the discourse with a powerful egalitarian strand. It seemed recklessly irrational to hard money advocates like William Douglass for soft money people to claim that "*common Consent*, or the Humour of the Multitude, ought to be the *Ratio Ultima* of every Thing and particularly in *Currencies*."⁴⁴ Yet paper currency supporters like the anonymous author of *Some Observations on the Scheme projected for emitting 60,000 l.* expressed confidence in the capability of ordinary New Englanders to make rational financial decisions:

³⁹ *Boston Evening Post*, September 13, 1742.

⁴⁰ *New England Weekly Journal*, October 14, 1740.

⁴¹ John Webbe, *A Discourse Concerning Paper Money: in which Its Principles are Laid Open; and a Method, Plain and Easy, for Introducing and Continuing a Plenty, without Lessening the Present Value of It, is Demonstrated* (Boston, 1743), 2.

⁴² [Vans], *Inquiry into the Nature and Uses of Money*, 2.

⁴³ [Vans], *Inquiry into the Nature and Uses of Money*, 1–2, 32.

⁴⁴ [Douglass], *Letter to — — Merchant in London*, 11.

“our *Bills* have their Value from the *Demand* for them, by the *common Consent* of this Community, founded upon . . . solid Reason.”⁴⁵

Even if no currency’s value could be fixed with certainty, however, paper money complicated the question of value even further by posing the special problem of counterfeiting. Critics of paper currency regularly asked readers how one could be certain that a particular bill was authentic, and at mid-century the most publicized crime in New England was surely counterfeiting. The crudity of design meant that it was not all that difficult to forge a Rhode Island or New Hampshire note.⁴⁶ One Boston writer declared that “no Crime against Society deserves a severer Punishment, and our Circumstances at the Juncture make it yet more criminal,” for, with the shortage of money, the circulation of counterfeit bills causes “an immediate damage to the Publick, and private Persons are exposed to unspeakable Hardships.”⁴⁷ For this person, the way to address the problem of value was not to abolish paper money in favor of specie with a putative intrinsic value. Instead, the answer was social and legal. Moral suasion such as his own published denunciation of counterfeiting and, more important, better enforcement of laws against the crime would “increase our present Medium of Exchange, and fix the Value of the current Bills as much perhaps as any other of the long labour’d and abortive Schemes [for improving the money supply].”⁴⁸

The problematization of the concept of exchange value in this context of a rapidly expanding consumer society extended far beyond the narrow confines of money and trade.⁴⁹ It threatened to subvert the entire moral order by releasing colonists to imagine meaning as participatory, as a form of democratic and liberal imagination. Monetary value defied the authority of government, whether colonial or royal, to fix it by arbitrary pronouncement. It shifted according to the vagaries of markets and exchange rates, the effects of war, the actions of England’s economic competitors, and, most significantly, the desires and tastes of ordinary consumers. In the face of these realities, advocates of the Land Bank seemed increasingly willing to entertain the notion that a popular voice could simply agree that money would function as they desired and at a rate they set. Indeed, by issuing the bills before the legislature acted, Land Bankers committed themselves to generating just such a popular movement. They sought to accomplish this through the press, which by 1740 had become a primary instrument for shaping public opinion.⁵⁰ There they called on merchants to place value on Land Bank bills by accepting them in payment for goods or debts and urged farmers, fishermen, and craftsmen to affirm the bills’ value by paying for goods with them. They assured buyers and sellers that the public prints—the controversial pamphlets and newspapers—themselves would certify the authenticity of the bills, for “if the Enemies . . . could point out any Fraud design’d, any Trap or Snare laid to cheat or oppress any Man, we should doubtless have had

⁴⁵ [Hugh Vans], *Some Observations on the Scheme projected for emitting 60,000 l. In Bills of a New Tenour, to be redeemed with Silver and Gold* (Boston, 1738), 19.

⁴⁶ On colonial counterfeiting, see Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial America* (New York, 1957).

⁴⁷ *Boston Evening Post*, June 23, 1740.

⁴⁸ *Boston Evening Post*, June 23, 1740.

⁴⁹ Parry and Bloch, *Money and the Morality of Exchange*, 21.

⁵⁰ Clark, *Public Prints*, 207–14; Warner, *Letters of the Republic*, 43–49; Habermas, *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 42–43.

it in the Prints before this Day.”⁵¹ In this context, the opposition’s heated rhetoric does not seem hyperbolic; rather, it reflects a recognition of the magnitude of the threat posed by this effort to relativize value. A grasping rabble, attracted by such “pernicious Principles,” might very well drag not only the provincial economy, but “all Society and good Government” to ruin against the hard economic and social consequences of doing business with a currency that had “nothing but the Air to subsist on.”⁵²

THE ACRIMONIOUS DEBATE SURROUNDING THE Great Awakening has not suffered for want of scholarly attention. While differing in their treatments of this event—or, perhaps more accurately, this series of events—most historians mark its beginnings in New England in a sudden surge in the number of revivals during the 1730s. Jonathan Edwards of Northampton, Massachusetts, did more than any other Congregational minister to publicize what he perceived as a sudden “surprising” outbreak of concern among New England colonists over the state of their souls, resolved only by a crisis experience of personal conversion from a life of sin to a life of repentance and faith in Jesus.⁵³ The 1740 arrival in New England of George Whitefield, known to friend and foe alike as the “Grand Itinerant,” thrust New England’s awakening more fully into an unprecedented transatlantic movement, igniting in the process a controversy that would profoundly reshape the religious culture of the entire region along with the whole British Empire.⁵⁴

To a surprising degree, the modern understanding of the mid-century revivals has been determined by Whitefield’s opponents, articulate Congregational ministers for the most part who felt threatened by itinerancy and who drew attention to the wildly emotional, disorderly, even anti-intellectual aspects of evangelical religion. It would be a mistake to overcompensate for this judgmental rhetoric by depicting the Great Awakening as the harbinger of the American Revolution or as the seedbed of Jacksonian democracy. Yet we must surely appreciate that the Awakening did powerfully hold out to ordinary people the prospect of personal liberation, of creative agency, of exciting self-fashioning—unintended concomitants of the Whitefieldian experience of “new birth.”⁵⁵

Those who denounced evangelicals in print made less of theology than they did of disorder, flux, and motion. To be sure, vilification of personalities—especially of George Whitefield, Gilbert Tennent, and James Davenport—played a part. But the *itinerancy* of these figures quickly became the central contested category in the

⁵¹ *New England Weekly Journal*, September 20, 1740.

⁵² [Douglass], *Letter to — — Merchant in London*, 11; *New England Weekly Journal*, June 17, 1740.

⁵³ Jonathan Edwards, *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God in the Conversion of Many Hundred Souls in Northampton, and the Neighbouring Towns and Villages of the County of Hampshire, in the Province of Massachusetts-Bay in New-England* [1737], in *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, Vol. 4: *The Great Awakening*, C. C. Goen, ed. (New Haven, Conn., 1972), 130–211.

⁵⁴ See W. R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge, 1992), 241–352; T. Hall, *Contested Boundaries*, 32–39; Crawford, *Seasons of Grace*, 141–79; Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 164–93; Harry S. Stout, *The Divine Dramatist: George Whitefield and the Rise of Modern Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1991), 87–112.

⁵⁵ T. Hall, *Contested Boundaries*, 54–68. See also Susan Juster, *Disorderly Women: Sexual Politics and Evangelicalism in Revolutionary New England* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994), 46–74.

*The late Religious Commotions in
New-England considered.*

A N

A N S W E R

To the Reverend

Mr. Jonathan Edwards's

S E R M O N,

Entitled,

*The distinguishing Marks of a Work
of the Spirit of God, applied to that
uncommon Operation that has lately
appeared on the Minds of many of
the People of this Land.*

In a *LETTER* to a Friend.

Together with

A P R E F A C E,

Containing an Explanation of the Rev. Mr. WILLIAM
COOPER'S LETTER to Mr. EDWARDS'S SERMON.

By a *Lover of Truth and Peace.*

BOSTON: Printed by Green, Baybell, and Allen, &c.
T. Flax in Cornhill. 1 7 4 3

The titles of the next two illustrations exhibit the similar rhetoric employed by participants in the controversies over the Land Bank and itinerancy. *The late Religious Commotions in New-England considered: An Answer to the Reverend Mr. Jonathan Edwards's Sermon, Entitled, The distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God, applied to that uncommon Operation that has lately appeared on the Minds of many of the People of this Land, by a Lover of Truth and Peace* (Boston, 1743). Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

A Lamentation

On Account of Disorders and Confusions.

In Two LETTERS to a Friend.

I R, *John Hancock, Esq.*

Altho' I apprehend it my Duty to submit to Authority, yet I think there is Liberty for all Subjects to complain when they think they are wronged of their Privileges, which I apprehend I myself am, and all other of his Majesty's Subjects of this Province, that pay any Taxes, by certain Numbers of Gentlemen setting up private Banks as they pretend for a Medium of Trade. I suppose that for more than thirty Years, ever since Paper Money has been our Currency, it has been beneficial to the Publick, by being made by Authority when they found it needful, either by paying the Province Debts and giving the Inhabitants Time to repay it, or by every Town's taking its Part, and letting it out to help bear their publick Charges, or a Committee letting it out for the Use of the Province. In short, I'm certain no Man has Right to take such a Privilege. These Gentlemen say, truly since the Authority can't or don't make Money, and it's very scarce, there must be something done; so they've e'en trumpet up *two Hundred and twenty Thousand Pounds* this Currency of their Notes of Hand to use and let out to their Neighbours, which at six per Cent amounts to *forty three Thousand two Hundred Pounds a Year*: when their Interest comes in their Revenues increase; which they think too little for the Use of the Province. Very like in a little Time, they or somebody else, may make some more. Could I think it just, very like I should be pleased with signing for 8000 l and letting it out, and then getting in to be a Director, and having 600 l. a Year. But I am too much concerned about this Affair to make a Jest of it; I solemnly declare, I fear very sad will be the Event of it if it goes forward. Can any imagine that the Inhabitants of this Province who lose the Privilege that certainly belongs to them will be content under it, I'm sure I can't. I also fear the Authority at Home will condemn us for so wild an Action. Above all, have we not Reason to fear the Anger of God, who has so often punished the Sins of Injustice with Wars and other awful Judgments. If our Authority for some Reasons has at present seen fit not to emit so much Money as we think we need; if the Affair of setting forth a Medium without them had been contrived so that every Town had taken their Proportion according to their Taxes, I believe it would have been a much safer, and I am sure a juster way. But as I at first beg'd Leave of the Authority to complain, so I now declare with submission, as I think it is in their Power to prevent private Banks being set up in such a manner, they would. My meaning is in plain a humble Address to the General Assembly of this Province, whom God has I hope called to seek the Good of his People, to see that their Privileges be preserved that the Poor are not wronged of their Right, that Peace and good Order be preserved among us in this Day of Trouble: That it may be so is the Desire of.

Your's &c.

The Second LETTER.

Among the many Calamities that befall us in Life, are we not to dread this, of being left to our selves; and I apprehend this is verified when a People are left to break the Bands of Civil Government, when Self Interest, Discontent, or the unreasonable Humours of Men, lead them to encroach upon the Privileges of the common People; which Occa-

sions dreadful Discords and Confusion. His Excellency in His Speech to the General Assembly of *January 13th* past, plainly represents to us, that we are very much Rent with Divisions; a solemn Thing indeed! And it seems to me to be occasioned by that illegal, perplexing and unjust Method of setting forth a Medium among us. I am not about to dispute which of the two Schemes is best; but declare I think them both abominable in the Sight of God, and ought to be of Man. To you then, Promoters of these private Banks, you declare in Print, and by your Actions, that this Province needs a further Emission of Bills, I believe we are generally of that Mind; for what? In the first Place to fortify us against a foreign Enemy, and manage our publick Affairs, and then our private. Well, our Charges are like to be great; are the Poor among us able to bear their Part so soon as Necessity calls for it? I doubt not. Why then can't it be done by the Province immediately, and the poor Inhabitants have some Time, as in the Time past, to repay it. No this must not be because His Majesty won't suffer us to emit Bills for a Medium; but some are ready to say, why then does His Majesty suffer private Men to do it in a publick Manner? What can our Parents at Home desire, but that Justice may be done among us; Peace and good Order preserved with us, I therefore conclude, this Action of your's is not by their Permission; nor can possibly be approv'd of against all Reason. A plain Infringement upon our publick Interest; all the Gains you make to yourselves by letting out, and other Profits a Medium will naturally bring, you pinch from the common People; it ought in Justice to help our publick Charges, Your Undertaking, I apprehend, is very dangerous. It cannot be of God, if it were, we should never fall into those Jars about it. Pray consider what awful Defolations were made in our Nation about ninety four Years ago. Did it not first proceed from a Mismanagement of the People? Darkness in their Affairs in the Administration of Government, till a Fire broke out too hot to quench, but with the Blood of a vast Multitude. Will you by tossing more pretended Money into our Hands, in this disorderly Way, multiply abundance of strange Obligations, as it were separate Governments. Will you all turn Statesmen? Don't you see our Foundation shakes? Offences are already, and more are like to be. Pray consider the Wo pronounced against them by whom the Offence cometh. Are you Lovers of Trade and Commerce, so am I. Have you heard Abundance complain in seeming Distress for want of a Medium, so have I. Do you owe considerable Sums payable in Bills of this Province, so do I. Are you desirous that the Medium Scale, the Standard of our Affairs might be held on an even Balance, so am I. But for this we must look to to the Government. If that be an Appointment of Heaven; if the Land be to enjoy Rest; if Men have rational Powers; I think it must be so. However, you are Men of Wisdom; I reverence your Persons, tho' I abhor your Action. It may be I am mistaken: And since you venture on this great and dangerous Work, I wish you would enlighten us. It look to me very glaring. Is it not an Invasion upon Government? If one Society may make Money, why not My? Don't it bring us into strange Entanglements, occasions abundance of false speaking, break us off from our common Affairs by the uncertainty it makes in trading. A strange Vexation, who dare plead for it?

Curd Fort May 20th 1741

A Lamentation on Account of Disorders and Confusions: In Two Letters to a Friend, May 1741. Courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

evolving discourse.⁵⁶ The dispute over itinerancy made the concept of motion in public affairs the central dynamic in the construction of this innovative religious discourse. It was Whitefield's *motion* that New England newspapers tracked, as correspondents breathlessly reported his progress "through every Province in America" in 1740.⁵⁷ Their movement throughout New England and the empire made Whitefield and his itinerant successors into the "happy instruments" of transatlantic revival.⁵⁸ Congregational critics countered by comparing itinerancy to the disruptive motion of comets whose orbits ran "quite cross the spheres of the Earth, and all the other Planets."⁵⁹

Like the British consumer goods that fueled the debate over paper currency, the itinerants dramatically extended cultural horizons. Traveling preachers broke through the traditional boundaries of parish and congregation. "It seemed to me, sir," declared a critic of Gilbert Tennent in the *Boston Weekly Post-Boy*, "a little unnatural, that you should leave the Flock, to which you are more immediately related, from Time to Time destitute and unprovided for; while you are traveling from Place to Place."⁶⁰ Through travel and correspondence, evangelical ministers linked awakened New Englanders to fellow converts in "Maryland, Virginia, Carolina, [and] . . . Jamaica," and across the Atlantic to Scotland, England, and the Continent.⁶¹ Critics only confirmed the revival's expansive scope by reporting evangelical "errors and disorders" to "them who live at a great Distance from us."⁶² One wag gave implicit acknowledgment to the vast extent of the Awakening in a satirical call for itinerant helpers "from Grenada to the Straights [*sic*] of Magellan to come up and help us in the Work."⁶³

In destabilizing spatial boundaries, itinerants stressed a central feature of a new "liberal" sense of self by challenging ordinary Christians to make critical choices from among contending preachers, each of whom claimed to speak the word of truth. Itinerants condemned the "polite preachers" of Massachusetts parishes who scorned "sound and close doctrine" and neglected to preach on hell.⁶⁴ Offended ministers retorted that the itinerant intruders themselves had fallen into "enthusiastic error."⁶⁵ This intrusion of choice into local religious affairs opened up new dangers and possibilities. "The Humorist," a satirist in the *Boston Weekly Post-Boy*, worried that itinerants would taint the choices of ordinary people by overheating

⁵⁶ T. Hall, *Contested Boundaries*, 36–39.

⁵⁷ *Boston Gazette*, November 26, 1739. A survey of the 1740 editions of Boston papers reveals that, by the summer of 1740, subscribers were receiving weekly updates on the progress of Whitefield's travels.

⁵⁸ *A Poem Occasioned by the Spreading in this Province the Result of a Consociation in a Neighbour Government* (Boston, 1742); compare *The Testimony and Advice of an Assembly of Pastors of Churches in New-England, at a Meeting in Boston July 7, 1743* (Boston, 1743), 18.

⁵⁹ John Hancock, *The Danger of an Unqualified Ministry* (Boston, 1743), 25.

⁶⁰ *Boston Weekly Post-Boy*, June 12, 1741.

⁶¹ William Hobby, *An Inquiry into the Itinerancy and the Conduct of the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, An Itinerant Preacher* (Boston, 1745), 7; Thomas Prince, Jr., ed., *The Christian History; Containing Accounts of the Propagation and Revival of Religion in England, Scotland, and America*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1743–45), *passim*.

⁶² Joshua Gee, *A Letter to the Reverend Mr. Nathanael Eells, Moderator of the late Convention of Pastors in Boston* (Boston, 1743), 7.

⁶³ *Boston Weekly Post-Boy*, July 12, 1742.

⁶⁴ *New England Weekly Journal*, March 24, 1741.

⁶⁵ *Boston Gazette*, August 10, 1742.

their passions. "All Religion implies a Choice," he declared, but "there can be none where Reason is not consulted."⁶⁶ The Connecticut anti-revivalist Isaac Stiles lamented the intrusion of choice into spiritual matters at all, denouncing those who behaved "as tho' they had their Religion to chuse."⁶⁷ Revivalists, by contrast, viewed the element of novelty and choice as likely to "draw the Attention" of complacent parishioners.⁶⁸ They defended the choice to cross parish bounds to hear an itinerant as an "unalienable Right" guaranteed by the Toleration Act (1689).⁶⁹ To be sure, neither side could have known "liberalism" as a coherent body of thought, and both might have recoiled from it as Stiles did from the notion of choice in religious affairs. Nevertheless, both recognized, and some on both sides encouraged, a language of reasoned choice central to the construction of the modern liberal self.⁷⁰

Like paper money and consumer goods, itinerancy threatened to disrupt eighteenth-century social relations. The crowds that gathered to hear itinerants became metaphors of social leveling. Revivalists celebrated the mingling of "rich and poor of all denominations" as an expression of universal human need for grace, while critics derided the gatherings as undifferentiated mobs.⁷¹ Whitefield and his followers celebrated the predominance of young people among the converts, urging children whose parents remained unconverted to "go to Heaven without them!"⁷² Critics countered by decrying the disorderliness of "raw, intemperate youths" in the revivals, fretting that familial deference was being overthrown.⁷³ Carpenters and shoemakers, women and black servants suddenly discerned the Spirit's call to a ministry of itinerant exhortation, much to the consternation of their social betters. "Laymen stir up your talent Gifts," mocked a *Boston Post-Boy* critic, "for want of learning use your Fists . . . Sisters, no longer mind old Paul, to Teach we know you have a call."⁷⁴

The swirling movement of outsiders, the sudden linking of local affairs with a larger, exciting external world, and the expansion of individual choice equally undermined "Fixt Principles" in religion as they did "Intrinsick" values in currency. Timothy Walker, a minister from Rumford, New Hampshire, warned Boston readers against "Multitudes of Persons, set up for *public Teachers* who have no other Claim to Character, but they have received the *Holy Ghost*, and that by him they have been influenced and moved to undertake that solemn Calling."⁷⁵ The authenticity of such people's callings remained unconfirmed by examination.

⁶⁶ *Boston Weekly Post-Boy*, October 12, 1741.

⁶⁷ Isaac Stiles, *A Looking-Glass for Changelings* (New London, Conn., 1743), 15.

⁶⁸ Prince, *Christian History*, 2: 144.

⁶⁹ *Poem Occasioned by . . . the Result of a Consociation*; Elisha Williams, *A Seasonable Plea for the Liberty of Conscience, and the Right of private Judgment, in Matters of Religion, without any Controul from human Authority* (Boston, 1744); John Cleaveland, *A Short and Plain Narrative of the Late Work of God's Spirit at Chebacco in Ipswich, in the Years 1763 and 1764* (Boston, 1767), 38.

⁷⁰ See Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, 177–84.

⁷¹ *New England Weekly Journal*, March 24, 1741; compare *Boston Weekly Post-Boy*, June 23, 1740.

⁷² George Whitefield, *George Whitefield's Journals: A New Edition Containing Fuller Material Than Any Hitherto Published*, William Wale, et al., eds. (London, 1960), 469.

⁷³ Charles Chauncy, *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New-England, a Treatise in five Parts* (Boston, 1743), 104–05, 369–70.

⁷⁴ *Boston Weekly Post-Boy*, July 19, 1742.

⁷⁵ Timothy Walker, *The Way to try All Pretended Apostles* (Boston, 1743), 6.

Indeed, critics charged that lay itinerants were overreaching their God-given capacities, neglecting their true calling as craftsmen “to exhort their neighbours.”⁷⁶ Ordained itinerants were likewise charged with “breach[ing] their Ordination Charge by leaving them for a long Time together, and traveling the Country over, sowing evil Surmisings, Sedition, and Schism.”⁷⁷ Both groups were seen as imposters who undermined the spiritual authority of settled pastors, making “People afraid of their Ministers, [and] leavening their Minds with Prejudice against them.”⁷⁸ As in money matters, bad ministers apparently had the capacity to drive out good ones. Parishioners who had once been content with well-educated ministers suddenly developed a “more than ordinary *Itch* to run after *Strangers*,” exhibiting higher esteem for “*ignorant Exhorters*” than for the “*most able Ministers*.”⁷⁹ “In this *Day of Disorders*,” as another critic complained, “it has been no uncommon Thing for *some sort* of Persons to leave the *Place of Worship*, when the *best Preachers* have been preaching the *best Sermons*.”⁸⁰ In religion as in economics, the exogenous element—in one case, imported goods in the marketplace and, in the other, itinerant ministers—challenged ordinary people to exercise judgment. In this context, circulation demanded participation; fluidity brought choice; change stressed agency. As the Reverend John Caldwell warned, “understand with your own Understanding; see Evidence before ye believe or judge . . . This is your inalienable Right as Men and Christians, and bounded Duty.”⁸¹

The increasing emphasis on personal choice in religion predictably forced New Englanders to confront the possibility that they might make the wrong decision, that they might confuse reason, or that they might, in the words of one minister, be “deceived by Appearances.”⁸² This was a serious problem. Gilbert Tennent warned in *The Danger of an Unconverted Ministry* that well-meaning Christians might allow themselves to be misled by established preachers, men who had not been touched by the new birth.⁸³ On the other hand, one’s own conversion might not be authentic. Enthusiasm might cloud one’s judgment. Certainly, the question of authenticity proved most agitating to people such as Jonathan Edwards and Charles Chauncy. Edwards appropriately opened his *Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God* by declaring, “My Design . . . at this Time is, to shew what are the true, certain, and distinguishing Evidences of a Work of the Spirit of God, by which we may

⁷⁶ *Boston Gazette*, March 15, 1743.

⁷⁷ Walker, *Way to try All Pretended Apostles*, 6.

⁷⁸ A Lover of Truth and Peace, *The late Religious Commotions in New-England consider'd* (Boston, 1743), 3. This charge was ubiquitous in New England publications throughout the 1740s. For other examples, see *Boston Weekly Post-Boy*, October 12, 1741; *Boston Weekly Newsletter*, October 28, 1742; Theophilus Pickering, *The Rev. Mr. Pickering's Letters to the Rev. N. Rogers and Mr. D. Rogers of Ipswich* (Boston, 1742), 5–8; Charles Chauncy, *Enthusiasm Described and Caution'd Against* (Boston, 1742), iii.

⁷⁹ Charles Chauncy, *Ministers exhorted and encouraged to take heed to themselves and to their Doctrine* (Boston, 1744), 42; *Late Religious Commotions in New-England*, 31.

⁸⁰ *Boston Evening Post*, January 24, 1743.

⁸¹ John Caldwell, *The Nature, Folly, and Evil of rash and uncharitable Judging* (Boston, 1742), 32.

⁸² John Caldwell, *An Impartial Trial of the Spirit operating in this Part of the World; by comparing the Nature, Effects and Evidences of the present supposed Conversion with the Word of God* (Boston, 1742), 6.

⁸³ Gilbert Tennent, *The Danger of an Unconverted Ministry, Consider'd in a Sermon on Mark VI. 34* (1740; rpt. Boston, 1742).

proceed safely in judging any Operation we find in ourselves, or see in others.”⁸⁴ Cautious allies of Edwards agreed that “*some high Pretenders to the work of Conversion in this remarkable day . . . may turn out Counterfeits.*”⁸⁵ For opponents, the “Spirit of Censoriousness, Reviling, Clamour, Insolence, Spite, and Malice” signaled that the awakened did “not belong to the Number of *New Creatures*” but were “yet carnal.”⁸⁶

Itinerancy in religion, like counterfeiting in currency, raised the problem of authenticity and value to new levels. Indeed, the two were sometimes juxtaposed, as in a *Boston Evening Post* report that officials in Hartford, Connecticut, had jailed “four Men for absenting themselves from publick Worship and *exhorting* on Sabbath Days:—Two for counterfeiting the *Rhode-Island Bills* emitted in the Year 1738, and Four for counterfeiting the Merchants’ Notes of the last Emission.”⁸⁷ In counterfeiting as in itinerancy, mobility exacerbated the problem by enabling confidence men to remain one jump ahead of the law, traveling “from Colony to Colony, personating different People, forging Bills, Letters of Credit, &C.”⁸⁸ Itinerancy might even give such men a new cover, as it did for a thief named Lloyd or Ebenezer Willson, who was reported in the *Boston Weekly Post-Boy* to “[go] up and down the Country,” sometimes acting as a schoolteacher, often as a preacher of “evangelical style.”⁸⁹ In the face of such problems, even the Presbyterian itinerant Gilbert Tennent regretfully admitted that “the sending out of *unlearned Men*, to *teach others*, upon the supposition of Piety, in ordinary Cases, seems to bring the Ministry into Contempt; to cherish *Enthusiasm*, and bring all into Confusion: Whatever fair Face it may have, it is a most perverse Practice.”⁹⁰ At this particular moment in their history, New Englanders felt especially vulnerable to the threat of accepting appearances for reality, and their own eagerness to expand their personal horizons only enhanced the danger.⁹¹

In this context, the gravest problem raised by someone like the fiery itinerant James Davenport, eventually declared by the government of Connecticut to be *non compos mentis*, was not that he was mad but, rather, that he was a religious counterfeit. Davenport traveled across the New England countryside undermining the credit of “almost *all* the ministers.”⁹² In “every town,” he posed as a “[divinely] constituted judge” of his ministerial brethren, branding them unconverted and warning parishioners that their preaching was “rank Poyson to their Souls as Ratsbane is to their Bodies.”⁹³ Davenport encouraged bogus conversions by taking “Extacies, Raptures and Transports of Joy” as evidence of conversion, and those who put on such displays he readily pronounced “true Disciples,” although he had

⁸⁴ Jonathan Edwards, *The Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God* [1741], in Goen, *Great Awakening*, 227.

⁸⁵ *Testimony and Advice of an Assembly of Pastors*, 37.

⁸⁶ *Late Religious Commotions in New-England*, 13.

⁸⁷ *Boston Evening Post*, August 2, 1742.

⁸⁸ *Boston Gazette*, March 8, 1743.

⁸⁹ *Boston Evening Post*, June 26, 1742.

⁹⁰ *Boston Evening Post*, June 26, 1742.

⁹¹ On the affinities between religious and commercial counterfeiters in the popular imagination, see John L. Brooke, *The Refiner’s Fire: The Making of Mormon Cosmology, 1644–1844* (Cambridge, 1994), 116–27.

⁹² *Boston Weekly Post-Boy*, September 28, 1741.

⁹³ Chauncy, *Enthusiasm Described and Caution’d Against*, iii.

“never seen their faces before, without examining into the Grounds and Reasons of their Hope and Comforts.”⁹⁴ Under the pious name of revival, he circulated “enthusiastic wildness,” “censoriousness,” and schism, effects “diametrically opposite to the Spirit of Christianity.”⁹⁵

The threat of itinerancy thus extended to many of the same “fix’d steady Principles” of eighteenth-century culture that were being eroded by paper currency. Traditional boundaries of place and station dissolved before both. Both could release ordinary people from webs of traditional associations and restraints, empowering them to participate in an expansive, transatlantic world of greater personal choice and action. A Marblehead fisherman could sip tea from Staffordshire cups just like Boston merchants and English gentry. A Wrentham youth might experience New Birth under Whitefield’s preaching just like a Philadelphia slave or a young woman in London. Expanded horizons also opened the possibility of breaking free of the station or calling that embedded the self within a face-to-face network of roles and expectations. Paper money or itinerancy could afford the means to fulfill such ambition. A cobbler might aspire to become a gentleman, or at least to dress like one; a carpenter might act on a divine call to preach, even if he lacked the formal qualifications for ministry.⁹⁶ Appearance, novelty, and demand were supplanting quality as the measure of value. In the religious and economic spheres of eighteenth-century experience, things were no longer what they seemed.

In itinerancy as in currency, the debate ultimately turned on a perceived shift in the nature of authority and its relationship to authenticity. Like defenders of the Land Bank, itinerancy’s defenders challenged the authority of civil institutions to certify value—in this case, the gospel qualifications of preachers—by book learning, paper degrees, or formal ordination. Such authorities had failed too often, supplying pulpits with men devoid of vital faith who could no more produce true converts than “a dead man could beget a living child.” In the face of such failures, the New Lights, like Land Bankers, sought to certify the authenticity of both the messengers and their transatlantic revival by carrying their case to the court of public opinion in hundreds of newspaper articles, pamphlets, and a specialized weekly journal, the *Christian History*.⁹⁷ They submitted testimony and biblical argument to a reasoning people, an imagined colony-wide plebiscite, trusting them to weigh the evidence and attest that the evangelical itinerants spoke the word of God. Opponents such as John Caldwell ultimately found themselves defending institutional authority on the same basis of judgment by appealing to his readers’ “own Understandings.”⁹⁸ Old and New Lights, like Land Bankers and Silver Schemers, were making a dramatic shift to a new liberal means of grounding

⁹⁴ *Boston Weekly Post-Boy*, August 10, 1741.

⁹⁵ *Late Religious Commotions in New-England*, 13; see also Harry S. Stout and Peter Onuf, “James Davenport and the Great Awakening in New London,” *Journal of American History* 70 (1983–84): 556–78.

⁹⁶ The historian John Shy has noted a similar belief among observers of the American Revolution such as David Ramsay that paper currency produced a leveling effect in American society. By the depreciation of continental currency, “the poor became rich, and the rich became poor.” See Shy, *A People Numerous and Armed: Reflections on the Military Struggle for American Independence*, rev. edn. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1990), 259–60.

⁹⁷ Prince, *Christian History*, 1: 1.

⁹⁸ Caldwell, *Nature, Folly, and Evil of rash Judging*, 32.

authority and constructing value through the independent, reasoned choice of individuals. In both debates, the unintended consequence of trying to accommodate change—rapid growth in trade, an influx of consumer goods, a stranger preaching the gospel, an unprecedented burst of revival—was the elevation of a liberal self through appeal to an imagined provincial community of reasoning people.

IN THESE TWO MID-CENTURY DISCOURSES, we encounter a similar exploration of categories, a parallel structure, a common metaphoric strategy deployed by participants to understand changing experience and to define appropriate responses to change. Both religion and money in provincial society sparked a reappraisal of fluidity, choice, boundaries, and value. Although some hard money advocates may in fact have been the same persons who attacked the itinerant ministers—or, to reverse the case, paper money enthusiasts may have been the same people who welcomed the evangelicals—it seems highly unlikely that we will ever know for sure. In any case, we do not posit a causal link between the two spheres. No contemporary writer—at least, none we have encountered—explicitly connected paper currency and evangelical itinerants.

The simultaneity of these debates, coupled with their structural and rhetorical similarity, marks this as an instance of a more profound historical process at work, which was drawing Massachusetts colonists inexorably into the great transformations of the eighteenth century. These two representational strategies struck New Englanders as persuasive and appropriate because each organized itself around bundles of categories and terms that had become problematic in a rapidly emerging transatlantic commercial society.⁹⁹ Both expressed the popular yearnings of thousands of ordinary New Englanders, echoing similar yearnings of ordinary people on both sides of the English Atlantic. Participants in the debate over itinerancy were engaged in an effort to frame a discourse adequate to comprehend the broad new range of choice that thousands throughout the British Empire and beyond had recently begun exercising in religious affairs.¹⁰⁰ Similarly, participants on both sides of the currency debates assumed, and subscriptions to the Land Bank confirmed, that Massachusetts farmers and craftsmen were eager to enter with middling sorts throughout the empire in this exciting new world of commerce. The transformation of the British economy during this period challenged ordinary people throughout the empire to develop new stories about themselves.¹⁰¹ Colonial American historians may once have been deceived by Edmund Burke's phrase "salutary neglect" into believing that Great Britain did not play an active role in the lives of ordinary provincials. Yet recent scholarship has demonstrated that, in religious, social, and economic interaction, Britain powerfully shaped the American sense of self.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Jameson, *Political Unconscious*, 40; Breen, "Empire of Goods," 479–81.

¹⁰⁰ Ward, *Protestant Evangelical Awakening*.

¹⁰¹ Breen, "Narrative of Commercial Life," 483–84; compare Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 20–22; Carole Shammas, *The Pre-industrial Consumer in England and America* (Oxford, 1990), 157–88, 219–20, 266–85; Hunt, *Middling Sort*, 101–92; Brooke, *Heart of the Commonwealth*, 60–61; various essays in John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1993), esp. 177–301.

¹⁰² Breen, "'Baubles of Britain,'" 84–87; Jack P. Greene, "Search for Identity: An Interpretation of

"The Spirit of Commerce"—a more apposite characterization of the British Empire—expressed itself in scores of ways. The currency debate was one of these, and its volatility stemmed in large measure from its inseparable relationship to the consumer items that flooded into American ports at mid-century. These manufactured goods demanded an imaginative response. Their very presence in the homes of Americans of all ranks and backgrounds raised perplexing questions about dependence, about self-fashioning, about the limits of choice, indeed, about an emerging commercial self struggling to situate itself successfully in the broader, more fluid context of eighteenth-century capitalism.¹⁰³ The currency debate made these questions even more disturbing by focusing so starkly on the question of value. Paper bills radically relativized value and, with it, the whole commercial system they supported. Critics worried that the worth of paper money rested only on the backers' assertions, rendering value a matter of private opinion like asking "one of your Shopkeepers whether their Goods are cheap or no."¹⁰⁴ In responding that the bills' value rested instead on "the Judgment of all of the People of New England," paper money advocates pushed the debate significantly toward a liberal capitalist view of the self's place in a rational, commercial society.¹⁰⁵

Evangelical itinerancy raised the same issues in a religious context. Indeed, George Whitefield himself was a British import, an ordained Anglican itinerant whose popularity in England spread to colonial ports and their hinterlands largely by the same marketing strategies that created the colonial demand for British manufactures.¹⁰⁶ Whitefield and his colonial emulators introduced a new element of choice into religious experience either by packaging a familiar message in a dramatic new style of delivery or by directly challenging the parish minister's version of the way to heaven.¹⁰⁷ Itinerants encouraged an experience of conversion that expanded the possibilities for self-fashioning. They undermined older conversion practices that located the self firmly in face-to-face New England communities, supplanting the role of ministers and lay officers in assessing conversion accounts and advocating a hotly contested view of inward assurance that made the awakened

the Meaning of Selected Patterns of Social Response in Eighteenth-Century America," in Greene, *Imperatives, Behaviors, and Identities: Essays in Early American Cultural History* (Charlottesville, Va., 1992), 43–173; Michael Zuckerman, "Identity in British America: Unease in Eden," in Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden, eds., *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500–1800* (Princeton, N.J., 1987), 115–57; Colley, *Britons*, 132–36; David Hackett Fisher, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York, 1989). The English influence on identity extended also to American Indian identity, both in terms of accommodation and reaction, as can be seen in Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815* (Baltimore, Md., 1992), 23–46. On the extension of British power in the eighteenth century, see John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money, and the English State, 1688–1783* (London, 1989), 165–251.

¹⁰³ Breen, "'Baubles of Britain,'" 77–86; Breen, "Meaning of Things," 253–54; Breen, "Narrative of Commercial Life," 484–85; compare J. G. A. Pocock, "Authority and Property: The Question of Liberal Origins," in Pocock, ed., *Virtue, Commerce, and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1985), 69–70.

¹⁰⁴ *Boston Weekly Post-Boy*, April 7, 1740.

¹⁰⁵ *Boston Gazette*, August 20, 1739; Parry and Bloch, *Money and the Morality of Exchange*, 21; Agnew, *Worlds Apart*, 13–14.

¹⁰⁶ Frank Lambert, *Pedlar in Divinity: George Whitefield and the Transatlantic Revivals, 1737–1770* (Princeton, N.J., 1994), 110–29.

¹⁰⁷ Stout, *Divine Dramatist*, 203–05.

“fancy your selves to be *something*, whilst you are *nothing*.”¹⁰⁸ Whitefield, Tennent, and their New England allies self-consciously employed a transatlantic network of print, correspondence, and itinerancy to set converts within a wider sphere where God’s spirit moved freely, unconstrained by limits of place, to sweep the entire North Atlantic world with revival fire. Thrust into a world where old local constraints no longer held, many converts felt new liberty to act on impulses from within, even if that meant renouncing a previous life’s calling and becoming an itinerant.¹⁰⁹ This action in turn forced “friends of revival” and critics alike to confront vexing issues concerning the nature, extent, and legitimacy of religious authority as well as the limits of individual choice and identity within a much more open religious world.

Analysis of homologies in the eighteenth-century debates over ministers and money, then, reveals parallel efforts among colonists to make sense of the experience of social change as it manifested itself within these two distinct spheres. The contest over common categories of boundaries, motion, choice, and value reveals that all parties to the controversies, even bitter adversaries, were engaged in a general effort to accommodate themselves to the imperatives of Anglo-American social and economic transformation. The mythic self-sufficient yeomen and the insular, localistic revivalists who once allegedly populated the distant periphery of empire make no appearance in these debates. What was at stake at mid-century was not the acceptance or rejection of commercial capitalism and its consequences but, rather, various modes of accommodation to that system. The contest turned on the control of commerce, on access to the market, on the democratization of decision making, on the right of individual choice among a growing range of competing alternatives.

The very process of framing and debating these issues for a reasonable public contributed to the social changes eighteenth-century colonists were experiencing. The emergent structure of this provincial public sphere—an imagined sphere of “private people come together as a public . . . to compel public authority to legitimate itself before public opinion”—echoed the structural relationship between the provincial government and the privately administered Land Bank.¹¹⁰ It also echoed and extended a structural rift that itinerancy had begun to open between the established religious order and the revival community.¹¹¹ In both cases, the appeal to a reasoning public also contributed to the extension of Benedict Anderson’s “imagined community,” by inviting the audiences of each debate to

¹⁰⁸ Caldwell, *Impartial Trial*, 48. On the role of conversion in self-formation, see Juster, *Disorderly Women*, 46–74; Chana Ullman, *The Transformed Self: The Psychology of Religious Conversion* (New York, 1989), 1–26, 191–95; Gerald F. Moran, “Religious Renewal, Puritan Tribalism, and the Family,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 36 (1979): 547–53; Stephen Grossbart, “Seeking the Divine Favor: Conversion and Church Admission in Eastern Connecticut, 1711–1832,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 46 (1989): 696–740.

¹⁰⁹ T. Hall, *Contested Boundaries*, 99; Douglas, *Natural Symbols*, 14.

¹¹⁰ Habermas, *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 25. See also T. H. Breen, “The Public Sphere and the Power of the Liberal State,” paper presented to the Department of History, University of California, Santa Barbara, April 17, 1998.

¹¹¹ Habermas, *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 27; Brooke, *Heart of the Commonwealth*, 65; T. Hall, *Contested Boundaries*, 79–81.

think of their experiences and interests as shared with distant strangers beyond the bounds of their own communities and province.¹¹²

Thus New Englanders were engaged, like their counterparts in other colonies and in England itself, in devising accounts of commercial change that could give a shared coherence to their daily experience. The accounts adumbrated in the Land Bank debates diverged significantly from comparable stories emerging in the mother country, and these differences illuminate what is specifically provincial in the politics and structure of the Anglo-American imagination.¹¹³ The contrast between the two mental processes of translating experience into ideology was one of degree rather than kind, with neither entailing a serious contest either to recover a vanished past or to abandon the old order entirely. In England, the middling sorts who produced the manufactured goods of the eighteenth century also comprised the most rapidly growing group of consumers, and English theorists addressed the social and cultural implications of consumption and production together. The romanticization of traditional pastoral simplicity embedded within this emerging middle-class ideology rarely marked an attempt to restore an unrecoverable past but rather to preserve continuity between past and present, accommodating cherished ideals and sensibilities to a capitalist social order.¹¹⁴ Likewise, what distinguished the effort by colonial Americans to accommodate the growth of commercial capitalism was not a running battle between peasant self-sufficiency and a new order of exploitation for individual profit. Instead, it was the radical divorce between production and consumption, between export and import. While colonists agreed on the desirability of commerce, they manufactured very few of the goods they consumed in increasing quantities. The volume of exported colonial staples lagged ever further behind their imports, making them perpetual "Losers in Trade."¹¹⁵ In the North American provinces as in Ireland, the separation of these economic functions served to heighten the structural tension between independence and dependence, between credit and debt, between appearance and reality, and, after 1765, between liberty and tyranny.¹¹⁶

The itinerancy debates likewise produced rival efforts to accommodate cherished ideals to new realities by generating competing claims of fidelity to the religion of New England's founders or to the primitive practice of the New Testament.

¹¹² Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 44–48; Warner, *Letters of the Republic*, 63.

¹¹³ See P. G. M. Dickson, *The Financial Revolution in England: A Study in the Development of Public Credit, 1688–1756* (London, 1967); compare Joyce O. Appleby, *Economic Thought and Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England* (Princeton, N.J., 1978).

¹¹⁴ Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 162–67; Colin Campbell, "Understanding Traditional and Modern Patterns of Consumption in Eighteenth-Century England: A Character-Action Approach," in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 54; Joyce Appleby, "Consumption in Early Modern Social Thought," in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 168–69. J. G. A. Pocock observes that much of the eighteenth century's liberal rhetoric was actually generated by an aristocracy securely in possession of and benefiting from commercial power and determined to maintain it against the challenge of a rising middle class. Pocock, "Authority and Property," in *Virtue, Commerce, and History*, 69–70.

¹¹⁵ [Vans], *Inquiry into the Nature and Uses of Money*, 15.

¹¹⁶ McCusker and Menard, *Economy of British America*, 71–88; P. M. G. Harris, "Inflation and Deflation in Early America, 1634–1860," *Social Science History* 20 (1996): 481–82; Toby Barnard, "Integration or Separation? Hospitality and Display in Protestant Ireland, 1660–1800," in *A Union of Multiple Identities: The British Isles, c. 1750–c. 1850*, Laurence Brockliss and David Eastwood, eds. (Manchester, 1997), 128–29; Breen, "Narrative of Commercial Life," 483–87.

Historians have responded to these claims in various ways, some seeing the Awakening as a forward-looking democratic movement against reactionary Old Lights, others detecting in the revivals a pre-modern resistance to the corrupting influence of eighteenth-century commerce and ideas.¹¹⁷ Still others have seen in the debates nothing more than a theological squabble in which both sides persisted in traditional readings of printed texts and traditional efforts to ground their arguments on textual authority.¹¹⁸ Yet the similarity of categories in the Land Bank and itinerancy discourses suggests that, in a way analogous to the debate over finance, the religious contest hinged on the best way of adapting scriptural mandates and the Puritan vision to the new demands of the eighteenth-century world. Crusty Calvinists and genteel proto-Unitarians joined in a common effort to preserve and extend the ecclesiastical order that had helped transform the seventeenth-century Puritan colony into a polite eighteenth-century provincial society. They shared the most advanced social thought of their day, seeking to shape their dynamic society on the model of the orderly Newtonian universe.¹¹⁹ Similarly, primitive Congregationalists such as the Ipswich Separate minister John Cleaveland made common cause with the cosmopolitan Whitefield to exploit the latest eighteenth-century opportunities for carrying the message of New Birth across weakened boundaries of rank and place. In so doing, they established a hallmark of Anglo-American evangelicalism: a readiness to employ the latest communications methods and marketing strategies to disseminate the old story of salvation.¹²⁰ The very nature of these new methods, structured as they were to court individual choice within a competitive marketplace, necessitated a shift in evangelical assumptions concerning the locus of authority among individual readers and texts, hearers and speakers.

What made this moment in the 1740s radical was not that the arguments for the Land Bank or itinerancy carried the day but that participants on both sides of the debates resorted to important liberal assumptions concerning the free, reasoning selves to whom they addressed their printed appeals. Opponents crushed the Land

¹¹⁷ Examples of the former include Heimert, *Religion and the American Mind*; Harry S. Stout, "Religion, Communications, and the Ideological Origins of the American Revolution," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 34 (1977): 519–41; Patricia Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society and Politics in Colonial America* (New York, 1986). For examples of the latter, see Christopher M. Jedry, *The World of John Cleaveland: Family and Community in Eighteenth-Century New England* (New York, 1979). Although the emphasis is somewhat different, Jon Butler's search for Old World, pre-Christian elements in popular piety echoes this view of revivalism as reactionary, as do recent studies focusing on ethnicity and revivalism. See Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 179–85; John B. Frantz, "The Awakening of Religion among the German Settlers in the Middle Colonies," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 25 (1976): 266–88; Marilyn J. Westerkamp, *Triumph of the Laity: Scots-Irish Piety and the Great Awakening, 1625–1760* (New York, 1988); Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Holy Fairs: Scottish Communion and American Revivals in the Early Modern Period* (Princeton, N.J., 1989).

¹¹⁸ Warner, *Letters of the Republic*, 20–24.

¹¹⁹ Stephen Foster, *The Long Argument: English Puritanism and the Shaping of New England Culture, 1570–1700* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1991), 290–309; T. Hall, *Contested Boundaries*, 59–68.

¹²⁰ T. Hall, *Contested Boundaries*, 112–16; Stout, "Religion, Communications, and the Ideological Origins," 519–41. Historians who have written on American evangelicals' readiness to appropriate the latest technologies to their mission include Stout, *Divine Dramatist*; Nathan O. Hatch, *Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven, Conn., 1989); George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism, 1870–1925* (New York, 1980); David Harrington Watt, *A Transforming Faith: Explorations of Twentieth-Century American Evangelicalism* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1991).

Bank in 1741. Itinerancy, by contrast, persisted as Whitefield managed to gain approbation from former opponents in later American tours. Evangelical Congregationalists attempted to tame the practice by incorporating it within New England's covenanted moral economy.¹²¹ Yet while corporate assumptions persisted, debaters on both sides of each issue made this moment radical by accepting and acting on new assumptions concerning the role of a free, reasoning self in adjudicating competing claims to authority, rival assertions of value, contested efforts to set boundaries on behavior, belief, motion, and choice. Supporters of the Land Bank and itinerancy actively defended important features of this nascent liberal self: paper money would empower choice; true conversions would certify an itinerant's credentials. Even opponents, in choosing to conduct this debate over ministers and money in the printed public sphere, committed themselves to framing their arguments for an audience composed of rational individuals capable of assessing whose points carried the most force. Moreover, the popular appeal of both the Land Bank and itinerancy forced framers of each discourse to extend the boundaries of this imagined public, incorporating farmers and artisans along with educated elites into a single provincial "people."¹²²

The conditions that sparked these skirmishes gathered force over the next few decades, intensifying what J. G. A. Pocock has termed a century-long dialogue about how to accommodate the "movement of history toward credit, commerce, and the market."¹²³ Efforts intensified between 1740 and 1770 to adapt the covenanted moral economy of New England communities to a commercial capitalism that was advancing ever further into the hinterland.¹²⁴ Paper currency provided a recurrent focal point for this contest in New England into the revolutionary era and beyond, echoing similar debates all along the Atlantic seaboard.¹²⁵ The public sphere expanded rapidly as each year more newspapers appeared to compete with established journals for advertising business and subscriptions, bringing the "fresh-est advices" to an ever-increasing readership.¹²⁶ The number of books, pamphlets,

¹²¹ T. Hall, *Contested Boundaries*, 91–99.

¹²² On the gradual expansion of the notion of a participatory "people," see Edmund S. Morgan, *Inventing the People: The Rise of Popular Sovereignty in England and America* (New York, 1988), 137–48; on the role of popular imagination in developing this notion, see T. H. Breen, "Ideology and Nationalism on the Eve of the American Revolution: Revisions *Once More* in Need of Revising," *Journal of American History* 84 (1997–98): 13–39.

¹²³ Pocock, "Authority and Property," in *Virtue, Commerce, and History*, 70; compare Sarah Maza, "Stories in History: Cultural Narratives in Recent Works in European History," *AHR* 101 (December 1996): 1508–15; Terry Eagleton, *Ideology: An Introduction* (London, 1991), 193–224. Joyce Appleby discusses at length how the languages of liberalism and republicanism helped Anglo-Americans articulate their social experience in "Social Origins of American Revolutionary Ideology," in *Liberalism and Republicanism*, 161–87; see also James Oakes, "From Republicanism to Liberalism: Ideological Change and the Crisis of the Old South," *American Quarterly* 37 (1985): 551–71.

¹²⁴ Valeri, *Law and Providence in Joseph Bellamy's New England*, 83–100; Christopher Grasso, "The Experimental Philosophy of Farming: Jared Eliot and the Cultivation of Connecticut," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 50 (1993): 502–28.

¹²⁵ Brooke, *Heart of the Commonwealth*, 137–38; McCusker and Menard, *Economy of British America*, 359, 372–73.

¹²⁶ In 1740, there were eleven active English-language newspapers in mainland British America. By 1764, active newspapers numbered twenty-three. The raw numbers obscure the dynamism of the colonial newspaper business: some of those active in 1740 failed by 1764, while other titles appeared for short runs between these dates. See Clark, *Public Prints*, 258–68; G. Thomas Tanselle, "Some Statistics on American Printing, 1764–1783," in *The Press and the American Revolution*, Bernard Bailyn and John B. Hench, eds. (Worcester, Mass., 1980), 346–49.

and broadsides pouring forth from New England presses increased exponentially between 1740 and 1776, denoting the existence of a burgeoning market for printed materials.¹²⁷ Religious diversity increased as Separate Congregationalist and Baptist assemblies proliferated, sparking fresh controversy over itinerancy and toleration in New England that echoed similar controversies erupting throughout the mainland colonies. Skilled apologists such as Ebenezer Frothingham and Isaac Backus followed the lead of 1740s revivalists into the public sphere to defend these persecuted groups in a Lockean language of toleration, rights, and liberty of conscience.¹²⁸ The cycle of consumption, credit, and debt accelerated in Massachusetts as in the rest of the colonies, fueling ongoing debates in assemblies, taverns, newspapers, and pamphlets about how best to meet the special social and economic challenges of life on the periphery of a great commercial empire.¹²⁹

Set within their transatlantic commercial context, the discourses over ministers and money turn out to have participated substantially in the great dialogue of modernity that was under way throughout the Western world. Both extended the boundaries of the public sphere, with the discourse of itinerancy contributing the most through its intercolonial and transatlantic links and the efforts of shrewd publishers to capitalize on the controversy. Both contributed to the development of a notion of self that was conceived, like certain of its Renaissance antecedents, as a robust individual agent capable of the dissent and opposition for which the pamphleteers appealed.¹³⁰ Both set forth their arguments before a candid public presumably composed of reasonable citizens, yet they championed an expansion of private choice that contradicted the civic humanist impulse to subsume the individual self into a common whole.¹³¹ When, after 1763, the policies of a newly aggressive English state prompted pamphleteers to protest in a Lockean language of rights and liberties, they could address a provincial audience whose imagination had already been initiated into these habits of thought by the experience of commercial change and the practice of debating its meanings in the public sphere.¹³²

¹²⁷ Stephen Botein, "The Anglo-American Book Trade before 1776: Personnel and Strategies," in *Printing and Society in Early America*, William L. Joyce, David D. Hall, Richard D. Brown, and John B. Hench, eds. (Worcester, Mass., 1983), 48–82.

¹²⁸ T. Hall, *Contested Boundaries*, 109–16; Brooke, *Heart of the Commonwealth*, 93–96; C. C. Goen, *Revivalism and Separatism in New England, 1740–1800: Strict Congregationalists and Separate Baptists in the Great Awakening* (1962; New York, 1969), 68–114; William G. McLoughlin, *New England Dissent, 1630–1833: The Baptists and the Separation of Church and State*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), 2: 420–39; McLoughlin, *Isaac Backus and the American Pietistic Tradition* (Boston, 1967), 57–88; compare Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven*, 131–86; Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1790* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1982), 194–205.

¹²⁹ The historical literature on this subject is vast, but in addition to works cited elsewhere in this study, good overviews are available in Warner, *Letters of the Republic*, 34–72; David S. Shields, *Oracles of Empire: Poetry, Politics, and Commerce in British America, 1690–1750* (Chicago, 1990), 13–20, 103–72.

¹³⁰ Martin, "Inventing Sincerity, Refashioning Prudence," 1340.

¹³¹ Shain, *Myth of American Individualism*, 104–05.

¹³² Breen, "Ideology and Nationalism on the Eve of the American Revolution," 13–39.

T. H. Breen is the William Smith Mason Professor of American History and chair of the History Department at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois. A Guggenheim fellow, he has held appointments at the Institute for Advanced Study, the Huntington Library, and the National Humanities Center. He was also elected to a Senior Research Fellowship at Christ Church, Oxford University, and the Pitt Professorship of American History and Institutions at Cambridge University. His publications include five monographs, among them *Tobacco Culture: The Mentality of the Great Tidewater Planters on the Eve of Revolution* (1984) and *Imagining the Past: East Hampton Histories* (1989, winner of the Historical Preservation Book Prize), as well as chapters of the undergraduate text, *America: Past and Present* (5th edn., 1998). Breen is currently assisting in the production of an opera based on an article he recently published on the life of a colonial American slave. He is also completing a volume on political mobilization titled "The Baubles of Britain: Revolutionary Consumers on the Eve of Independence."

Timothy Hall is an associate professor of Early American History and History Education at Central Michigan University in Mt. Pleasant, Michigan. He is interested in early American cultural and religious history and is the author of *Contested Boundaries: Itinerancy and the Reshaping of the Colonial American Religious World* (1994). His contribution to this collaborative article is part of an ongoing study of the relationship between religious conversion, individualism, and the market in early America.

Marriage and Women's Citizenship in the United States, 1830–1934

NANCY F. COTT

IN THE UNITED STATES, where the creation of new citizens is an essential (if contested) tradition, there must certainly be more than one understanding of what citizenship is. A focus on immigration and naturalization emphasizes that citizenship is a political fiction, an identification that can be put on like new clothing by the properly readied wearer. Or taken off. Being a fiction does not mean that citizenship is false but that it is purposefully constructed, all the more reason that its meanings and the rewards and obligations it conveys may vary over time and among citizens. Citizenship represents not only the bond between an individual and a state but also a bond between one individual and many others. It represents an attachment to a political community, different from membership in a kinship group because the bonds are only figurative. The symbolic dimension is no less important than the material privileges and obligations that ensue from citizenship. Citizenship is a “powerful instrument of social closure,” in Rogers Brubaker’s words. The boundedness of the citizenry marks the nation-state’s power.¹

Whatever else it entails, citizenship is a distinctive form of social classification that colors personal standing in any community. It confers an identity that may have deep personal and psychological dimensions at the same time that it expresses belonging. The same can be said for marriage. Marriage also is a civil status that can

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¹ Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), x. On definitions of citizenship, see Frederick Van Dyne, *Citizenship of the United States* (Rochester, N.Y., 1904), iv; Catheryn Seckler-Hudson, *Statelessness: With Special Reference to the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1934), 8–10; T. H. Marshall and Tom Bottomore, *Citizenship and Social Class* (London, 1992), 24; James H. Kettner, *The Development of American Citizenship, 1608–1870* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1978), esp. 41–43; Rogers M. Smith, *Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in U.S. History* (New Haven, Conn., 1997). Linda K. Kerber, “The Meanings of Citizenship,” *Journal of American History* 84 (December 1997): 836–37, stresses the variations in understanding and holding of citizenship; and see Etienne Balibar, “The Nation Form: History and Ideology,” *Review, Fernand Braudel Center* 13, no. 3 (1990): 346–56; and Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, rev. edn. (New York, 1991), 5–7, on the concept of the nation as an imagined (limited and sovereign) political community.

be taken on or ended, yet when in force has a powerful impact on personal identity. If we ordinarily think of marriage as an arrangement chosen for the living of private life, it has to be recognized as a public institution, a part of the public order, too: it is constituted by the state; its form and requirements are created by public authority and it operates as systematic public sanction, bringing rights and privileges along with duties. Obligations and benefits of marriage inhere in many legal and governmental provisions, from property holding to citizenship, immigration, military, and tax policy. All this goes without saying until some of those excluded bring it up, as same-sex couples have recently. In the history of the United States, the inability of slaves to marry legally also demonstrates keenly that access to marriage is a civil right.²

Marriage and citizenship are not unrelated in U.S. history. Immigration and naturalization policies in the United States have historically paid attention to the family status of immigrants. Since the mid-twentieth century, "family reunification" has been the "cornerstone" of U.S. immigration policy, in one scholar's words. The admission priority given to members of American citizens' nuclear families distinguishes the United States from most other immigrant-admitting nations, which look first to economic or occupational considerations.³ As the queues of would-be citizens taking matrimonial vows before justices of the peace just prior to April 1, 1997, confirmed, there is a general impression that marrying an American brings an advantage for gaining citizenship. Few know or recall that marrying a foreigner once deprived Americans of their citizenship, however. This was true for a considerable stretch of U.S. history, for women only, never for American men. American men could, on the other hand, turn sweethearts from other nations into American citizens by marrying them, during the years between 1855 and 1922, a privilege American women never had.⁴

Does this historical difference in the relation between marriage and citizenship for women and men mean that there is something peculiar—more tenuous or vulnerable—about women's (or perhaps married women's) citizenship in the United States? To answer "yes" would suggest that citizenship can be delivered in different degrees of permanence or strength. It would suggest that citizenship is not

² Michael Grossberg deftly surveys and analyzes the statute and case law on access to marriage in *Governing the Hearth: Law and the Family in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1985), 31–152. For materials on both sides of the recent controversy, see *Same-Sex Marriage: Pro and Con*. Andrew Sullivan, ed. (New York, 1997). The promotion of private rites for slave unions, always breakable by masters' whims, *not* upheld by the state, quintessentially marked slaves as lacking in the basic civil status of persons. See Margaret Burnham, "An Impossible Marriage: Slave Law and Family Law," *Law and Inequality* 5 (1987): 187–225.

³ Vernon M. Briggs, Jr., *Immigration Policy and the American Labor Force* (Baltimore, Md., 1984), 68–69; this point is a commonplace in the literature.

⁴ See Clyde Haberman, "In Citizenship, in Sickness and in Health," *New York Times* (February 21, 1997): 8. The nearest likeness to American women being deprived of citizenship because of marriage to aliens is those men who married native American women in the nineteenth century and resided in Indian territory, wishing to leave their American citizenship behind while under Indian sovereignty. U.S. authorities were never happy to regard these men as having divested themselves of U.S. citizenship via marriage, however. See James Brown Scott, David J. Hill, and Gaillard Hunt, *Citizenship of the United States, Expatriation, and Protection Abroad* [59th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Doc. 326] (Washington, D.C., 1906), 59–62; *U.S. v. Rogers* 45 U.S. (4 How.), 567 (1846); *Ex parte Kenyon*, 5 Dill. 385 [14 Fed. Cas. 353, C.C. W.D. Arkansas] (1878); *Ex parte Reynolds*, 5 Dill. 394 [20 Fed. Cas. 582, C.C. W.D. Arkansas] (1879); "Report of the Secretary of the Interior," 49th Cong., 1st sess. (1885–86), *House Executive Documents*, vol. 11: 28–30; *Roff v. Burney*, 168 U.S. 218 (1897).

a definitive either/or proposition—you are or you are not—but a compromisable one, and if so for women, perhaps for some men. To explore this question—to initiate a history of U.S. citizenship that starts with the female citizen—requires centering on the institution of marriage.⁵ It requires recognizing marriage as an institution that helps to found both men's and women's identity in the polity, an institution in which the nation-state has historically had a great interest. Enabling legal marriage to exist and patrolling its borders, governments are involved in creating civil statuses for both men and women. In every nation, laws and public policies have mandated authority relations and dependency relations in marriage and directed these to be reproduced through the socialization of future citizens. The institution of marriage has thus been the vehicle for the state's part in forming and sustaining the gender order—or, it might be said, in forming and sustaining gender itself (that is, the complex set of social relations defining male and female, masculinity and femininity). The connection between marriage and citizenship, embedded in political traditions and practices, emerges to the light only in peculiar specific locations such as the treatment of women citizens who marry aliens (although its impact is much more profound and broadly diffused). Looking at congressional actions taken in 1855, 1907, 1922, and 1934 concerning the relation between marriage and citizenship is one way to begin to see it.⁶

While direct regulation of marriage such as the stipulation of ceremonies and obligations and the authorization of divorce takes place at the state level in the United States, the national government's hand in mandating marriage can be seen historically in areas of federal control such as immigration.⁷ Any modern nation-state is likely to concern itself with marriage, most basically because of concern for reproduction of its population. Reproduction creates the qualities and characteristics of the body politic. By defining sexual reproduction that is deemed legitimate,

⁵ Although there has been considerable treatment of the "gendered" nature of citizenship by feminist political scientists and historians, little of it has focused on the institution of marriage as such. See, however, Linda K. Kerber, "The Paradox of Women's Citizenship in the Early Republic: The Case of *Martin vs. Massachusetts*, 1805," *AHR* 97 (April 1992): 349–78; Alice Kessler-Harris, "Designing Women and Old Fools: The Construction of the Social Security Amendments of 1939," in Linda K. Kerber, et al., eds., *U.S. History as Women's History: New Feminist Essays* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1995), 87–106; Nancy Fraser and Linda Gordon, "Civil Citizenship against Social Citizenship? On the Ideology of Contract-versus-Charity," in Bart van Steenberg, ed., *The Condition of Citizenship* (Thousand Oaks, Calif., 1994), 90–107; Laura F. Edwards, "The Marriage Covenant Is at the Foundation of All Our Rights: The Politics of Slave Marriages in North Carolina after Emancipation," *Law and History Review* 14 (Spring 1996): 81–124; Megan J. McClintock, "Civil War Pensions and the Reconstruction of Union Families," *Journal of American History* 83 (September 1996): 456–80; Susan Pedersen, "Gender, Welfare, and Citizenship in Britain during the Great War," *AHR* 95 (October 1990): 983–1006.

⁶ I was first interested in this topic by Virginia Sapiro, "Women, Citizenship and Nationality: Immigration and Naturalization Policies in the United States," *Politics and Society* 13, no. 1 (1984): 1–26. Waldo Emerson Waltz, *The Nationality of Married Women: A Study of Domestic Policies and International Legislation*, Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. 22, no. 1 (Urbana, Ill., 1937), was the first comprehensive history and is still extremely valuable; however, Candice Dawn Bredbenner, "Toward Independent Citizenship: Married Women's Nationality Rights in the United States, 1855–1937" (PhD dissertation, University of Virginia, 1990), added significant dimension to the narrative by emphasizing the impact of immigration restriction on married women's citizenship; and see the recently published revision, Candice Lewis Bredbenner, *A Nationality of Her Own: Women, Marriage, and the Law of Citizenship* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998).

⁷ See Jill Elaine Hasday, "Federalism and the Family Reconstructed," *UCLA Law Review* 45 (June 1998), presenting painstaking historical research to refute the notion of exclusive localism in family law.

marriage joins naturalization and immigration policies in guarding the characteristics of the body politic, shaping (however imperfectly) "the people." Marriage is all the more important in this regard in a nation of immigrants such as the United States, where differing cultural groups are likely to amalgamate, and birth in the dominion warrants national citizenship. By creating incentives for some kinds of marriages and disincentives for others, by preventing or punishing some marriages and not others, the states and the nation have sculpted the body politic. A long history of regulations nullifying or criminalizing marriage between whites and people of color in the United States, for example, has signally shaped the racial order (and, arguably "race" itself).⁸

In proposing that the state becomes instrumental in forming gender or race via marriage policy, I am following the lead of critical legal theorists in accepting the social importance of "the law" (including the U.S. Constitution, state and federal legislation, courts' adjudication, and enforcement powers). Critical legal theory speaks to historians in emphasizing the "fundamentally constitutive character of legal relations in social life," in Robert Gordon's words—the extent to which law, as an authorizing discourse, establishes what can be understood as "common sense" or "the facts of life" without itself being insulated from the impress of cultural and expert discourses of other sorts.⁹ Nowhere is law likely to "authorize" more effectively than where it echoes and reinforces predominant religious dictates, as is true in the United States with respect to marriage. This approach does not necessarily mean that "the law" is coherent and one thing only, without (possibly) plural sources of energy or origin, without internal conflict. Indeed, if one wanted to argue that "the law" in the United States is typically internally conflicted and plural in origin—yet succeeds in supplying an authoritative composite face—both marriage and citizenship would provide exemplary sites for investigation.¹⁰

My investigation here is limited to formal structures—the grants or impositions of attributes envisioned by male legislators, expressed legally, and enforced practically as citizenship or marital status. The self-assessments of women or men inhabiting the statuses of citizens or spouses will certainly fail to match those structures exactly. Law and policy shape and interact with personal assessments and actions without fully determining them. The broad range of behavior and self-consciousness acknowledged to exist within the categories of "husband" and "wife" may be instructive in imagining a possible range of self-understandings among citizens, too. Full citizens may feel insufficiently attached or animated to take advantage of their powers (as in low voter turnout today). On the other hand,

⁸ Compare Michael Omi and Howard Winant's concept of "racial formation" in *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1980s* (New York, 1986). Forty-one states at some time in their histories criminalized or nullified marriages between whites and Negroes, mulattoes, Asians of various denotation, and/or Indians. The laws are summarized in David H. Fowler, *Northern Attitudes towards Interracial Marriage: Legislation and Public Opinion in the Middle Atlantic and the States of the Old Northwest, 1780–1930* (New York, 1987), appendix.

⁹ Robert Gordon, "Critical Legal Histories," *Stanford Law Review* 57 (1984): 104; and see Christopher Tomlins, "Subordination, Authority, Law: Subjects in Labor History," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 47 (Spring 1995), esp. 63–64, 67–68.

¹⁰ On the possibly plural sources of legal authority, see Hendrik Hartog's engaging "Pigs and Positivism," *Wisconsin Law Review* 4 (July 1985), esp. 932–34. Without denying the extent to which Christian religious dictates structured marriage, I am focusing here on the secular public order.

individuals not fully clothed with the power of citizens may nonetheless assert themselves in governance, acting vigorously in unofficial modes, as Elsa Barkley Brown has emphasized in her study of the political behavior of ex-slaves in post-Emancipation Richmond, Virginia, for example. Whether or not politicians or voting men thought unenfranchised women were full citizens, hundreds of thousands of members of female voluntary associations seem to have felt very much attached to and invested in the commonweal.¹¹ Admittedly, a study of law and policy cannot capture such personal dimensions of citizenship, but it can establish the structures of expectations, encouragements, and coercions in which individuals act.

BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR, states had the larger part in defining citizens. National citizenship was inchoate. No document stipulated exactly what it meant to be a citizen of the United States. The new republic presented itself as offering civic incorporation to all those willing to consent to allegiance and adhere to democratic political principles.¹² Yet presuppositions about racial assimilability interfered. In the Constitution, the population to be counted for congressional representation included free women and children but excluded "Indians not taxed" and assessed slaves at three-fifths of their number, reading the latter two groups out of "the people." When the first federal legislation on naturalization passed in 1790, it allowed only "free white persons" to become naturalized citizens. The racial qualifier was accepted without occasioning floor debate.¹³ If to be naturalized is to be embraced by the state in a legal fiction of rebirth (as the etymology of the word

¹¹ Elsa Barkley Brown, "Negotiating and Transforming the Public Sphere: African American Political Life in the Transition from Slavery to Freedom," *Public Culture* 7 (1994): 119–26. On women's political activity outside the electoral arena, see, for example, Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780–1920," *AHR* 89 (June 1984): 620–47; Sara M. Evans, *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America* (New York, 1989), 119–44; Suzanne Lebsock, "Women and American Politics, 1880–1920," in Louise A. Tilly and Patricia Gurin, eds., *Women, Politics and Change* (New York, 1990), 35–62; Manuela Thurner, "'Better Citizens without the Ballot': American Antisuffrage Women and Their Rationale during the Progressive Era," *Journal of Women's History* 5 (Spring 1993): 33–60. On female citizenship viewed through constitutional law, see Rogers M. Smith, "'One United People': Second-Class Female Citizenship and the American Quest for Community," *Yale Journal of Law and the Humanities* 1 (May 1989); for a summary of the outlook of state constitutional convention delegates on women's citizenship, see Rowland Berthoff, "Conventional Mentality: Free Blacks, Women, and Business Corporations as Unequal Persons, 1820–1870," *Journal of American History* 76 (December 1989): 753–84.

¹² See Kettner, *Development*, 213–18, 237–39; and Smith, *Civic Ideals*, 119–20, 160–61, on states and citizenship. Before federal immigration restriction began in 1875, the United States did not maintain fully "open borders" because the individual states, exercising their police powers, could and did exclude in-migrants for causes such as criminal record, disease, poverty, slavery, and racial difference, as Gerald L. Neuman emphasizes in *Strangers to the Constitution: Immigrants, Borders, and Fundamental Law* (Princeton, N.J., 1996), esp. 19–51.

¹³ Jan Lewis, "'Of Every Age Sex & Condition': The Representation of Women in the Constitution," *Journal of the Early Republic* 15 (Fall 1995): 359–88. Two of the three senators delegated to draft the first naturalization law were from slaveholding states, Virginia and South Carolina, whose state constitutions limited naturalization to free white persons. The phrase "free white persons" appeared in the committee's draft and caused no comment recorded in the *Annals of Congress*, while the proper length of residency caused heated dialogue. *Annals of Congress*, 1st Cong., 2d sess. (1790), 1057, 1109–25. Compare George M. Fredrickson, *White Supremacy: A Comparative Study in American and South African History* (New York, 1981), 145, who argues that the 1790 naturalization law indicated Americans' "sense of themselves as a homogeneous community . . . White Americans . . . reserved the

suggests)—to mimic the citizen who “naturally” belongs to the national community—then this was especially telling. Politics and legal practice answered the question of whether free blacks born in the United States were citizens inconsistently (and more often negatively than positively) before the Fourteenth Amendment. In 1857, Justice Roger Brooke Taney’s opinion for the Supreme Court said descendants of African slaves, not having come from “the people” who formed the United States, were excluded from birthright citizenship. Yet *Dred Scott vs. Sandford* was not a unanimous decision. “There are two lines of authority directly in conflict, with a third line midway in between,” concluded a State Department research effort of 1906, reviewing the history of citizenship of “free negroes” before and after *Dred Scott*.¹⁴

Nor was it clear before the Civil War what rights citizenship conveyed, or whether they applied equally to all. When Attorney-General Edward Bates pored over law books and court records to review this subject in 1862, he found the effort “fruitless,” reporting that it was “now as little understood in its details and elements, and the question as open to argument and speculative criticism as it was at the beginning of the Government. Eighty years of practical enjoyment of citizenship, under the Constitution, have not sufficed to teach us either the exact meaning of the word, or the constituent elements of the thing we prize so highly.” The Constitution left voting a privilege that the separate states could grant or deny on the basis of qualifications that they might establish. Not until the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments did states have constitutional guidelines to follow. As many as twenty-two of the states and territories during the nineteenth century enfranchised white male aliens who had declared their intentions to become citizens. In the *Dred Scott* decision, therefore, Justice Taney could dismiss facts of blacks voting in some Northern states as conclusive evidence of their citizenship. And if white women were citizens, then citizenship could not be defined to include office-holding and jury and military service, either.¹⁵

If it did not convey suffrage or political rights, did citizenship have usefulness or

option to apply tests of cultural and racial compatibility to those who sought admission to their own ranks.”

¹⁴ *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 60 U.S. (19 How.), 393; J. Scott, *et al.*, *Citizenship of the United States, Expatriation, and Protection*, 62–67 (quotation on 62)—these pages provide quite a useful summary, including court decisions; John Pearson Roche, *The Early Development of United States Citizenship* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1949), 19–25; Smith, *Civic Ideals*, 187–88: “courts throughout the country were reluctant to declare free blacks wholly nonmembers of the polity or to recognize them as full citizens”; Kettner, *Development*, 41–42, on naturalization as a legal fiction of rebirth. It took the Fourteenth Amendment to declare definitively that anyone born in the nation’s jurisdiction was a citizen. Common-law tradition inherited from Britain supported that understanding, but since it was a feudally rooted and deterministic practice, it had not seemed entirely appropriate to a polity based on consent as the United States claimed to be. See Smith, *Civic Ideals*, 154–59; and Kettner, *Development*.

¹⁵ Bates quoted in Patricia Lucie, “On Being a Free Person and a Citizen by Constitutional Amendment,” *Journal of American Studies* 12 (1978): 355; *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 60 U.S. (19 How.), 422; on aliens voting, see Leon E. Aylsworth, “The Passing of Alien Suffrage,” *American Political Science Review* 25 (February 1931): 114–16; Bredbenner, “Toward Independent Citizenship,” 84; J. B. Raskin, “Legal Aliens, Local Citizens: The Historical, Constitutional, and Theoretical Meanings of Alien Suffrage,” *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 141 (April 1993): 1391–1470; Neuman, *Strangers to the Constitution*, 63–71. Linda K. Kerber sheds new light on citizenship as composed of obligations as well as rights in *No Constitutional Right to Be Ladies: Women and the Obligations of Citizenship* (New York, 1998).

participatory meaning? Did the belonging indicated by citizenship have some value beyond being a resident only?¹⁶ Citizens who petitioned the U.S. government had to be heard, whereas noncitizens could be ignored. Civil rights such as the right to make contracts, sue and testify in court, own and devise property, and pursue an occupation, all very important in daily life and prosperity, were most commonly assumed to inhere in citizenship. The common law barred aliens from owning, inheriting, or devising real property—significant economic (and political) restraints—and the states initially followed suit. As the nineteenth century progressed, states (and international treaties) moved unevenly but unmistakably to remove these handicaps. Women, on the other hand, while presumably citizens, lost their property rights upon marriage under the doctrine of coverture. Like voting, then, rights to own and manipulate property were less than equivalent with citizenship. As the dissenter Justice Benjamin R. Curtis wrote in his *Dred Scott* opinion, “the truth is, that citizenship, under the Constitution of the United States, is not dependent on the possession of any particular political or even of all civil rights; and any attempt so to define it must lead to error.”¹⁷

Only the minimal definition of national citizenship, meaning the individual’s allegiance and the nation’s reciprocal guarantee of protection, commanded unqualified assent during the nineteenth century. A unanimous Supreme Court announced this in 1875, in *Minor vs. Happersett*. The court could justify no more expansive or detailed definition. Wrestling with the fact that the Constitution fails to define citizenship and at points uses the word “person” or “inhabitant” instead of “citizen,” the justices could not imagine that the framers envisioned less than a political community, since “There cannot be a nation without a people.” They offered a minimalist definition: citizenship was “membership of a nation, and nothing more.”¹⁸ This purposely ignored the more generous and activist concept that had driven American colonists to separate themselves from England and animated revolutionary-era political rhetoric about devotion to the public good.

¹⁶ It is easy to agree with Rogers Smith’s contention that “the interests of all people in belonging to viable and valued political communities are enormous . . . few if any people can hope to pursue their needs and aspirations successfully in the absence of such bounded political communities.” Smith, *Civic Ideals*, 474. Compare Frederick Douglass’s eloquently terse characterization of the condition of Northern free blacks in 1853: “Aliens we are in our native land”; quoted in David Blight, *Frederick Douglass’ Civil War* (Baton Rouge, La., 1989), 13; and feminist Rheta Childe Dorr’s complaint fifty years later in *What Eight Million Women Want* (Boston, 1910), 290: “although every one knows that women own property, pay taxes, successfully manage their own business affairs, and do an astonishing amount of community work as well, no one ever thinks of them as citizens.”

¹⁷ One did not have to be a citizen to benefit from the protections of the Bill of Rights, which extended to “persons.” Noncitizens could claim rights to habeas corpus or a jury trial, for instance. I am grateful to Akhil Amar for pointing out that the Senate in the 1860s refused to hear petitions from aliens, because the Constitution speaks of the right of “the people” to petition, but it did hear women’s petitions; see Amar, “The Bill of Rights and the Fourteenth Amendment,” *Yale Law Journal* 101 (1992): 1282–83. See also Nina Morais, “Sex Discrimination and the Fourteenth Amendment: Lost History,” *Yale Law Journal* 97 (1988): 1153–72. On common-law prohibition of alien property owning, devising, and inheriting, see Max J. Kohler, “Legal Disabilities of Aliens in the United States,” *American Bar Association Journal* 16 (February 1930): 113–17; Kettner, *Development*; Richard R. Powell, *Powell on Real Property*, rev. edn. by Patrick J. Rohan, vol. 1 (New York, 1993), 100–09. *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 60 U.S. (19 How.), 393, 583.

¹⁸ *Minor v. Happersett*, 88 U.S. (21 Wall.), 162, at 165, 166. Ellen Carol DuBois, “Outgrowing the Compact of the Fathers: Equal Rights, Woman Suffrage, and the United States Constitution, 1820–1878,” *Journal of American History* 74 (December 1987): 836–62, alerted me to the importance of *Minor v. Happersett*; see also Smith, *Civic Ideals*, 337–42.

South Carolinian historian and physician David Ramsay, for instance, considered the difference between British subjects and American citizens “immense” because, whereas subjects had to bow to a master, citizens were free and “collectively” held sovereignty. “Each citizen of a free state contains, within himself, by nature and the constitution,” Ramsay wrote, “as much of the common sovereignty as another.” He also assumed that citizenship included the right to vote.¹⁹

Such a participatory view of citizenship had not disappeared by the mid-nineteenth century. Dictionaries' definitions of a “citizen” at the time were far more inclusive than the Supreme Court's. Webster's *American Dictionary of the English Language* defined a citizen in the United States as “a person, native or naturalized, who has the privilege of exercising the elective franchise.” Similarly, Worcester's *Dictionary of the English Language* saw a citizen as “an inhabitant of a republic who enjoys the rights of a citizen or a freeman, and who has a right to vote for public officers.” Law dictionaries, too, erred in this direction: both Burrill's *New Law Dictionary and Glossary* and Bouvier's *Law Dictionary* gave as the first definition of citizen in American law, “One who, under the constitution and laws of the United States, has a right to vote for public officers, and who is qualified to fill offices in the gift of the people.”²⁰ Justice Taney corroborated that view when he asserted in the *Dred Scott* decision, “The words ‘people of the United States’ and ‘citizens’ . . . both describe the political body who . . . form the sovereignty, and who hold the power and conduct the Government through their representatives.”²¹

¹⁹ David Ramsay, *A Dissertation on the Manner of Acquiring the Character and Privileges of a Citizen of the United States* (Charleston, [S.C.], 1789), quoted in Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York, 1992), 169; and further quoted in Smith, *Civic Ideals*, 154.

²⁰ Lucie, “On Being a Free Person,” 356, cites a speech of A. G. Riddle before the House Judiciary Committee, January 11, 1871, examining dictionary definitions, which led me to do the same. See entries under “citizen” in Noah Webster, *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (New York, 1830), (Springfield, Mass., 1850), and (Springfield, Mass., 1881); Joseph E. Worcester, *A Dictionary of the English Language* (Boston, 1860, 1886); Alexander Burrill, *A New Law Dictionary and Glossary* (New York, 1850); John Bouvier, *A Law Dictionary*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia, 1868), and (Boston, 1897). The law dictionaries also cite additional minimal definitions, such as “A free inhabitant, born within the United States, or naturalized under the law of Congress” (Burrill's); “Any white person born in the United States, or naturalized person born out of the same, who has not lost his right as such,—including men, women, and children” (Bouvier's, 1868); “All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof” (Bouvier's, 1897). The Webster's definitions show an interesting evolution. The 1830 edition adds to the phrase quoted in text “and of purchasing and holding real estate” (distinguishing the citizen from the alien's common-law disabilities regarding real property); the 1850 edition adds “or the qualifications which enable him to vote for rulers, and to purchase and hold real estate”; the 1880 edition phrases the definition for the United States as “A person, native or naturalized, who has the privilege of voting for public officers, and who is qualified to fill offices in the gift of the people” and then adds (perhaps as a result of *Minor v. Happersett*) the new phrase, “also, any native born or naturalized person, of either sex, who is entitled to full protection in the exercise and enjoyment of the so-called private rights.”

²¹ Justice Taney had to hedge, however, to encompass women's citizenship: “Undoubtedly, a person may be a citizen, that is, a member of the community who form the sovereignty, although he exercises no share of the political power, and is incapacitated from holding particular offices. Women and minors, who form a part of the political family, cannot vote; and when a property qualification is required to vote or hold a particular office, those who have not the necessary qualification cannot vote or hold the office, yet they are citizens.” *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 60 U.S. (19 How.), 393, 404, 422. The case most often cited as defining the privileges and immunities of citizenship in the first half of the century was *Corfield v. Coryell*, 6 F., Cas. 546 (C.C.E.D. Pa., 1823), in which these were said to encompass only fundamental (civil) rights, the last phrase of the description being, however, “to which may be added the elective franchise, as regulated and established by the laws or Constitution of the State in which it is to be exercised.”

IF SOVEREIGNTY, POWER, AND CONDUCTING THE GOVERNMENT were the attributes of citizenship, then there was more than a single operative understanding of it. The minimal definition stood, equivalent to "American national." That citizen might be a white woman, a propertyless white man (early in the century), a child, and by some lights, a free African American of either sex. The other conception of the citizen was the reigning figure in political discourse: the person who belonged to the nation and had the independence and virtue to participate fully as a voter. It was the latter conception, surely, that Thomas Jefferson had in mind when he wrote to a friend in 1776 that he favored "extending the right of suffrage (or in other words the rights of a citizen) to all who had a permanent intention of living in the country. Take what circumstances you please as evidence of this, either the having resided a certain time, or having a family, or having property, any or all of them." In including the vote among "the rights of a citizen" and not limiting its exercise to those who had property but taking "proxies" for property, such as heading a family, Jefferson was more democratically oriented than many revolutionaries; at the same time, his reference to "having a family" indicates that he envisioned the citizen to be an adult (white) male.²²

We might call the one conception nominal or minimal citizenship and the other participatory citizenship. What enabled a move along the spectrum from one to the other? This question follows the lead of T. H. Marshall's classic essay of 1950. Inquiring whether citizenship in Britain signified anything when steep property qualifications kept most men from voting, Marshall contended that "citizenship in this period was *not* politically meaningless" even for those men disfranchised by lack of property. "It did not confer a right, but it recognized a *capacity*." A citizen was distinguished by the unencumbered personal status and civil rights that enabled him to acquire property and thus attain a voter's qualification. In Marshall's terms, the right to vote came as a "secondary product of civil rights."²³

Marshall's view that what he called "political citizenship" flowed from "civil citizenship" would not have been unfamiliar to American legislators a century earlier. The political vocabulary of that time distinguished four categories of rights. The matrix was "natural" rights, the rights to personal security, liberty, and the pursuit of property that governments should not invade but protect. To guarantee these natural rights, an individual needed "civil" rights, which centered on the contractual powers to manipulate property and protection of the laws. "Political" rights indicated full participation in governance, most important, voting, being able to hold office, serve on a jury and in the military. And "social" rights—a vaguer and more contested category—were in the domain of social relations, such things as choice of friends and intimates as well as business associates, generally seen as not directly susceptible to legislation.²⁴

²² Jefferson quoted in Joan Gunderson, "Independence, Citizenship, and the American Revolution," *Signs* 13 (Autumn 1987): 59–77, on 64; see Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1980), esp. 13–32, 137–56; Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787* (New York, 1969), 168–69; Joan Hoff, *Law, Gender, and Injustice: A Legal History of U.S. Women* (New York, 1991), 80–81, 90–94.

²³ Marshall and Bottomore, *Citizenship and Social Class*, 13, emphasis added.

²⁴ Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (New York, 1988), 231; Mark Tushnet, "The Politics of Equality in Constitutional Law: The Equal Protection Clause, Dr. Du Bois, and Charles Hamilton Houston," *Journal of American History* 74 (December 1987): 886–89;

When Congress grappled with the political status of the ex-slaves at the end of the Civil War, the relationship between political and civil rights became very pressing. As early as 1862, Republicans contemplating emancipation found themselves having to fend off the notion that freeing the slaves—making them citizens—meant endowing them with the powers to vote and hold office. Representative John Bingham of Ohio was exasperated with hearing “constantly reiterated” the belief that citizenship itself brought about political rights. Aiming to pass the Civil Rights Bill of 1866 to secure legal access and the rights of free laborers and property holders for ex-slaves, Republicans in Congress emphasized that those, and not the vote, were the basic rights composing American citizenship. Lyman Trumbull of Illinois soothed Senate colleagues hostile to the idea of enfranchising freedmen with the contention that “the granting of civil rights does not, and never did in this country, carry with it . . . political privileges.” Trumbull was interpreting the Constitution correctly—that is, in accord with what the Supreme Court would say in *Minor vs. Happersett*—which makes it all the more interesting that an alternative view resolutely persisted: that if citizenship was not exactly equivalent to political privileges (as in the dictionaries), the two *were* inherently related, and the one led directly to the other. The Delaware Democrat Willard Saulsbury, for example, opposing the Civil Rights Bill in the Senate, exclaimed, “Talk to me, Sir, about the words ‘civil rights’ not including the right to vote. What is a civil right? It is a right that pertains to me as a citizen. And how do I get the right to vote? I get it by virtue of citizenship and I get it by virtue of nothing else. When this act is passed into a law and I find a Republican judge in any of the States of this country deciding under it a negro has the right to vote, I am not going to quarrel with the opinion of that judge, because I believe he is deciding the law correctly.”²⁵

Saulsbury's assumption accorded with T. H. Marshall's generalization that civil rights showed or gave “capacity” for full political citizenship. Yet Marshall's typology, suggesting a clear category of those citizens with civil rights only, capable of graduating into the latter category by means of some accomplishment like amassing property, is too simple actually to express the situation in nineteenth-century America, where civil and political rights were unevenly and inconsistently allocated. Not every citizen who lacked the vote lacked *all* political rights (or obligations): men disfranchised by property requirements were called to serve in state militias, for example. And not every citizen who voted thereby had all political rights: even after the Fifteenth Amendment attempted to protect black men's right

Morais, “Sex Discrimination,” 1157–58; Sandra Rierson, “Race and Gender Discrimination: A Historical Case for Equal Treatment under the Fourteenth Amendment,” *Duke Journal of Gender Law and Policy* 1 (1994): 111–14; Robert J. Kaczorowski, “To Begin the Nation Anew: Congress, Citizenship, and Civil Rights after the Civil War,” *AHR* 92 (February 1987): 48–49; see also Reva Siegel, “Why Equal Protection No Longer Protects: The Evolving Forms of Status-Enforcing State Action,” *Stanford Law Review* 49 (May 1997).

²⁵ Bingham, in discussion of emancipation of District of Columbia slaves, *Congressional Globe*, 37th Cong., 2d sess. (April 11, 1862), 1639; Trumbull, in debate on the Civil Rights Bill of 1866, *Congressional Globe*, 39th Cong., 1st sess. (April 4, 1866), 1757; Saulsbury quoted in Lucie, “On Being a Free Person,” 357. Lucie also makes the point that woman suffragists and Democrats showed a “wider interpretation of citizenship.” Sen. Saulsbury tried to add to the specification of civil rights in the 1866 bill the phrase “except the right to vote in the States”; *Congressional Globe*, 39th Cong., 1st sess. (February 2, 1866), 606.

to vote, their right to serve on juries was contested in courts for decades. Similarly, when the Nineteenth Amendment eliminated sex as a bar to voting, many states still refused to allow or require women to serve on juries, and no women were called to the armed services. On the other hand, alien men have been called to serve in the armed forces, as a route to rather than a consequence of citizenship, but not on juries. And some aliens—white male immigrant declarants in generous states—who would not be defended by the State Department if abroad, nonetheless wielded more rights and had more access to political participation at home than native-born women citizens.²⁶

These inconsistencies, along with the importance in political discourse of the figure of the participatory citizen, may have reinforced the ideological presumption that the citizenship of aspiration was open to all.²⁷ The immediate post-Civil War years underlined that presumption. If Republican leaders in Congress initially hardened the distinction between civil rights and political privileges, they then moved to merge the two in the freedmen's possession. The quick progression from the 1866 Civil Rights Bill to the Fourteenth and then the Fifteenth Amendments seemed ironically to confirm Saulsbury's Democratic view that the polity of the United States provided irresistible momentum for continuity between citizenship and political rights. Woman suffragists, who were inspired at the time by the Radical Republicans' ending of slavery and extension of civil rights and voting to freedmen, certainly interpreted the progression this way. In the "New Departure" of 1871–1873, woman suffragists acted on the view that citizenship included voting rights, and they went to the polls and voted. It was in answer to such a suffragist's claim that the Supreme Court arrived at the "membership" definition of U.S. citizenship. Virginia Minor had tried to register to vote in Missouri in 1872 on the theory that there was no such thing as "halfway citizenship"—that the Fourteenth Amendment's statement of her citizenship empowered her (and women generally) to vote. A unanimous court disagreed, pointing to the separate states' prerogative to control voting privileges, insisting that women were citizens of the nation but equally strongly that national citizenship did not give them political rights.²⁸

When Republicans like Bingham and Trumbull had, prior to 1866, emphasized that civil rights or citizenship would not automatically bring along political rights to the freedmen, their premier example was the half of the white adult population who

²⁶ Kerber, "Meanings of Citizenship," 836–37; on militias, see Alexander Keyssar, *A History of the Right to Vote*, forthcoming (ms. in author's possession), chap. 2; on African-American jury service, see *U.S. v. Reese*, *U.S. v. Cruikshank*, 92 U.S. 542 (1876); *Strauder v. West Virginia*, 100 U.S. 303 (1879); *Virginia v. Rives*, 100 U.S. 313 (1879); *Ex parte Virginia*, 100 U.S. 337 (1879); *Civil Rights Cases*, 109 U.S. 3 (1883); on women and juries, see Jennifer Brown, "The Nineteenth Amendment and Women's Equality," *Yale Law Journal* 102 (1993): 2175–2204; and Blayne H. Cutler, "When Women Became Peers: A Century's Struggle for Equal Jury Access in America, 1870–1975" (PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1996); Kerber, *No Constitutional Right*, chap. 4. An example of military service bringing citizenship is the law of 1919 granting citizenship to Indian veterans of World War I; Arnold J. Lien, *The Acquisition of Citizenship by the Native American Indians*, Washington University Studies, vol. 13, Humanistic Series, no. 1 (1925), 175–76; on alien suffrage, see note 15 above.

²⁷ I adapt this phrase from Hendrik Hartog, "The Constitution of Aspiration and 'The Rights That Belong to Us All,'" *Journal of American History* 74 (December 1987): 1013–34.

²⁸ See DuBois, "Outgrowing the Compact," 836–62; and "Taking the Law into Our Own Hands: Bradwell, Minor, and Suffrage Militance in the 1870s," in Nancy A. Hewitt and Suzanne Lebsock, eds., *Visible Women: New Essays on American Activism* (Urbana, Ill., 1993), 19–40; *Minor v. Happersett*, 88 U.S. (21 Wall.), 162.

were citizens without voting or holding office: women.²⁹ This example had a unique force, since congressmen wanted neither to see their “wives and mothers and daughters” deemed noncitizens nor to invest them with political rights. The example enforced awareness that some citizens never graduated to political rights, without stating it just this way. The gender difference was not made explicit, although it was crucial.³⁰ It was also not explicit in the *Minor vs. Happersett* opinion, enabling the court—against Virginia Minor’s intent—to legitimate “halfway” citizenship, which would soon be used to warrant black men’s exclusion from juries.³¹

WOMEN’S CITIZENSHIP THUS BECAME A TOUCHSTONE to justify less-than-participatory citizenship, and in this connection marriage was central. The institution of marriage required the wife to serve and obey her husband—to become his dependent—as he was to support and protect his wife. Participatory citizenship in the American political tradition required the opposite, however: independence. Drawing on their British heritage, revolutionary spokesmen had highlighted personal independence as necessary to public virtue and political rights. Independence meant freedom of judgment—freedom from the imposition of the will of another—and in the eighteenth century that meant heading a household and owning property of one’s own so as not to have to look to anyone else for a job, credit, or support. “The independent man was, almost by definition, a head of household,” Toby Ditz has underscored (summarizing the findings of many historians of early America): “independence did not refer to the abstract autonomy of persons. Rather, it was founded on a clear hierarchy as the privilege of men occupying the status of household head.”³²

²⁹ My thanks to Akhil Amar for shrewd pointers on this issue. See, for example, Bingham, *Congressional Globe*, 37th Cong., 2d sess. (April 11, 1862), 1639, stating that if there were anything to the argument that citizens’ rights were dependent on political rights, then “your wives and mothers and daughters . . . are not to be considered as invested with the rights of citizenship”; Trumbull, in debate on the Civil Rights Bill of 1866, *Congressional Globe*, 39th Cong., 1st sess. (April 4, 1866), 1757; other examples in this debate include remarks of Rep. James Wilson of Iowa (March 1, 1866), 1117; Rep. William Windom of Minnesota (March 2, 1866), 1159; Sen. Henry Wilson of Massachusetts (March 7–8, 1866), 1255.

³⁰ A generation of feminist scholars has now shown that the civil and political subject in the Western political tradition (and no less in T. H. Marshall’s work) has been implicitly a man, a male head of household. See especially Susan Moller Okin, *Women in Western Political Thought* (Princeton, N.J., 1979); and Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford, Calif., 1988), on the “sexual contract” prior to and embedded in the modern Western political tradition’s foundational social contract ideology. Fraser and Gordon, in “Civil Citizenship against Social Citizenship?” 94–95, also note that Marshall did not discern how far the “individual” of whom he spoke was male, his independence based on the dependence of his wife.

³¹ See jury cases named in note 26 above.

³² The social order depended on what Ditz calls “household patriarchy,” that is, household heads were responsible for the well-being of their dependents (family members, servants, apprentices, slaves), had the formal authority to make decisions for them, and represented them to the larger world. Toby L. Ditz, “Ownership and Obligation: Inheritance and Patriarchal Households in Connecticut, 1750–1820,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 47 (April 1990): 256, 236–37; Tomlins, “Subordination, Authority, Law,” 73–74; Jack P. Greene, *All Men Are Created Equal: Some Reflections on the Character of the American Revolution* (Oxford, 1976), 20–23; Wood, *Creation of the American Republic*, 168–69. Greene points out that most categories of people excluded from voting in the American colonies before the revolution were seen to be dependents: they included wives, minors, servants and slaves, soldiers

Independence in this sense for the male household head existed in counterpoint to the dependence of others. Having and supporting dependents was *evidence* of independence. Thus marriage as well as property empowered a man in civic status, showing his capacity for citizenship by making him head of a household. To be a husband was to command the personal and material resources of a household and therefore to deserve a voice in the polity.³³ Statesmen likened married status to property holding as evidence of men's suitability for political participation. During the debate on the Constitution, George Mason proposed that a husband and father might qualify for the vote even if not a landholder, asking rhetorically, "Ought the merchant, the married man, the parent of a number of children . . . be viewed as suspicious characters and unworthy to be trusted with the common rights of their fellow citizens?" This orientation persisted into the nineteenth century, as evidenced by a proposal at the 1850 Maryland state constitutional convention "that every married man above the age of 18 years, and having the above qualifications of residence shall be entitled to the right of suffrage."³⁴

In corollary, marriage made women into dependents. There was no middle ground here: either one was independent and had the capacity to have dependents or one was dependent on someone else. The coverture of married women in the Anglo-American common law represented and perpetuated this polarity.³⁵ In making a woman a wife, marriage removed from her and transferred to her husband her property and income, the very items that indicated free will. The property cession both symbolized and operationalized a husband's independence and his wife's (economic) dependence and consequent civic disability. The husband was not

and sailors, Catholics (dependent on the church), tenants and renters. See also J. G. A. Pocock, "Machiavelli, Harrington and English Political Ideologies in the Eighteenth Century," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 22 (October 1965): 549–83, on the English thinkers to whom Americans were indebted in their stress on personal independence.

³³ Indeed, the antique meaning of "husband" was a male head of household, a master of a house, a freeholder owning his own house and land; see *Oxford English Dictionary*; and John R. Gillis, *For Better, for Worse: British Marriages, 1600 to the Present* (New York, 1985), 57. On the revolutionary rhetoric of dependence and independence, see Gunderson, "Independence, Citizenship and the American Revolution"; Jay Fliegelman, *Prodigals and Pilgrims: The American Revolution against Patriarchal Authority, 1750–1800* (Cambridge, 1982). Gunderson emphasizes that the American Revolution, with its anti-patriarchal rhetoric and rejection of childlike colonial dependency on an imperial parent, tended to enhance the manly connotations of independence and strengthen the pejorative connotations of dependence. Greene, *All Men Are Created Equal*, 20–23, even suggests that the operative word in the Declaration of Independence phrase "all men are created equal" may be "men," as an equivalent for citizens. Compare Fraser and Gordon's (Patemanesque) view that, "With the construction of modern civil society . . . married men who would have earlier been 'dependents' within larger patriarchal units became family 'heads' and 'individuals.' Family headship thus became a newly salient and honorific status, . . . a source of civil citizenship . . . [T]he exclusion of married women from civil citizenship was no mere archaic vestige destined to fade as citizenship evolved. Rather, women's subsumption in coverture was the other face and enabling ground of modern civil citizenship. The two mutually defined one another." Fraser and Gordon, "Civil Citizenship against Social Citizenship?" 97.

³⁴ George Mason quoted in Mark E. Kann, *On the Man Question: Gender and Civic Virtue in America* (Philadelphia, 1991), 198; I am indebted to Alexander Keyssar for the quotation from *Proceedings of the Maryland State Convention to Frame a New Constitution*, November 4, 1850 (Annapolis, Md., 1850), 136. Likewise, Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina in 1802 told an Ohio politician that he believed every married man, freeholder or not, should vote; cited in Chilton Williamson, *American Suffrage: From Property to Democracy, 1760–1860* (Princeton, N.J., 1960), 223.

³⁵ Linda K. Kerber, "A Constitutional Right to Be Treated Like American Ladies: Women and the Obligations of Citizenship," in Kerber, *U.S. History as Women's History*, 20–23, is the best recent discussion of coverture.

seen as expropriating his wife but as getting recompense for supporting, protecting, and representing her: marriage was understood as a reciprocal bargain arising from consent.

Of course, ownership of property did not persist as a prerequisite for political participation. Almost all the states had eliminated the property requirement for voting by 1850. Yet the qualifying criterion of "independence" remained in the norm of white manhood suffrage that increasingly succeeded it. As Robert Steinfeld has shown, in the early nineteenth century two contending principles for defining independence coexisted in political arguments. The assumption that tangible wealth or property was necessary to indicate independence hung on, but it was increasingly met by the claim (more suitable to a commercial and industrial economy) that independence inhered in the self-governing individual who could dispose of his own labor profitably. Steinfeld finds a contrast between the wage earner and the pauper instrumental in defining independence in the newer sense. State constitutions granting white manhood suffrage also excluded paupers. The pauper who sought public relief, being "thrown on the town," did not freely command his own labor. Steinfeld emphasizes that this lack, along with the enforced bond of legal dependence, defined the pauper as *not* independent.³⁶

The model for the pauper's dependence lay in domestic relations. If the essence of the pauper's lack of self-governance was his inability to dispose of his own labor, the same was true of the wife's position. By the marriage contract, the wife owed her labor to her husband.³⁷ This principle persisted in the law (as well as culturally) long after coverture was supposedly a dead letter. By 1850, virtually every state had passed a statute stipulating that a married woman owned her own property. State statutes securing wives' own earnings to them, often passed under pressure from women's rights advocates, followed after the Civil War. Yet well into the twentieth century, judges refused to see wives as owners of the value of their domestic labor because to do so would contravene their very wifehood.³⁸

The shift from property ownership to self-command of labor as the cardinal indication of "independence" may have been instrumental in fixing all women, not only wives, in a position of minimal citizenship. During the eighteenth century, there were occasional episodes in which women's ownership of property warranted

³⁶ Robert J. Steinfeld, "Property and Suffrage in the Early American Republic," *Stanford Law Review* 41, no. 2 (1989): 335–76.

³⁷ Steinfeld acknowledges, "Property and Suffrage," 345, that "the relation of towns to their 'paupers,' was structured in exactly the same way as the relationship of heads of household to their dependents. Both were reciprocal relationships in which one party owed a duty of support and the other owed a duty of loyalty and service in return." Compare Nancy F. Cott, "Divorce and the Changing Status of Women in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 33 (October 1976): 611–13; Reva Siegel, "Home as Work: The First Woman's Rights Claims Concerning Wives' Household Labor, 1850–1880," *Yale Law Journal* 103 (March 1994): 1082–85; Tomlins, "Subordination, Authority, Law."

³⁸ See Norma Basch, "Invisible Women: The Legal Fiction of Marital Unity in Nineteenth-Century America," *Feminist Studies* 5 (Summer 1979): 346–66; and Basch, *In the Eyes of the Law: Women, Marriage and Property in Nineteenth-Century New York* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1982); Richard H. Chused, "Married Women's Property Law: 1800–1850," *Georgetown Law Journal* 71 (June 1983): 1359–1425; Amy Dru Stanley, "Conjugal Bonds and Wage Labor: Rights of Contract in the Age of Emancipation," *Journal of American History* 75 (September 1988): 471–500; Reva B. Siegel, "The Modernization of Marital Status Law: Adjudicating Wives' Rights to Earnings, 1860–1930," *Georgetown Law Journal* 82 (September 1994): 2127–2211.

their political participation. The most compelling example is in New Jersey, where the state constitution of 1776 included propertied women along with propertied men in the franchise. Enabling statutes in 1790 using the pronouns “he or she” and “his or her” reiterated the inclusion of women, which was not reversed until 1807.³⁹ Since property ownership was concrete, some single women and widows could show evidence of it, palpably distinguishing themselves from wives under coverture. But the tie of married women’s labor to unpaid household service affected all women, undermining the independent potential of all women’s labor and causing it to be undervalued if acknowledged at all. In New England, this fact registered in the 1820–1850 period of initial industrialization in the disparate wage rates paid to male and female operatives. In 1850, women wage earners averaged about half of men’s earnings, and that gender differential persisted for more than a century.⁴⁰

Women wage earners’ lack of economic opportunity was one translation of the expectation that they would be wives and have their labor commanded. All women’s lack of political rights was another, expressing the absence of self-command inherent in the bargain the wife made. As Reva Siegel has shown, speakers at early women’s rights conventions understood this link when they insisted that wives’ unpaid domestic labor entitled them to half the marital assets.⁴¹ Male delegates to constitutional conventions throughout the mid-nineteenth century assigned married women, widows, and single women all to “the self-same boat of dependency,” Rowland Berthoff has found. Politicians found justification in “natural laws,” which supposedly prescribed weakness, diffidence, and strictly domestic “capacities” for women. They left unsaid how profoundly the labor/dependency relations of marriage influenced their understanding of “nature.”⁴²

³⁹ The New Jersey Constitution of 1776 extended the franchise to all inhabitants residing more than one year who were worth £50. I have learned a great deal on this topic from Elizabeth Walker Brundige, “To Have a Fair Election”: Women’s Suffrage in Republican New Jersey,” unpublished senior essay, Yale College, April 13, 1998 (in my possession); compare Judith Apter Klinghoffer and Lois Elkis, “The Petticoat Electors”: Women’s Suffrage in New Jersey, 1776–1807,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 12 (Summer 1992): 159–94.

⁴⁰ Richard Chused makes this summary point on women’s industrial wages in “Married Women’s Property Law,” 1363. Edith Abbott’s classic *Women in Industry* (New York, 1910) is still a good place to begin on the history of women in early industrial employment in the United States. On the devaluation of housewives’ labor, see Jeanne Boydston, *Home and Work: Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic* (New York, 1990).

⁴¹ Siegel, “Home as Work.”

⁴² Berthoff, “Conventional Mentality,” 760. Stephanie McCurry argues for the importance in “large politics” of antebellum South Carolina yeoman farmers’ identity as husbands and fathers in *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country* (New York, 1995); her approach would suggest that, as husbands, men in politics in the nineteenth century had an implicit stake in keeping women politically disfranchised. On men’s intensifying insistence on women’s “natural” dependence, see Steinfeld, “Property and Suffrage,” esp. 356–57; compare Jacob Katz Cogan, “The Look Within: Property, Capacity, and Suffrage in Nineteenth-Century America,” *Yale Law Journal* 107 (November 1997): 473–98. See Nancy Leys Stepan, “Race, Gender, Science and Citizenship,” *Gender and History* 10 (April 1998), esp. 30–31, on the emphasis of Enlightenment science and rationality on “natural” origins of distinctions among groups of humans.

If most men in political life assumed that women were “naturally” non-self-governing, economically and politically, that does not mean that all women (married or not) saw themselves that way. Between the 1830s and the Civil War, some women loudly insisted on their public personae and made use of the resources of the law and public policy available to them (such as the courts and petitions). The small minority who demanded the right to vote expressed feeling deprived rather than non-deserving. For examples, see Jacob Katz Cogan and Lori D. Ginzberg, “1846 Petition for Woman’s Suffrage, New

THE LEGAL NORM OF A WIFE'S DEPENDENCE on her husband did not rule everywhere, though: it did not reach her national citizenship. For three-quarters of a century after the American Revolution, a woman's hold on her nationality appeared to be about the same as a man's, *not* directly affected by marriage or coverture. This was a legacy of the British common-law insistence on indelible nationality. It was a common-law principle also that the husband's place of residence determined the marital domicile; but, in numerous antebellum cases, noncitizen women who had married American men were unable as widows to gain dower rights in land in the United States, because they were aliens. "The alien widow of a citizen cannot be endowed" (that is, receive dower) was the doctrine, which some states began to subvert by passing statutes alleviating the unfriendliness of the common law to alien property holding. A woman immigrant could become a naturalized citizen in the United States while married to a noncitizen man. Her relation to the state had its own integrity, according to antebellum judges, one of whom did not doubt "that Congress possess [*sic*] the power to naturalize *femes covert*, even against the consent of their husbands."⁴³

A Supreme Court decision of 1830, *Shanks vs. Dupont*, confirmed that marriage to a foreigner did not ipso facto contravene an American woman's allegiance. Justice Joseph Story wrote that "marriage with an alien . . . produces no dissolution of the native allegiance of the wife. It may change her civil rights, but it does not effect [*sic*] her political rights or privileges." In using the term "political rights," Story was not referring to the right to vote or hold office but rather to national identity. That became clear in his discussion of the ability of the woman in question, Ann Shanks, to change her national allegiance by moving from South Carolina to Britain with her British husband in 1782. Story maintained that her change of allegiance from America to Britain emanated from her own choice of taking up residence in Britain and "adhering to the British side," and the British crown's accepting her, not from her marriage to a British husband. "It does not appear to us that her situation as a *feme covert* disabled her from a change of allegiance," he wrote. "The incapacities of *femes covert*, provided by the common law, apply to their civil rights, and are for their protection and interest. But they do not reach

York State Constitutional Convention," *Signs* 22, no. 2 (1997): 427–39; Dianne Avery and Alfred S. Konefsky, "The Daughters of Job: Property Rights and Women's Lives in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts," *Law and History Review* 10 (Fall 1992): 350–56; Siegel, "Home as Work." Demands for the vote were only a small part of women's modes of possible political, legal, or civil participation; see Michael Grossberg, *A Judgment for Solomon: The D'Hauteville Case and Legal Experience in Antebellum America* (New York, 1996); and Norma Basch, "Relief in the Premises: Divorce as a Woman's Remedy in New York and Indiana, 1815–1870," *Law and History Review* 8 (Spring 1990): 1–24, for examples of married women making use of their civil rights and all feasible legal resources to address the family issues of child custody and marital break-up.

⁴³ Quotation from opinion by Samuel Nelson, Chief Justice of the New York Supreme Court of Judicature in *Priest and Others v. Cummings*, 16 Wend. 617 (N.Y., 1837). See also *Kelly v. Harrison*, 2 Johns. Cas. 29 (N.Y., 1800); *Ex parte Marianne Pic*, 1 Cranch C.C. 372 (D.C., 1806); *Sutliff v. Forgey*, 1 Cowen 89 (N.Y., 1823); *Alsberry v. Hawkins*, 9 Dana 177 (Ky., 1830); *Mick v. Mick*, 10 Wend. 379 (N.Y., 1833); *Davis v. Darrow*, 12 Wend. 65 (N.Y., 1834); *Connolly v. Smith*, 21 Wend. 59 (N.Y., 1839); *Trimbles v. Harrison*, 1 B. Mon. 140 (Ky., 1840); *Moore v. Tisdale*, 5 B. Monroe 352 (Ky., 1845); *Curran v. Finn*, 3 Denio 229 (N.Y., 1846); *Beck v. McGillis*, 9 Barb. 35 (N.Y., 1850); *Brown v. Shilling*, 9 Md. 74 (1856); *Greer v. Sankston*, 26 How. Pr 471 (N.Y., 1858); Waltz, *Nationality of Married Women*, 18–23; J. Scott, *et al.*, *Citizenship of the United States, Expatriation, and Protection*, 29–30, 102, 145–51; Kettner, *Development*, 272–74.

their political rights, nor prevent their acquiring or losing a national character. Those political rights do not stand upon the mere doctrines of municipal law, applicable to ordinary transactions, but stand upon the more general principles of the law of nations." The central claim, reliant on the British common law of indelible nationality, and Story's inference that the government has to involve itself positively in a change of allegiance, was that marriage itself did not—could not—alter a woman's membership in a national polity.⁴⁴

In 1855, however, Congress overrode this longstanding approach by passing a statute declaring that any woman who had married or would marry an American man gained American citizenship in doing so. The act was remarkable in its gender specificity, giving a particular privilege to American male citizens only. It underlined customary male headship of the marital couple as a *civic* and *political* norm. The same statute affirmed the American citizenship of children born abroad to U.S. citizen fathers, not to mothers (although an earlier version had proposed both).⁴⁵ Making the wife's and children's nationality dependent on the male citizen's, the law increased his privileges while limiting his wife's arena of political choice. A congressional sponsor, Democrat Francis Cutting of New York, explained the law's intention: "by the act of marriage itself the political character of the wife shall at once conform to the political character of the husband." This made the foreign-born wife's consent to marry her definitive act of political consent. She would relate to the state through her husband as intermediary, as John Milton had written of the sexes' relation to a higher authority: "He for God only, she for God in him."⁴⁶ In Representative Cutting's view, "women possess[ed] no political rights" to be

⁴⁴ *Shanks v. Dupont*, 3 Pet. 242 (1830), 246–48; Waltz, *Nationality of Married Women*, 18–23; Kettner, *Development*, 187–89, and *passim* on the differences between British and American notions of citizenship in the early republic. Linda Kerber's searching treatment of *Martin v. Commonwealth*, 1 Mass. Rep. 347 (1805), "Paradox of Women's Citizenship," which argues that the (unsuccessful) position taken on behalf of Anna Martin's autonomous nationality showed revolutionary possibility, does not fully consider the doctrine preceding and surrounding *Martin*. (Likewise her discussion in "Constitutional Right," 27–28.) The recorded cases are few, but the two cases closest to *Martin* (*Pic and Kelly v. Harrison*—see previous note) recognized a feme covert's nationality to be separate from her husband's, and a following Massachusetts case, *Sewall v. Lee*, 9 Mass. Rep. 263 (1812), implied the same although a decision on that point was not actually made. All this suggests that the *Martin* decision diverged from the foregoing norm (separation of marital status from citizenship), which *Shanks v. Dupont* later articulated at the Supreme Court level, rather than *Martin* enunciating a norm of the early republic that *Shanks* advanced beyond, as Kerber has it. This is not to say that the principle of a wife's autonomy *as such* was vigorous in the early republic: in the *Shanks* norm, the common law of perpetual nationality weighed more, while in practice at the time the inchoate character of national citizenship and the relative importance of state citizenship in which marital domicile was determined by the husband likely did.

⁴⁵ The initial impetus for the bill was concern about the citizenship of children born abroad to American fathers. A drafting defect had been discovered in the 1802 law supposed to deem such children citizens. Representatives aiming to correct that defect added the clause making citizens of American men's wives. Resisted at first, the clause was eventually accepted by the Senate. *Congressional Globe*, 33d Cong., 1st sess. (January 13, 1854), 169–71; *Congressional Globe*, 33d Cong., 2d sess. (December 20, 1854, December 21, 1854, February 8, 1855), 91–92, 116, 632, 651. Franklin, *Legislative History of Naturalization*, 271–74; Seckler-Hudson, *Statelessness*, 199–202; *Burton v. Burton*, 26 How. Pr. (New York), 474, 477–78; J. Scott, et al., *Citizenship of the United States, Expatriation, and Protection*, 29–30, 145–51, 102; Bredbenner, "Toward Independent Citizenship," 2–3. The common-law disposition for free persons was *partus sequitur patrem*: the offspring would follow the condition (including the nationality) of the father. Kettner, *Development*, 14–15.

⁴⁶ See Sapiro, "Women, Citizenship and Nationality," 7–11; Bredbenner, "Toward Independent Citizenship," 19–20. Compare Linda Kerber's contention, in "Constitutional Right," 22–23, that under coverture, a "woman's only freely chosen obligation was to her husband"; her husband was positioned

infringed, so the statute was simply an aid "to the husband . . . in the instilling of proper principles in his children and cannot interfere with any possible right of a political character." He used the term "political rights" not as Justice Story had but in the increasingly common way, to mean rights to share directly in governance.⁴⁷

The 1855 statute accorded with the move to consider the capacity for full citizenship inherent in the self-governing man only and not in any person encumbered by bonds of dependence. It also suggested an emergent definition of male citizenship that would incorporate a man's right to his family in his self-possession. Visible in the Northern contrast of free labor with slavery, this theme blossomed in the Radical Republicans' approach to the freedmen. To set the deprivation of the male slave in sharp relief in the 1830s and 1840s, William Lloyd Garrison had stressed that even the most wretched free laborer had his family: "Can any power take from him wife and children?" Even if degraded, the free laborer was "still the owner of his own body . . . still a husband." Similarly, the *New England Offering* in 1848 refused to liken the free wage worker to a slave, stressing the "worth" of his "right to himself, to his family." In postwar congressional debate, Senator Jacob Howard of Michigan pointedly insisted that "the attributes of a freeman according to the universal understanding of the American people" had to include "the right of having a family, a wife, children, home."⁴⁸

Passed with no ceremony and little debate, the 1855 law took a big step, in effect raising the doctrine of coverture to the level of national identity. It was as if each male citizen who married a foreigner "annexed" and naturalized her, as the United States naturalized by treaty the inhabitants of territory conquered or purchased.⁴⁹ The statute rowed against the current of married women's property acts, which mitigated coverture; but several historians have emphasized that state legislators, in declaring wives' property separate, aimed less at wives' autonomy than at the economic benefit to be gained by husbands in insulating some familial assets from creditors.⁵⁰

as a "barrier between her and public obligation." John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Book 4, ll. 297–99; my thanks to Sacvan Bercovitch for locating this line.

⁴⁷ Francis Cutting was a lawyer who served only one term in Congress. *Congressional Globe*, 33d Cong., 1st sess. (January 13, 1854), 169–71.

⁴⁸ If the slave were free, *The Emancipator* stressed in 1835, "his earnings would be his . . . his furniture, his comforts be his—his wife, his children would be his"; quoted in Amy Dru Stanley, "Home Life and the Morality of the Market," in *The Market Revolution in America: Social, Political, and Religious Expressions, 1800–1880*. Melvyn Stokes and Stephen Conway, eds. (Charlottesville, Va., 1996), 89, 90. In this line of argument about male citizenship, I am indebted to Stanley's analysis. *New England Offering* quoted in David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (New York, 1991), 83; *Congressional Record*, 39th Cong., 1st sess. (January 30, 1866), 504.

⁴⁹ For instance, the treaties with France in 1800 regarding Louisiana, with Spain in 1819 regarding Florida, and with Mexico in 1848 regarding southwestern territories provided that the inhabitants remaining would be effectively naturalized by the annexation. Citizenship consequences of these and other treaties were discussed by Sen. Lyman Trumbull to show that conferring citizenship on ex-slaves as a class in 1866 was not unprecedented; Trumbull did not mention the act of 1855 in this connection, however. *Congressional Globe*, 39th Cong., 1st sess. (April 4, 1866), 1756. See Van Dyne, *Citizenship*, 143–230, on annexation and naturalization by treaty.

⁵⁰ Sapiro, "Women, Citizenship and Nationality," 3–4, makes the point that "citizenship and nationality [policy] in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries actually expanded and intensified the principle of coverture." On married women's property acts, see sources cited in note 38 and Suzanne D. Leebsock, "Radical Reconstruction and the Property Rights of Southern Women,"

In international context, the 1855 act was not remarkable, for it followed similar French and British actions. The Code Napoleon had led the way in 1804, declaring that the state regarded a married woman's nationality as echoing her husband's. French women marrying foreigners and the alien wives of Frenchmen were both included. Even more important in influencing American legislation, Parliament in 1844 ruled that any woman married or to be married to a British citizen was deemed to be naturalized herself. This was a provision in the Aliens Act that expanded opportunities for naturalization more generally, moderating the ancient doctrine that citizenship required birth in the dominion. As in the U.S. Congress, Parliament's move occasioned little discussion or justification. Ominous as the statutes might seem for wives' citizenship in principle, legislators in both nations viewed them lightly, as simply translating the doctrine of marital domicile into the era of modern nation-states and elective allegiance.⁵¹

The U.S. statute of 1855 followed the British of 1844 closely in wording, with one additional proviso: racial specificity. Not every woman married to an American citizen was to become an American national, only those "who might lawfully be naturalized under existing laws." The Senate added this phrase by amendment to the original House proposition. It was a racial qualification. Since racial exclusiveness was a fundamental tenet of American naturalization policy, the wives who were welcomed into the American polity in 1855 were free white wives. Courts interpreted the word "lawfully" to pertain to "race and blood," as a New York jurist put it, being very generous in including wives who did not meet other qualifications such as age, moral character, or even residence.⁵² The reach of the 1855 act was extended in 1870 when persons of African descent were admitted to naturalization, through the strenuous efforts of Senator Charles Sumner.⁵³ No Asian woman came

Journal of Southern History 43 (May 1977): 195–216; Michael B. Dougan, "The Arkansas Married Woman's Property Law," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 46 (Spring 1987): 3–26; and compare Carole Shammas, "Re-assessing the Married Women's Property Acts," *Journal of Women's History* 6 (Spring 1994): 9–30, on the increasing proportion of wealth women owned later in the century as a result of such laws.

⁵¹ The Code Napoleon also stipulated, "The husband owes protection to his wife, the wife obedience to her husband." Quoted in Mary Ann Glendon, *The Transformation of Family Law: State, Law, and Family in the United States and Western Europe* (Chicago, 1989), 72. On European precedents, see "American Citizenship Rights of Women," Hearing before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Immigration, United States Senate, 72d Cong., 2d sess., March 2, 1933; J. Scott, *et al.*, *Citizenship of the United States, Expatriation, and Protection*, 29–30; Waltz, *Nationality of Married Women*, 15–16; Blanche Crozier, "The Changing Basis of Women's Nationality," *Boston University Law Review* 14 (1934): 131; Ann Dummett and Andrew Nicol, *Subjects, Citizens, Aliens and Others: Nationality and Immigration Law* (London, 1990), 87–90; Clive Parry, *British Nationality, Including Citizenship of the United Kingdom and Colonies and the Status of Aliens* (London, 1951), 35–37, 43–46.

⁵² The Senate Committee on the Judiciary at first wanted to eliminate the section granting citizenship to wives but on second thought amended it. *Congressional Globe*, 33d Cong., 2d sess. (December 20, 1854, December 21, 1854, February 8, 1855), 91–92, 116, 632. On federal naturalization law, see note 13. Courts included wives who never set foot on American soil within the ambit of the 1855 act. But as Seckler-Hudson points out, *Statelessness*, 42–43, the State Department interpreted the act more narrowly and did not wish to protect nonresident wives and children of American citizens. See *Halsey v. Beer*, 52 Hun. 366 (N.Y., 1889), quotation at 368; see *Burton v. Burton*, 40 New York (1 Keyes), 359 (1864); *Renner v. Muller*, 44 New York Sup. Ct. (12 Jones & S.) 535 (1879); *Leonard v. Grant*, 5 Fed. (C.C.) 11 (1880); *Broadis v. Broadis*, 86 Fed. 951 (1898); and the important preceding Supreme Court case, *Kelley v. Owen*, 7 Wall. (74 U.S.), 496 (1868).

⁵³ See *Broadis v. Broadis* (C.C. Cal., 1898), 86 Fed. 951 (a black woman born in Canada was an American citizen because married to one). On the 1870 change, see *Congressional Globe*, 41st Cong.,

within its ambit, however. Sumner could not eliminate the word "white" from the naturalization statute as he would have preferred, because of resistance by senators from western states where Chinese immigrants had settled. The presence of Chinese male laborers, who had first arrived for the Gold Rush in California in the late 1840s and were then recruited as cheap labor to build the transcontinental railroad, fueled the prejudices and anxieties manifest in the 1870 naturalization debate. Anti-Chinese feeling soon ballooned into enactments to prevent immigration of prostitutes, contract laborers, and then all Chinese laborers. The Exclusion Act of 1882 not only reduced Chinese immigration to a trickle of specific categories of merchants, ministers, and students but also reiterated, on top of the general naturalization law, that no state or federal court should admit any Chinese to citizenship via naturalization. Chinese exclusion was reiterated in federal laws of 1892, 1902, and 1904.⁵⁴

The act of 1855 fell in with the aim to restrict Chinese infiltration of the American body politic, not so much by failing to make Chinese women into American wives as by holding a threat over American women who might marry Chinese men. The Chinese population in America showed no surplus of marriageable women: among the more than 100,000 Chinese residents in 1880, the sex ratio was drastically skewed toward men, possibly the most skewed of any immigrant group at any time in the nation's history.⁵⁵ What were the consequences for an American woman citizen who married a foreigner? Was she regarded as having divested herself of American citizenship? The act of 1855 was silent on this question, and cases were being decided—inconsistently—during the decades when

2d sess. (July 2, 1870, July 4, 1870), 5114–25, 5148–77; Fredrickson, *White Supremacy*, 145; Edward P. Hutchinson, *Legislative History of American Immigration Policy 1798–1965* (Philadelphia, 1981), 57–61; James Harrison Cohen, "A Legal History of the Rights of Immigrant Aliens in the United States under the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, 1870 to the Present" (PhD dissertation, New York University, 1991), 27. Although native Americans did not come within the racial limitations of the naturalization law, *Hatch v. Ferguson*, 57 Fed. 959 (1893), cited the 1855 law to declare that a native American woman who had married a white American, left her tribe, and "adopted the habits of civilized life" thereby became an American citizen. In 1888 (after the Dawes Severalty Act), Congress passed a bill declaring that every woman member of any Indian tribe in the United States (except the five so-called "civilized tribes") who thereafter married a citizen would become a citizen herself, by marriage. (It remains unclear to me why the judge in *Hatch* did not cite the latter instead of the 1855 law.) Rather than being especially interested in making citizens of Indian women by means of this law, Congress hoped to keep American men who married Indian women from claiming exemption from U.S. jurisdiction. See Van Dyne, *Citizenship*, 121; "Report of the Secretary of the Interior," 49th Cong., 1st sess., 1885–86, *House Executive Documents*, vol. 11: 28–30; "Marriage between White Men and Indian Women," 50th Cong., 1st sess., H.R. Report No. 250, *House Reports* (1887–88); *Congressional Record* 19, 50th Cong., 1st sess., 1887–88, 87, 256, 512, 1024, 6885, 6903.

⁵⁴ There is an excellent concise summary of the nineteenth-century welcome and then enmity for Chinese, and the passage of Chinese exclusion laws, in Bill Ong Hing, *Making and Remaking Asian America through Immigration Policy, 1850–1990* (Stanford, Calif., 1993), 20–26. On Chinese exclusion, see also Hutchinson, *Legislative History*, 67–84, 104, 130, 431–33; and Sidney Kansas, *U.S. Immigration: Exclusion and Deportation, and Citizenship of the United States of America*, 2d edn. (Albany, N.Y., 1940), 4–6, 303. The first restrictive immigration law, in 1875, prohibiting the entry of prostitutes and contract laborers, was aimed at Chinese in both categories. See Hing, 23; and Sucheng Chan, "The Exclusion of Chinese Women, 1870–1943," in Chan, ed., *Entry Denied: Exclusion and the Chinese Community in America 1882–1943* (Philadelphia, 1991), 105–09.

⁵⁵ Hing, *Making and Remaking*, 48; Megumi Dick Osumi, "Asians and California's Anti-Miscegenation Laws," in Nobuya Tsuchida, ed., *Asian and Pacific American Experiences: Women's Perspectives* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1982), 8.

the Chinese Exclusion Acts were formulated and strengthened. Some federal judges, such as Edward Billings of Louisiana, concluded that the act of 1855 was purposely specific, "not intended as a general enactment upon the consequences of marriage between people of different nationalities." But many others presumed the opposite, including Henry Billings Brown in the eastern district of Michigan (soon to be appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court). Judge Brown noted with satisfaction that "legislation upon the subject of naturalization is constantly advancing towards the idea that the husband, as the head of the family, is to be considered its political representative, at least for the purposes of citizenship, and that the wife and minor children owe their allegiance to the same sovereign power." He found it appropriate "to apply the same rule of decision to a case where a female American citizen marries an alien husband, that we should to a case where an alien woman marries an American citizen."⁵⁶

The Expatriation Act of 1868, establishing for the first time that an American national could disavow citizenship, and detailing how, facilitated courts moving in Judge Brown's direction. Formalization of the option of expatriation ended the common-law tradition of indelible nationality. Great Britain did the same with its Naturalisation Act of 1870, which, in addition, specifically indicated that "a married woman shall be deemed to be a subject of the State of which her husband is for the time being a subject." By that point, European countries had more or less converged on the principle that a woman's nationality derived from her husband's. Nations in the Western political tradition translated modern respect for the elective quality of national allegiance to mean that, in the case of women, a choice in marriage expressed a decision about national belonging.⁵⁷ If not a foregone conclusion, loss of American citizenship was certainly a risk for any American

⁵⁶ Billings quotation, *Comitis v. Parkerson et al.*, 56 Fed. 556 (C.Ct., E.D. Louisiana, 1893), at 562; Brown quotation, *Pequignot v. Detroit*, 116 Fed. 211 (1883), at 216, 214. Brown ascended to the Supreme Court in 1891 and served until 1906. Edwin M. Borchard, in "The Citizenship of Native-Born American Women Who Married Foreigners before March 2, 1907 and Acquired a Foreign Domicile," *American Journal of International Law* 29 (1935): 417, declared the *Pequignot* decision clearly wrong, dictated by public policy considerations rather than an accurate reading of the (common) law. On the indeterminacy on the question whether an American woman who married a foreigner lost her citizenship in the years 1855–1907, see Luella Gettys, *The Law of Citizenship in the United States* (Chicago, 1934), 113–19; Van Dyne, *Citizenship*, 127–41; Ernest J. Hover, "Citizenship of Women in the United States," *American Journal of International Law* 26 (1932): 703–04; Waltz, *Nationality of Married Women*, 25–33; Sapiro, "Women, Citizenship and Nationality," 7–8; Bredbenner, "Toward Independent Citizenship," 55–70. During this period, domicile often counted heavily, judges allowing wives who remained on American soil to keep their citizenship but depriving those who lived outside the country.

⁵⁷ Waltz, *Nationality of Married Women*, 25; Richard W. Flournoy, Jr. [Assistant Solicitor, Department of State], "Naturalization and Expatriation," *Yale Law Journal* 31 (May 1922): 714; Van Dyne, *Citizenship*, 139–40; Dummert and Nicol, *Subjects, Citizens*, 87–90. Presumably influenced by the international trend, Justice Stephen Field peremptorily noted in a circuit court decision in California in 1887 that "a wife is by law a citizen of her husband's country" (although there was no such U.S. law); *In re Langtry*, 31 Fed. 879 (D. California, 1887), at 880. In Britain, a parliamentary report of 1923, entertaining the proposal to reverse the 1870 policy, gave a terse summary of the conservative position: "The Committee . . . recognise the growing demand of many women and of organised women's societies for equal rights with men in every respect, but they cannot overlook the fact that by marriage a woman is merged in the unit of the family, and that within the family it is at present the husband who is head, who bears its legal responsibilities such as the maintenance of the wife, the children and the home, and whose occupation in most cases is the decisive factor as to where that home is to be established, and who among other things gives his nationality to the children. It is their opinion therefore that in this important sphere of family life the nationality of the husband should be the governing factor and

woman who married a foreigner in the late nineteenth century. This was grievous enough for women who married foreign whites or Africans, whose husbands had the option of naturalization, but more dangerous for the citizen marrying an Asian man.

IN 1907, CONGRESS ENDED INDETERMINACY ON THIS QUESTION by expressly declaring "that any American woman who marries a foreigner shall take the nationality of her husband." Where in 1855 Congress had invited American men to absorb the national identity of the women of other groups, in 1907—the very height of immigration, when about a million immigrants were entering the United States each year—Congress told American women that marrying outsiders made them aliens in their own country. The 1907 law discouraged American women from marrying immigrants and prevented the wife in an immigrant couple from being naturalized on her own. By punishing American women who introduced foreign elements into the body politic, the act was akin to state laws that criminalized or nullified marriages between whites and people of color. The anti-Asian discrimination built into the 1907 law by naturalization policy echoed the spirit of laws passed between 1861 and 1913 in Arizona, California, Idaho, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, Utah, and Wyoming that made marriages between Chinese and whites criminal and void.⁵⁸

Alienage, placing the woman who married a foreign national outside the American political community, entailed more than a symbolic punishment. Common-law restrictions on the ability of aliens to hold real property had been eliminated in most states by the early twentieth century, yet several states passed new laws depriving "aliens ineligible for citizenship" (that is, Asians) of real property rights. The kind of political welcome given to (white male) aliens in the mid-nineteenth century had also dissipated. Only a few states still allowed alien declarants to vote. As the enfranchisement of women seemed increasingly possible, a woman's loss of citizenship by marriage might cost her political participation. Aliens suffered material restrictions, especially in occupational choice and public employment, and in the tightening of immigration law they increasingly faced deportation for various legal infractions.⁵⁹

determine the nationality of the wife. If two ride a horse one must ride in front." *Report by the Select Committee . . . on the Nationality of Married Women* (London, 1923), x–xix (quotation on xvi).

⁵⁸ *Congressional Record* 41, 59th Cong., 2d sess. (January 21, 1907), 1463–67; (February 27, 1907), 4116; (February 28, 1907), 4263–64; Bredbenner, "Toward Independent Citizenship," 35–36, 61–70, 93; J. Scott, *et al.*, *Citizenship of the United States, Expatriation, and Protection*, 2–3, 33; Smith, *Civic Ideals*, 456–59; Flournoy, "Naturalization," 708–09. On state laws banning marriage across the color line, see the convenient summary in Fowler, *Northern Attitudes*, appendix. The act of 1907 did not nullify or criminalize any marriage as the state laws did, of course, but imposed a disincentive.

⁵⁹ By 1914, aliens could vote in only seven states and by 1921, in only two. Kohler, "Legal Disabilities of Aliens"; Aylsworth, "Passing of Alien Suffrage." Four western states enfranchised women by 1896, and then none until 1910 to 1912, a breakthrough period when California, Washington, Oregon, Kansas, and Arizona gave women the vote. Women could vote for president in twenty-eight states before the nation ratified the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920. See the convenient summary in Anne F. Scott and Andrew Scott, *One Half the People: The Fight for Woman Suffrage* (Philadelphia, 1975), 166–68.

Congress passed this 1907 provision with very little discussion, as part of a larger effort to streamline and rationalize immigration policy and bring it thoroughly under federal control. Congress found it easy to translate the old legal fiction of marital unity into the doctrine of “family unity” in citizenship. Announcing a continuing commitment to the primacy of male citizenship and headship of the family, the provision seemed a political anachronism amid the vast scene of women’s public activism that had materialized by 1907. It reiterated that a wife owed her primary political allegiance to her husband rather than to her nation.⁶⁰ Proponents of the provision erroneously said that it was merely “declaratory,” meaning that it codified the existing state of the law. They ignored whether or not the United States could implement the law fully, which it could not, without having the power to award another nation’s citizenship. If the husband’s country did not adopt wives of their male citizens (and not every country did), then the formerly American wife became a woman without a country.⁶¹

As of 1907, then, public policy treatment of male citizens who married foreigners contrasted starkly with treatment of female citizens who did the same. The American man’s wife and children were welcomed into political belonging unless the racial limitation was overstepped, but the American woman and her foreign husband were ejected from the national community. Although the economic basis for regarding would-be husbands as independent full citizens and would-be wives as dependents had been mitigated by women’s employment, the institution of marriage still weighed on citizenship with tremendous inertia. The peculiar impact of marriage on a wife’s nationality appears in the donning and doffing of citizenships consequent upon widowhood or divorce. A foreign-born woman who gained citizenship by marriage to an American was presumed to retain it after his death. Yet an American woman who lost her citizenship by marrying an alien could

⁶⁰ The same act took away the citizenship of a naturalized American who returned to his or her native country for two years or resided in another foreign country for five years, and required that the minor child of a naturalized American father establish U.S. residence before being granted citizenship. See J. Scott, *et al.*, *Citizenship of the United States, Expatriation, and Protection* (this report recommended the 1907 change); Bredbenner, “Toward Independent Citizenship,” 61–66. Sophonisba P. Breckinridge called the policy of the male head’s citizenship determining that of his wife and children the “family unity” doctrine, in *Marriage and the Civic Rights of Women* (Chicago, 1931), 50–55; so did Waltz, *Nationality of Married Women*, 44–48, and both considered it patriarchal. The move from coverture to “family unity” might be seen as a status modernization in Reva B. Siegel’s terms, as argued in “Modernization of Marital Status Law”; and “‘The Rule of Love’: Wife Beating as Prerogative and Privacy,” *Yale Law Journal* 105 (June 1996): 2117–2220.

⁶¹ *Congressional Record* 41, 59th Cong., 2d sess. (January 21, 1907), 1463–67; (February 27, 1907), 4116; (February 28, 1907), 4263–64. No congressman was sufficiently well informed or bold enough to object that case law did *not* unequivocally establish that a woman’s nationality followed her husband’s. In an earlier discussion of a bill to allow the American widow or divorced wife of a foreigner to regain her citizenship (a bill that did not pass), senators also assumed that any married woman’s nationality was the same as her husband’s. *Congressional Record* 39, 58th Cong., 3d sess. (January 14, 1905), 829–31. Borchard points out, “Citizenship of Native-Born American Women,” 409, that several lower courts in the United States were wrong in saying that the act of March 2, 1907, made declaratory what had been a common-law rule, that a married woman’s citizenship followed her husband’s. Seckler-Hudson, *Statelessness*, 33–37. Because the first civil code in the Soviet Union, for instance, said that marriage between a Russian national and a foreigner did not automatically change citizenship for either one, an American woman marrying a Soviet citizen would be stateless unless she took affirmative action to adopt Soviet citizenship. This happened to the dancer Isadora Duncan, who married a Russian and wished to remain an American, not to become a Soviet citizen, but the U.S. government no longer regarded her as a citizen.

resume it upon divorce or widowhood as though it had simply been suspended for the duration of her marriage. The act of 1907 codified the point that if she did, her minor children born abroad would become citizens upon taking up residence in the United States.⁶² Two opposite principles are visible here on the permanence of the citizenship change effected by marriage. They converged, arguably, in an unarticulated national aim to enable American *mothers* to stay within the polity, which again captured women's political character within a familial if not strictly marital dependence.

The woman suffrage movement at the time was moving in the opposite direction, presenting its case for women as political individuals. When the constitutionality of the 1907 act was decided by the Supreme Court, women could vote in a dozen states. Ethel Mackenzie had been prevented from registering to vote in California on the grounds that she had lost her citizenship by marrying an Englishman. She fought this, contending that it was unconstitutional for Congress to take away a citizen's birthright. Both the California high court and the Supreme Court were unsympathetic to her view. Bypassing the precedent of *Shanks vs. Dupont*, and embracing the "ancient principle" of "the identity of husband and wife," Justice Joseph McKenna noted the importance of the Expatriation Act and concluded that Ethel Mackenzie's marriage to a foreigner must be judged "as voluntary and distinctive as expatriation."⁶³

By going to court, Mackenzie created a good deal more legal commentary and public objection about the policy regarding married women's nationality than the passage of the act of 1907 had. Public awareness was further stimulated during World War I by the complaints of a number of American-born women married to German immigrants, who were declared "enemy aliens" and had their property seized by the Alien Property Custodian.⁶⁴ Leaders of the woman suffrage movement—more than a few of whom had married Europeans—rejected the notion that marriage should decide a woman's political allegiance. Many suffragists were appalled that an American woman could be expatriated by marriage and also

⁶² See Van Dyne, *Citizenship*, 134–42.

⁶³ *Mackenzie v. Hare*, 239 U.S. 299 (1915), 311, 312. McKenna's contention that "the identity of husband and wife . . . has purpose, if not necessity, in purely domestic policy; [but] it has greater purpose and, it may be, necessity, in international policy," ignored Story's view in *Shanks v. Dupont*, 3 Pet. 242 (1830), 248. In *U.S. v. Wong Kim Ark*, 165 U.S. 649 (1898), 703, Justice Gray's opinion had said, "The power of naturalization, vested in Congress by the constitution, is a power to confer citizenship, not a power to take it away," but the California supreme court saw this as no bar to refusing Ethel Mackenzie's claim, because "the court in the quoted sentence was speaking of the power of Congress to deprive a person of his citizenship without his consent and for no sufficient or reasonable cause," whereas Mackenzie had consented to marriage and it was reasonable for Congress to require that a wife's citizenship be the same as her husband's. *Mackenzie v. Hare*, 165 Cal. 775 (1913), 785, 783. Smith, *Civic Ideals*, 456–59, 632–33 nn. 154–58, puts *Mackenzie* in a line of conservative, protectionist Supreme Court decisions regarding women's marital/civic status in the Progressive Era.

⁶⁴ Waltz, *Nationality of Married Women*, 12–13, 14; Bredbenner, "Toward Independent Citizenship," 67–68, 117–18; Jorg Nagler, "Victims of the Home Front: Enemy Aliens in the United States during the First World War," in *Minorities in Wartime: National and Racial Groupings in Europe, North America and Australia during the Two World Wars*, Panilos Panayi, ed. (Oxford, 1992), 191–215; Gettys, *Law of Citizenship*, 139–40; Cyril D. Hill, "Citizenship of Married Women," *American Journal of International Law* 18 (1929): 724–25. "So startling," notes Hill, were the situations of some American-born women married to Germans, whose property had been seized by the Alien Property Custodian, that congressional action was deemed necessary, and an act was passed in 1921 releasing property of "American-born women whose status was technically that of alien enemies by reason of marriage."

disapproved of the gift of citizenship to a foreigner who became an American's wife. New York suffragists added to that state's 1917 referendum, which gained them the vote, a stipulation that the citizenship granted to a foreign-born wife of an American citizen would not enable her to vote unless she had been resident for five years, which was the standard residency requirement for naturalization.⁶⁵

AFTER THE PASSAGE OF THE NINETEENTH AMENDMENT, organized women moved quickly and almost unanimously to challenge the provisions of 1855 and of 1907, to eliminate consequences of marriage for women's citizenship. This was so clearly seen as a goal of women that both major parties included platform planks on it in the presidential campaign of 1920. The initial result was the Cable Act of 1922, named for its congressional sponsor John Cable, Republican of Ohio. Women lawyers had put the issue of wives' nationality into congressional hearings in the 1910s, but the enfranchisement of women made all the difference. As soon as women got the ballot, a Massachusetts representative remarked during floor debate, the existing relation between marriage and citizenship became "as archaic as the doctrine of ordeal by fire."⁶⁶

The mediating role of husbands' nationality should have been eliminated entirely once women were admitted to the sovereign power of the people, but it was not. The Cable Act asserted the principle of "independent citizenship" for married women without implementing it fully. While overruling the 1907 declaration and enabling the American wife of a foreigner to retain her citizenship, the Cable Act specified that if she lived for two years in her husband's country or five years in any foreign nation, she was deemed to have given up her American nationality, as any naturalized citizen in that situation would be.⁶⁷ The act thus kept in place sharp distinctions between husbands and wives. Congress did not allow the American woman who married a foreigner to retain her citizenship absolutely, because it remained dependent on her residence, which was tied to her husband's domicile. Marriage was still seen as undermining a woman's, and not a man's, political

⁶⁵ See Mary Sumner Boyd, "Have You Been Enfranchised Lately?" *Woman Citizen* (January 5, 1918): 114.

⁶⁶ J. Stanley Lemons, *The Woman Citizen: Social Feminism in the 1920s* (Urbana, Ill., 1973), 63–68, 235–37, includes a brief and helpful overview of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee's movement to achieve "independent citizenship" and the Cable Act's provisions; Waltz, *Nationality of Married Women*, 14; Crozier, "Changing Basis," 132–33. In the House of Representatives' discussion of the bill, members frequently referred to the party platform planks. See *Congressional Record* 62, 67th Cong., 2d sess., 9039–67; quotation from John Rogers on June 20, 1922, 9047. Rep. Siegel of New York similarly interpreted the impact of woman suffrage, saying, "As to the right of the woman to be an independent American citizen in her own right there can be no controversy, because the nineteenth amendment to the Constitution has settled that for all time" (June 20, 1922). Debate on the Cable Act took place in the House with from 83 to 105 members present, less than a quorum. On efforts in the 1910s, see Bredbenner, "Toward Independent Citizenship," 96–97; and "American Citizenship Rights of Women," Hearing before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Immigration, United States Senate, 72d Cong., 2d sess., March 2, 1933.

⁶⁷ The act was written in these peculiar terms: "the right of any woman to become a naturalized citizen of the United States shall not be denied or abridged because of her sex or because she is a married woman." Bredbenner, "Toward Independent Citizenship," 157–58, stresses that the State Department's reluctance to protect compromised American citizens abroad was reflected both in the passage of the 1907 act and the grudging grant of only naturalized citizenship in the Cable Act; also see Seckler-Hudson, *Statelessness*, 42–44.

allegiance. Furthermore, the new law incorporated the racial prejudice of naturalization policy. Any American woman who married someone "ineligible for citizenship" by naturalization (that is, mostly Asians, although also anarchists and polygamists) lost her citizenship as before under the act of 1907.⁶⁸

The Cable Act also eliminated the American male's power and privilege to endow his foreign-born wife with citizenship simply by marrying her. Instead, these wives were given a streamlined naturalization opportunity: they would have to wait only a year rather than the standard five years, and they could bypass the stage of declaring intent, but they did have to go through the procedures. Congressmen justified the change by claiming it would provide an educational stimulus: foreign-born wives would no longer be passive recipients of citizenship but "equal partners" with their husband-citizens, better able to rear American children. An American man's right to create a fully *American* family held a strong place in the hearts of congressmen, but the Nineteenth Amendment had aroused a counter-prejudice against foreign-born women becoming voters immediately upon marrying American men. The tug-of-war between these two prejudices resulted in the bargain that foreign-born wives of American citizens were no longer incorporated automatically but had to be resident one year and pass through naturalization in order to become citizens.⁶⁹ Congress did not even consider clearing a path to naturalization for American women's foreign-born husbands.

If the Cable Act meant to enshrine the principle of independent citizenship, why these complications? Why did it not simply emancipate citizenship from marriage considerations completely? The limitations in the law recorded congressmen's attachments to the prerogatives of male citizens and the contemporary public hostility toward immigrants, especially those seen as racially unassimilable. After the Chinese exclusion laws, immigration had been further regulated and limited by Congress in 1891, 1903, 1907, and 1910. In 1917, exclusion was extended to virtually all of Asia. At its height in the early 1920s when the Cable Act was passed, the restriction movement was fueled by anxiety on the part of white Americans that the "true" American type was being overrun and outmanned, that American standards

⁶⁸ All treatments of the Cable Act note this discrimination, including Lemons, *Woman Citizen*, 67; Breckinridge, *Marriage*, 23–25; Bredbenner, "Toward Independent Citizenship," 151–55; Hill, "Citizenship of Married Women," 727; Waltz, *Nationality of Married Women*, 43–44. Gettys, *Law of Citizenship*, 124–25, points out that the clause punishing women who married "ineligible aliens" actually contravened the act's first section, which declared "that the right of any woman to become a naturalized citizen of the United States shall not be denied or abridged because of her sex or because she is a married woman." Text of the Cable Act is reproduced in "American Citizenship Rights of Women," 44. Under this act, an American woman who lost her citizenship by marriage no longer automatically regained it if the marriage ended (as under the 1907 statute), but she had to wait a year and undergo naturalization procedures to regain it. In another instance of sex discrimination, the act described how an American woman might voluntarily renounce her citizenship upon marriage to a foreigner, before any court with jurisdiction over naturalization, but did not suggest that a man marrying a foreigner might do the same; Waltz, *Nationality of Married Women*, 44. For a conservative critique of the Cable Act, see Richard W. Flournoy, Jr., "The New Married Women's Citizenship Law," *Yale Law Journal* 333 (December 1923): 159–70.

⁶⁹ *Congressional Record* 92, 67th Cong., 2d sess., 9039–67. Sapiro, "Women, Citizenship and Nationality," esp. 13–16, contends that passage of the Cable Act depended on congressmen's wish to institute more rigorous naturalization procedures for alien wives of American citizens, in order to restrict the immigrant vote. On political efforts surrounding passage, see Bredbenner, "Toward Independent Citizenship," 119–35; she records how earlier, less freighted versions of an independent citizenship bill did not progress.

of life and work were being undercut by swarthy and non-Protestant hordes from the Mediterranean, Eastern Europe, Russia, and parts of the world even less known or trusted. The 1921 Quota Act and the culminating 1924 Immigration Act drastically lowered the ceiling for all newcomers and established maximum quotas for groups by national origin, mimicking the ethnic makeup of the United States before the great waves of immigration from 1880 to 1920. The 1924 act barred foreigners who could not be naturalized from even entering the country. All Asians, not just Chinese laborers, were inadmissible, as well as ineligible for citizenship.⁷⁰

The Cable Act in conjunction with immigration restriction created cases such as that of Ng Fung Sing. The American-born daughter of Chinese parents and thus an American citizen, she returned to China for a number of years and married a Chinese husband in 1924. Not long afterward, her husband died. As a widow, she traveled back to the United States to resume her privileges as a citizen, but immigration authorities refused her admission when she arrived in Seattle. In the eyes of American law, her marriage made her a Chinese subject, inadmissible into the country. The Immigration Act of 1924 additionally provided that "an immigrant born in the U.S. who has lost his U.S. citizenship shall be considered as having been born in the country of which he is a citizen or subject." Such provisions seemed expressly designed to keep a woman of Asian descent like Ng Fung Sing from her American birthright. A federal court confirmed the immigration officials' judgment. Even if Ng Fung Sing had married an Asian national in the United States, she would have been in the same situation. An American-born woman who had lost her citizenship by marriage could resume it by abbreviated naturalization procedures if widowed, but Ng Fung Sing did not meet the racial requirement for naturalization. The racial discrimination in the Cable Act had a particular impact on the Asian-American population. Those born in the United States gained citizenship, under the Fourteenth Amendment. If, however, an American-born woman of Asian descent was courted by a resident Asian national (a highly likely scenario because of the skewed sex ratio—older Asian men had to look to the younger generation for wives), she would have to sacrifice her American citizenship permanently to marry him.⁷¹

⁷⁰ On the making of the 1924 law, see Hutchinson, *Legislative History*, 484–85. The history of immigration restriction to 1924 has been detailed by many historians; see, besides Hutchinson, *Legislative History*; Kansas, *U.S. Immigration*; John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925*, corrected edn. (New York, 1963); Michael C. LeMay, *From Open Door to Dutch Door: An Analysis of U.S. Immigration Policy since 1820* (New York, 1987).

⁷¹ *Ex parte Fung Sing*, 6 F. 2d 670 (1925); Waltz, *Nationality of Married Women*, 46. Bredbenner, "Toward Independent Citizenship," offers detailed and worthwhile examination of the conflicts between "family unity" and immigration restriction in the 1920s. For examples where married women became stateless because of the racial limitation of the Cable Act, see Seckler-Hudson, *Statelessness*, 40, 61. In *U.S. v. Wong Kim Ark*, 165 U.S. 649 (1898), a divided Supreme Court affirmed that the child born of Chinese parents on American soil was an American citizen. See Chan, "Exclusion of Chinese Women," 128–29; and Osumi, "Asians and California," 15–16. for the impact of the Cable Act's racial limitation on Asian-American communities. Osumi claims that the "aim [of this clause] was to discourage Nissei [second-generation Japanese immigrant] women and women of other races from marrying Issei [immigrant-generation] men." It is probably more accurate to say that this was a result, rather than an aim, for there is no direct evidence that this was intended. Osumi points out that, in 1920, 42 percent or more of the Japanese men over fifteen were unmarried. According to Hing, *Making and Remaking*, 55, the sex ratio among the Japanese population in the United States at that time was almost 2 to 1 (down from 7 to 1 in 1910 because the so-called Gentlemen's Agreement [1907] allowed

Mary K. Das, a white American of almost-Mayflower lineage, was also deprived of her national identity because of the Cable Act and the racial restriction on naturalization. She thought she married an American citizen when she married a native of India who had been naturalized. That was in 1914, during a period when a number of Asian Indians managed to proceed through naturalization on the reasoning that they were ethnologically classified as Aryan or Caucasian and therefore fit the requirement of "free white persons." But in 1923, the Supreme Court put aside the Caucasian classification and decided that people from the Indian subcontinent were not "white" as the word was commonly understood in 1790. The court interpreted the 1790 statute as intending "to confer the privilege of citizenship upon that class of persons whom the fathers knew as white" and to deny it to others.⁷² Retroactive application of this doctrine deprived Taraknath Das of his citizenship—which for ten years prior he had believed valid—and, because of the discrimination in the Cable Act, stripped his wife of hers. When Mary K. Das applied for a passport, she was refused. She became an activist on the issue, enlisting members of the National Woman's Party in her cause. Lobbying Congress for amendments to the Cable Act, she reported bitterly that "some Representatives and Senators, members of the Immigration Committees of the two houses of Congress, hold that the ideal of Americanism should keep any American woman from marrying any foreigner, particularly an Asiatic."⁷³

During the House debate on the Cable bill, a couple of representatives had noted the sex discrimination involved in punishing an American woman but not an American man for marriage to an Asian. The best response that a strong proponent of the bill, John Raker of California, could muster was, "The man has always had

wives and children of Japanese men already in the country to enter); the sex ratio among the Chinese population was nearly 7 to 1, down from 14 to 1 in 1910 (presumably by natural increase).

⁷² *U.S. v. Bhagat Singh Thind*, 361 U.S. 204 (1923), 208, quoting a decision of the prior year, *Takao Ozawa v. U.S.*, 260 U.S. 178 (1922), which declared Japanese also ineligible. See Ian Haney-Lopez, *White by Law* (New York, 1996), 79–102, on the "common knowledge" definition of whiteness in *Thind*. According to Joan M. Jensen, *Passage from India: Asian Indian Immigrants in North America* (New Haven, Conn., 1988), 255–56, at least sixty-nine Indians had been admitted to American citizenship between 1908 and 1922.

⁷³ Taraknath Das was not a run-of-the-mill Indian immigrant: he had been a prominent, radical leader in the Indian nationalist movement in North America since his arrival in 1906, frequently under surveillance from the Canadian and American authorities acting in the interests of Great Britain and briefly imprisoned in San Francisco in 1919 for Home Rule activities. After several years of trying, Das gained U.S. citizenship in California in 1914. The U.S. authorities specifically sought to denaturalize him after the *Thind* decision. More than sixty Indians were deprived of naturalized U.S. citizenship in the mid-1920s in consequence of *Thind*, and forty-five more cases were pending when the Justice Department—stymied by Supreme Court inaction on the case of S. G. Pandit, a radical lawyer—dropped the effort. Jensen, *Passage from India*, 165–74, 184–85, 232–53, 260–63.

Both Mary and Taraknath Das were stateless as a consequence of denaturalization: while American authorities claimed that Indians who were deprived of their American citizenship reverted to their former status as British subjects, in fact British law stipulated that any subject who had voluntarily been naturalized in another country lost British nationality. Mary and Taraknath Das married in 1924, after the decision in *U.S. v. Thind*. She had consulted lawyers as to whether she might lose her citizenship by the marriage and was assured by "experts," including a former adviser to the State Department, that a Supreme Court decision would never have retroactive effect. Mary K. Das, "A Woman without a Country," *Nation* 123, no. 3187 (August 4, 1926): 105–06; Emma Wold, "A Woman Bereft of Country," *Equal Rights*, August 15, 1925; Cohen, "Legal History," 42–52; Bredbenner, "Toward Independent Citizenship," 289–91. The justification for revocations of previously granted citizenships following *Thind* was that the naturalizations had been illegal and void; see Seckler-Hudson, *Statelessness*, 164–73.

his right of citizenship. The men have dominated the thing from the beginning." When a Kentucky representative tried to make the racial discrimination even-handed, his proposal to take citizenship away from American men who married "ineligible" aliens was quickly rejected. To serve the goal of racial homogeneity, Congress had no trouble reading American women out of the polity for straying but balked at restricting the freedom of American men to select wives.⁷⁴

So important in national thinking and in immigration policy was the principle that American male citizens ought to be able to create and sustain their chosen families that it sometimes triumphed over the racialized nationalism of the period. The restrictive act of 1924 created a class of "nonquota" immigrants to satisfy that principle. During the few years that the Quota Act of 1921 was in force, an American man who found a bride in a foreign country could bring her home only if she fit under the quota of her country of origin. This affront to the male citizen's right to create and unify a family caused so much furor and disbelief that the 1924 law established a nonquota admissible category of the wives and children of American male citizens. Women citizens with foreign husbands were not similarly favored, and Congress responded slowly and hesitantly to women's lobbying on this issue. In 1928, a revision allowed nonquota status to husbands of American citizens married up to that year. Four years later, heeding some congressmen's fears that American women abroad were being fooled into marriage by foreigners who only wanted admission to the United States, Congress refused to embrace an open-ended commitment to American women's foreign husbands, allowing nonquota status to those who had married by 1932 only.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ *Congressional Record* 62, pt. 9, 67th Cong., 2d sess., June 20, 1922, 9057, 9063–64. Just at this time, ironically, the Supreme Court first articulated (in dicta) the right of the individual "to marry, establish a home and bring up children" as a Fourteenth Amendment liberty. *Meyer v. Nebraska*, 262 U.S. 390 (1923). The "freedom to marry" was not established doctrinally until *Loving v. Virginia*, 388 U.S. 1 (1967).

⁷⁵ The first Quota Act (1921) gave family members of male citizens first preference under the quota, above the husbands of American citizens and above American women who had lost their citizenship through marriage and wanted to return to become naturalized. American women who had lost their citizenship by marriage between 1907 and 1922 were not admitted outside the quota (by the 1921 or the 1924 act): they had to re-enter the country as quota immigrants, in order to move toward regaining their citizenship through naturalization! Waltz, *Nationality of Married Women*, 47; Marjorie P. Hoinko, "Naturalizing a Yankee," *Woman Citizen* (April 13, 1928): 38–39; Bredbenner, "Toward Independent Citizenship," 151–55, 203–06, 221–22, 235–40. On establishing nonquota status for American citizens' foreign husbands, see *Congressional Record*, 72d Cong., 1st sess., 8406–09 (April 18, 1932), 14588–89 (July 5, 1932), 14694–95 (July 6, 1932); and H.R. Reports No. 919, March 26, 1932; and No. 1753 (July 5, 1932), *House Reports on Public Bills, etc.*, 72d Cong., 1st sess.

Asian-American men did not receive the usual prerogatives of male citizens and husbands. The immigration act of 1924 prohibited admission of persons ineligible to citizenship, while making special provisions for nonquota entry of citizens' wives; and, if someone was both, the racial limits on admissibility governed, the Supreme Court said in a 1925 case concerning Chinese women married to American citizens (of Chinese ancestry). The men in this case, though American citizens, could not have their wives join them. Chinese-American men lobbied the congressional immigration committees for years for an amendment to the Cable Act: in 1930, Chinese wives of American citizens who had married before 1924 (not all Chinese wives) were given a special dispensation to enter the country. *Chang Chan et al. v. Nagle*, 268 U.S. 346 (1925); Valeska Bari, "Citizens Who May Not Have Wives," *Woman Citizen* (December 1927): 20–21; Breckinridge, *Marriage*, 31–32; Chan, "Exclusion," 125–26; Bredbenner, "Toward Independent Citizenship," 247–52, 256–57.

THESE SEX AND RACE DISCRIMINATIONS sparked insistent pressures for reform from organized women and from Chinese Americans. As a result, Congress amended the Cable Act in 1930, 1931, and 1934, until the discriminatory consequences of marrying an "alien ineligible for citizenship" were eliminated and women's citizenship fully separated from marriage consequences. By 1934, American women were relieved of a citizenship detriment from marriage; Americans of both sexes gained the same naturalization benefits for their foreign-born spouses, and mothers the same right as fathers to convey citizenship to their children born abroad.⁷⁶ Not until 1947, however, following the wartime alliance between the United States and China, consequent repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Acts, and the postwar occupation of Japan, were all racial barriers excluding citizens' spouses from entering the country lifted. During the Cold War, the United States presented itself to non-aligned nations of colored peoples as the leader of the "free world." Five years later, the McCarran-Walter Act eliminated overt racial bars to citizenship, although the quotas for Asian admission were still so small that exclusion was only nominally ended.⁷⁷

The National Woman's Party, the former "militant" suffragists advocating an Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution, had led in the reforms of the Cable Act. They persuaded James Brown Scott, principal author of the report leading to the 1907 act and a leader in international law circles, to change his mind and become their ally by 1930.⁷⁸ At that point, U.S. representatives began to stand

⁷⁶ The amendments of 1934 made the latter two changes. The residence time required for citizenship for the foreign-born spouse of an American citizen was lengthened from one to three years when husbands were included. On the 1930s amendments, see Waltz, *Nationality of Married Women*, 51–58, Breckinridge, *Marriage*, 39–40; Hover, "Citizenship of Women in the United States," 718–19; Crozier, "Changing Basis"; Bredbenner, "Toward Independent Citizenship," 339–40, 473–79; Cohen, "Legal History," 42–52. Text and discussion of the 1930 and 1931 changes are conveniently assembled in "American Citizenship Rights of Women," those of 1934 in H.R. Report No. 131 [from the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization], *House Reports on Public Bills . . .*, vol. 1, 73d Cong., 1st sess. The most extensive debate on the 1934 change, called "The Equal Nationality Bill" by its proponents, is in *Congressional Record*, 73d Cong., 2d sess., pt. 7, 7329–59 (April 25, 1934). The policies that denationalized Ng Fung Sing and Mary K. Das were undone by the act of March 3, 1931: it provided that an American citizen by birth who had lost her citizenship by marrying, before March 3, 1931, an ineligible alien, would not be denied naturalization on account of race; if her marriage took place after that date, she retained her American citizenship.

⁷⁷ Cohen, "Legal History," 42–52; and see Robert A. Divine, *American Immigration Policy, 1924–1952* (New Haven, Conn., 1957).

⁷⁸ Note that the NWP's earliest wording for the Equal Rights Amendment was, "Equal rights with men shall not be denied to women or abridged on account of sex or marriage" (emphasis added); quoted in Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven, Conn., 1987), 325 n. 13. In its "equal nationality" effort, the NWP took a gender-based position, seeking a result that was also anti-racist. On the NWP and League of Women Voters on this issue, see Susan D. Becker, *The Origins of the Equal Rights Amendment: American Feminism between the Wars* (Westport, Conn., 1981), esp. 161–95; Bredbenner, "Toward Independent Citizenship," 292–99, 339–40, 386–500; Emma Wold, "Hearings on Married Women's Citizenship," *Equal Rights* [the journal of the NWP] (April 3, 1926): 63–64; Burnita Shelton Matthews, "Woman, Wedlock and Nationality," *ibid.*, 21; Emma Wold, "The Ins and Outs of a Woman's Citizenship," *Equal Rights* (February 8, 1930): 3–4. The women's movement for equal nationality was international by 1920; see Waltz, *Nationality of Married Women*, 120; Leila J. Rupp, "Constructing Internationalism: The Case of Transnational Women's Organizations, 1888–1945," *AHR* 99 (December 1994): 1571–1600; Dorothy P. Page, "'A Married Woman, or a Minor, Lunatic or Idiot': The Struggle of British Women against Disability in Nationality, 1914–1933" (PhD dissertation, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand, 1994). See also J. W. Garner, "Uniformity of Law in Respect to Nationality," *American Journal of International Law* 19 (1925): 547–53; Chrystal MacMillan, "Nationality of Women: Present Tendencies," *Journal of Comparative Legislation and*

firmly against sex discrimination in nationality. International law conflicts on the issue sometimes resulted in statelessness, which had become a worrisome general concern in the 1920s because of the migrations and redrawing of national boundaries that followed World War I. If a woman from a nation whose law said she took her husband's citizenship married a man whose country did not assume her allegiance, she became stateless. After 1922, most European women who married Americans would face this situation. The foreign wife of an American citizen could come into the United States as a nonquota immigrant, but she had to remain stateless for at least a year before being naturalized. In countries that did not welcome naturalization, stateless wives were in greater difficulty. Examples of very complicated and protracted citizenship problems caused by conflicts in laws regarding spouses were cited in abundance during the 1930s. U.S. representatives at the time advocated independent citizenship for married women as the best solution to international law conflicts.⁷⁹

How did it happen that the United States renovated its longstanding discrimination between the nationality of husbands and wives, that advocates were able to move Congress in the early 1930s where it had not gone in 1922? Although the Nineteenth Amendment brought about the most definite rupture in the traditional policy, the equalization was not an automatic result of women's graduation to voting rights. The Cable Act revisions may have represented congressmen's appreciation for women voters, but this seems unlikely to be the major reason, since women's advocacy groups were not united in their approaches to revision, and, more generally, legislators seemed to have cared little about courting "the women's

International Law, 3d ser., 7, pt. 4 (1925); Gettys, *Law of Citizenship*, 137–39, 184–92; Seckler-Hudson, *Statelessness*, esp. 78–92; Waltz, *Nationality of Married Women*, 59–79, 86–96; typescript by Maud Younger on 1934 nationality work, in Jane Norman Smith MSS, Box 11, folder 213, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The relationship between Doris Stevens, an NWP leader, and James Brown Scott seems to have been instrumental in the latter's reversal of his views on married women's nationality. Stevens's papers reveal a very effusive emotional attachment, perhaps a love affair, between her and Scott from 1929 to 1935 (both of them married to others at the time). Doris Stevens collections no. 76–246, folders 160–61; no. 78-M146, folder 13, Schlesinger Library. For his 1930–1931 views, see James Brown Scott [Secretary of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and Director of its Division of International Law; President of the American Institute of International Law; Chairman of the Standing Committee on International Law of the American Bar Association], *Observations on Nationality with Especial Reference to the Hague Convention of April 12th, 1930* (New York, 1931); and "Nationality," editorial comment, *American Journal of International Law* 24 (July 1930): 1–6.

⁷⁹ The United States, adopting the NWP position, was one of the few countries declining to sign the convention on married women's citizenship status decided on at the 1930 Hague Conference on the Codification of International Law, because what it prescribed was not sufficiently equalitarian: the convention stipulated that a married woman should take her husband's nationality if his nation automatically awarded it to her or, if not, keep her own. A French reform of 1889 had revised the Code Napoleon to say that a French woman lost her nationality only if marrying a foreigner whose country automatically endowed the wife with new citizenship; in 1927, a further reform allowed a French woman to retain French citizenship if she married a foreigner (and generally facilitated naturalization); see Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood*, 215 n. 177; Seckler-Hudson, *Statelessness*, 94–95, on France and more generally, for examples of married women's problems as a result of conflicts of laws. Germany followed the policy that the husband's citizenship was determinative and did not welcome naturalization; Brubaker, 114–15. In 1932, to address problems of statelessness, Britain revised its policy, depriving a woman marrying a foreigner of her citizenship only if the husband's nation automatically made her its citizen, in accordance with the 1930 Hague Convention; Waltz, *Nationality of Married Women*, 62.

vote" as such after the mid-1920s. Perhaps the rising ideal of companionate marriage in social science and social work circles influenced Congress to reject the vestiges in nationality law of the patriarchal principle of family unity.⁸⁰ Certainly, the likelihood that American women would be courted on their own home grounds by foreign-born suitors shrank as a result of the 1924 Immigration Act. As with Justice Story's reference to "the law of nations," echoed in the congressional actions of 1855 and 1907, the international situation may have weighed most heavily in the balance: U.S. policy makers now aimed for world leadership rather than conformity to European practice, but national priorities still had international meanings. A fundamental characteristic of national citizenship, of course, is that it matters only amid a colloquy of nations. The United States came to stand for the "equal nationality" principle—to which several Latin American countries and the Soviet Union also adhered—as against benighted European practice. Internationally, this position prevented the United States from being upstaged by the Soviet Union on sex discrimination and underlined the nation's role as standard-bearer for democratic equal justice at a time of looming fascism.

WATERSHED THAT IT WAS, THE "EQUAL NATIONALITY BILL" of 1934 (as the National Woman's Party liked to call it) cannot be said to have signaled the attainment of full citizenship for married women, hence for women in general. Despite the Nineteenth Amendment and women's access to political parties and office holding by 1934, a startlingly large number of states still fought equal admission or recruitment of women to juries, from the 1920s to 1975. Jennifer K. Brown has found two alternative readings of the Nineteenth Amendment in court decisions on jury rights. Some judges took what Brown calls an "emancipatory" view of the Nineteenth Amendment's impact, assuming that women's admission to the vote ipso facto entitled them to full political participation. But others maintained an "incremental" approach, contending that the common-law tradition excluding women from juries could stand, because the ballot was a discrete right not inherently capable of transforming women's political character. This divided or doubled view of the meaning of enfranchisement suggests a much broader ambivalence about the citizenship to which women had warrant to aspire. For black women in the South, legal and customary bars to African-American political rights made even the

⁸⁰ On politicians' lack of interest in women voters, see Lemons, *Woman Citizen*; Estelle B. Freedman, "Separatism as Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism, 1870–1930," *Feminist Studies* 5 (1979): 512–29; Sara Alpern and Dale Baum, "Female Ballots: The Impact of the Nineteenth Amendment," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 16 (1985): 43–67; Felice Gordon, *After Winning: The Legacy of the New Jersey Suffragists, 1910–1947* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1986); Cott, *Grounding*, 243–83; Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, "In Politics to Stay: Black Women Leaders and Party Politics in the 1920s," in Tilly and Gurin, *Women, Politics and Change*, 199–220; Kristi Andersen, *After Suffrage: Women in Partisan and Electoral Politics before the New Deal* (Chicago, 1996); on companionate marriage, Christina Simmons, "Companionate Marriage and the Lesbian Threat," *Frontiers* 4, no. 3 (1979): 54–59; Linda Gordon, *Woman's Body, Woman's Right: A Social History of Birth Control in America* (New York, 1976), 301–40; and compare Barbara Melosh, *Engendering Culture: Manhood and Womanhood in New Deal Public Art and Theatre* (Washington, D.C., 1991).

Nineteenth Amendment a hollow reality, as did limits in some western states on voting by people of Chinese descent, Latinas, and Indians.⁸¹

Yet women, married or single, had graduated to more than minimal citizenship. In some respects, the mid-1930s marked an unprecedented high point in the national imagination for the potential of women as citizens. The leadership exercised by Eleanor Roosevelt and Frances Perkins, along with other vocal and effective women in New Deal agencies and in the resoundingly successful Democratic Party, gave the impression that women had become integrated politically. The *Pictorial Review* in 1936 even proposed and discussed twelve women suitable to serve as president of the United States.⁸² The gender differentiation in much New Deal legislation presented a striking ideological disparity, however, to evidence of women's becoming equal citizens. With the New Deal, the United States began to join other industrialized nations by placing social and economic welfare alongside political citizenship. The New Deal redefined the meaning of citizenship in the United States. Yet, with respect to gender, the redefinition was a throwback. When President Franklin D. Roosevelt asserted that government had an "inescapable obligation" to "protect the citizen in his right to work and his right to live" no less than "in his right to vote," he sketched a prospect of social citizenship that began with the "right to life" and the "right to make a comfortable living" owed to every *man*.⁸³ In agency after agency, in provision for work and relief and bolstering of the nation's families and individuals during the crisis of the Great Depression, the figure of the principal citizen, addressed as wage earner and provider, was male. The welfare of working men was at the heart of New Deal social provision, as the unemployment crisis seemed to dictate. Women were included in New Deal programs, but as individuals and potential wage earners they received only a tiny fraction of what men did. The majority of New Deal-instigated benefits went to

⁸¹ Jennifer K. Brown, "The Nineteenth Amendment and Women's Equality," *Yale Law Journal* 102 (June 1993): 2175-2204; on women's jury service, see also Lemons, *Woman Citizen*, 69-73; Kerber, "Constitutional Right," 29-32; and *No Constitutional Right*, chap. 4; Cutler, "When Women Became Peers"; Hoff, *Law, Gender and Injustice*, 224-27. By 1938, twenty-six states and the District of Columbia allowed women to serve on juries, but only eleven did so on equal terms with men (Cutler, 52). Military service for women was not on the political agenda at this time, a period of extremely high antiwar and neutrality sentiment in the United States. On African-American disfranchisement, there is a large literature: for two different approaches, see J. Morgan Kousser, *The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South, 1880-1910* (New Haven, Conn., 1974); and Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996). Nancy A. Hewitt, "From Seneca Falls to Suffrage: Recasting the History of American Women's Activism, 1848-1965" (unpublished paper in my possession) is helpful in opening the question of limitations on other women of color; compare Joan M. Jensen, "'Disfranchisement Is a Disgrace': Women and Politics in New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review* 56 (January 1981): 5-35, for evidence of Hispanic women's political participation after 1920.

⁸² See Susan Ware, *Beyond Suffrage: Women in the New Deal* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981); *Pictorial Review* clippings in Box 3, folder "NRA 1934-38," Lena Madesin Phillips Collection, Schlesinger Library.

⁸³ In *Citizenship and Social Class*, Marshall theorized the expansion of citizenship rights toward the social and economic; compare Fraser and Gordon, "Civil Citizenship against Social Citizenship?" For a recent treatment of the New Deal's reconceptualization of citizenship, see William E. Forbath, "Race, Class and Equal Citizenship," paper delivered at the OAH annual convention, April 17-20, 1997, San Francisco (quoting Roosevelt on 76, 80). Holly Allen, "Fallen Women and Forgotten Men: Gendered Concepts of Community, Home, and Nation, 1932-1945" (PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1996), analyzes the "masculinist" orientation of the New Deal.

(white) men who were actual or potential husbands, or fathers and providers for families, and went to women, if at all, as wives or widows. As Alice Kessler-Harris has shown, revisions of the Social Security Act in 1939 reinforced rather than refigured women's place as wives and mothers rather than as workers or as equal holders of political rights. And it cannot be said that alternative approaches were absent from the horizon.⁸⁴

As the social and economic aspects of citizenship entitlements took center stage, women's characterization as lesser citizens still held. No longer would marriage to a foreigner break an American woman's bonds of belonging to the nation, but marital position still compromised her capacity to inhabit citizenship fully. In new ways that mattered a great deal—for women and for men—marriage still underlay the garb of civic status, countering the formal political equality of women and preserving a traditional understanding of full citizenship, including its economic substructure. Women as a sex had the formal qualifications for participatory citizenship yet did not graduate to it in political discourse or practice. The uneven and unfinished path to women's full citizenship illustrates the familiar lesson that formal inclusion in the political arena is never as decisive and determinative as formal exclusion. It is worth repeating this lesson, especially if the reiteration points to the power of a persistent mediating structure such as marriage, which operates in gender or racial formation by completing a circuitry that connects private and public life, and links personal choices to state policies.⁸⁵ With expectations of

⁸⁴ The contrast between the Workers' Bill for social insurance sponsored by Farmer-Labor representative Ernest Lundeen, which had viable support (especially from many sectors of the labor movement) but languished in Congress in the mid-1930s, and the omnibus Social Security Act that was passed is instructive. The Lundeen bill proposed a federal system of insurance for loss of wages through sickness, accident, old age, or maternity for all categories of workers, without discrimination by race, sex, age, national origin, or politics. The Social Security Act distinguished among types of workers in ways supposedly race and sex-neutral yet in fact (for instance, in excluding domestic and farm labor and seasonal or part-time work) having a discriminatory impact on the basis of race and sex; and its double categorization of social insurance (for able-bodied workers) and public assistance (for those disabled or dependent) created a two-track system aligned with gender. See Kenneth Casebeer, "The Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill: American Social Wage, Labor Organization, and Legal Ideology," in *Labor Law in America: Historical and Critical Essays*, Christopher L. Tomlins and Andrew J. King, eds. (Baltimore, Md., 1992), 231–60 (my thanks to David Montgomery for pointing out this essay). On Social Security and its origins, see Kessler-Harris, "Designing Women and Old Fools"; Barbara Nelson, "The Gender, Race and Class Origins of Early Welfare Policy and the Welfare State," in Tilly and Gurin, *Women, Politics and Change*, 413–35; Linda Gordon, *Pitied But Not Entitled: Single Mothers and the History of Welfare, 1890–1935* (New York, 1994); Gwendolyn Mink, *The Wages of Motherhood: Inequality in the Welfare State, 1917–1942* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1995). The last two are especially enlightening on the central part of women reformers in designing the gender-differentiated outcome.

Married women workers suffered economic discrimination of the most direct sort during the Depression, especially in public employment. The notion was frequently voiced that employed married women's departure from their jobs would solve the unemployment crisis. Lois Scharf has persuasively argued that this pressure did not take married women out of the labor market but moved them lower down in it. (The proportion of married women at work increased from 12 to 17 percent during the 1930s.) See Ruth Milkman, "Women's Work and the Economic Crisis: Some Lessons from the Great Depression," *Review of Radical Political Economics* 8 (Spring 1976): 73–97; Lois Scharf, *To Work and to Wed: Female Employment, Feminism, and the Great Depression* (Westport, Conn., 1980); Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States* (New York, 1982), 250–72; Becker, *Origins of the Equal Rights Amendment*, 133–51.

⁸⁵ I have adopted Mariana Valverde's phrase "gender formation," which she prefers to "gender structure" for its more dynamic sense in her comment in "Dialogue: Gender History/Women's History; Is Feminist Scholarship Losing Its Critical Edge?" *Journal of Women's History* 5 (Spring 1993): 123; and compare Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation*.

“social” citizenship expanding in the twentieth century, the federal government reached ever more noticeably into individuals’ lives, incorporating expectations about husbands and wives. The stakes and consequences of this marital orientation of policy are difficult to measure, not because they are small but because they are profound, beneath the surface. Just as married women’s deprivation of citizenship had been experienced for the most part one by one, individually, so was the orientation of social policy absorbed as the result of personal choices based on decisions to marry, more than as the determination of the public order.

Nancy F. Cott is Stanley Woodward Professor of History and American Studies at Yale University, where she has taught since 1975. Her publications include *The Bonds of Womanhood: “Woman’s Sphere” in New England, 1780–1835* (1977), *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (1987), and (editor) *A Woman Making History: Mary Ritter Beard through Her Letters* (1991). This article is an offshoot of a book Cott is completing on the history of marriage as a civic institution, considered essential to the purposes of the nation by public authorities in the United States and supported by their political thinking and legislative and judicial practices.

Photography, National Identity, and the “Cataract of Times”: Wartime Images and the Case of Japan

JULIA A. THOMAS

THE YOKOHAMA MUSEUM OF ART offered up an anomaly in the summer of 1995. No other museum in the Tokyo metropolitan area referred to the fiftieth anniversary of Japan's surrender through an exhibition of photographs; indeed, no other major exhibition that summer featured documentary photography from any period.¹ The Yokohama Museum, on the other hand, discreetly yet firmly constructed a vivid photographic recollection of the decade that saw the cessation of hostilities. This article examines *Photography in the 1940s*, as the Yokohama exhibition was called, against the striking absence of photographic documents of the war in other art museums and against the wider struggle in Japan over the purpose of history.² Through the analysis of this particular exhibition, I explore the larger interpretive problems presented by photographic art collections. As historians grapple with the expanding importance of visual images,³ our analyses must account for what I see as the inherently unstable relationship among still photographs, national identity, and concepts of time as they come together in museums.⁴ Understanding this

¹ Concurrent exhibitions in major public museums specializing in photography included *Tokyo kokuritsu kindai bijutsukan to shashin 1953–1995* [Photography and the Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, 1953–1995] at the newly opened Film Center of the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, and two exhibitions at the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography: *-ism '95: The 1st Tokyo International Photo-Biennale*; and *Mono, kao, hanmonogatari—modanizumu saikō* [Objects, Faces, and Anti-Narratives—Rethinking Modernism]. Exhibitions at other venues that occasionally feature photography included the Meguro-ku Bijutsukan's photography exhibition, *Domon Ken: Koji junrei* [Domon Ken: Pilgrimages to Old Temples] and the Setagaya-ku Bijutsukan's *Sōken 1200 nen kinen Tōji kokuhō ten* [Treasures from the Tōji Temple on the 1200th Anniversary of Its Foundation]. I discuss aspects of these exhibitions in “History and Anti-History: Photography Exhibitions and Japanese National Identity,” in Susan Crane, ed., *Museums and Memories* (Stanford, Calif., forthcoming); and “Raw Photographs and Cooked History: Photography's Ambiguous Place in Tokyo's Museum of Modern Art,” *East Asian History* 12 (December 1996): 121–34.

² The exhibition ran from April 18 to August 30, 1995, and was one of three photography exhibitions from the permanent collection that the museum mounts each year.

³ There is debate over whether visual images serve as additions to textual sources of historical knowledge or whether they overwhelm and transform traditional texts, thereby transforming the practice of history. For instance, Raphael Samuel argues that a new historiography “alert to memory's shadows . . . might give at least as much attention to pictures as to manuscripts or print.” Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, Vol. 1: *Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London, 1994), 27. Alternatively, Edith Wyschogrod takes the position that the inclusion of visual images within history's frame of reference “signal[s] not a mere expansion of the means for acquiring and distributing historical information but a fundamental epistemic transformation and cultural upheaval . . . Language itself has become volatilized into the image.” Wyschogrod, *An Ethics of Remembering: History, Heterology, and the Nameless Others* (Chicago, 1998), 69.

⁴ I discuss what I see as the continued prominence of the “nation” and “national culture” as defining categories for understanding the arts in “Global Culture in Question: Japanese Photography in

critical triangulation of image, nation, and time is, I argue, the key not only to unpacking the ambiguities of *Photography in the 1940s* but a general theoretical grasp of the role of museums in the creation of historical consciousness.⁵

I will start by examining *Photography in the 1940s* as much as possible on its own terms, treating it as a visual rendering of history crafted by the museum staff that unpropitious summer. Taking into account statements of curatorial intent and the images absent from the gallery walls as well as those chosen for exhibition, I analyze three possible renditions of Japanese identity available to gallery viewers in Yokohama. Although this analysis begins by treating the exhibition as a "text" worthy of consideration in its own right, any interpretation must rest on a broader reading of Japan's current circumstances. The past few years have brought relentless troubles to Japan's economic, political, and social institutions. Even before the wider Asian economy soured, Japan's problems included the end of its own economic boom, the plunge of the stock market, the precarious state of Japanese banks, the death of the Showa emperor, political corruption and the Liberal Democratic Party's loss of virtually unrivaled power,⁶ the revelation during the Kobe earthquake of woefully inadequate preparations for meeting natural disasters,⁷ and the lethal activities of the Aum Shinrikyō doomsday cult. Together,

Contemporary America," in Harumi Befu and Sylvie Guichard-Anguis, eds., *Japan outside Japan* (London, forthcoming).

⁵ As is evident from my treatment of this fine art photography exhibition as a contribution to historical recollection, I think of history not as the exclusive enterprise of professional historians but as a shared social activity where many kinds of documentation are brought to bear. This article therefore participates in the growing conversation on collective memory and historical consciousness that revolves around the fundamental questions of where, how, and for what purpose history is recollected. Different perspectives on this issue are explored in great depth in "AHR Forum: History and Memory," *AHR* 102 (December 1997): 1371–1412. From this inclusive perspective, the past is recollected and reconstructed through a wide range of media (books, museums, memorials, parades, theme parks, drama, television, films, children's picture stories, toys, and costumes). However, as I hope to demonstrate, analyzing fine art photography exhibitions offers particular rewards. These exhibitions pull together social, technological, and art historical pasts, private sensibilities, and public ideals of civic propriety. In a public art museum, collections of photographic images refer simultaneously to "Beauty" and to "Truth," to "Commerce" and to "Art" under the eye of a visitor who sees both as a private individual and as a member of "the public." In bringing together these disparate elements, fine art photography exhibitions become not only particularly rich "mnemonic sites" (to use Pierre Nora's phrase) but, because of their unsettled mixture of elements, also capable of illuminating broad ideological tensions over the proper shape of the past. Given photography's uneasy status as an art medium, it readily illuminates multiple, competing approaches to the past—which in Japan include an aestheticized, dehistoricized version, a secular, empirical version, and a highly nationalistic celebration of an almost sacred heritage.

Doubts about the political and historical agency of photographs in the fine art context have been raised not only by historians committed to more traditional sources but by some art critics as well. Photography critic A. D. Coleman is reasonably typical of such skeptics when he compares museums to mortuaries and argues that documentary photographs in particular are "meant to serve purposes only marginally compatible with those of repositories and showcases for fine art . . . at least before the work has been generated and lived its life in the world." Coleman, *Critical Focus: Photography in the International Image Community* (Munich, 1996), 107–08.

⁶ Several perspectives on these economic and political problems of the Heisei (1989–) period are presented in "Symposium on Continuity and Change in Heisei Japan," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 23 (Summer 1997).

⁷ In response to the Kobe earthquake on January 17, 1995, Japanese photographer Eikoh Hosoe spearheaded a charity drive based on donations from 260 photographers from twenty-four countries. These photographers donated 430 prints, which were auctioned by Sotheby's to raise funds for the Japan Red Cross and the earthquake victims. The combined efforts of Eikoh, other faculty members

these events have undermined the postwar national consensus on what it means to be Japanese.⁸ Prosperity, political passivity, and social harmony no longer appear axiomatic national traits.

In these circumstances, artists and curators, the public and the government, respond anxiously to images in museums that might comment on a national identity largely understood as a cultural phenomenon.⁹ Fine art photography exhibitions, as the anomalous Yokohama show suggests, have the capacity to become dangerous mirrors for a troubled nation seeking to understand itself. In this context, *Photography in the 1940s* might be seen as a courageous act of domestic political engagement, or as a disingenuous, even irresponsible, evasion of wartime memories, or as an inclusive vision of human solidarity. Both the exhibition's contents and its immediate context reveal deeply rooted tensions over national identity in contemporary Japan and suggest the importance of history—visual and otherwise—as an arena for contesting the future parameters of democratic practice.

This article, then, moves outward from an analysis of the exhibition itself, through a consideration of how tensions in Japan over the appropriate mode of national history impinge on our understanding of this exhibition, to theoretical concerns that transcend these particulars. The final section of the article will focus on how photography's malleable relationship with time—and thus with history—allows it to serve as a vector for fundamental concerns over national identity. Through these widening circles of interpretation, I try to demonstrate how historians can incorporate the analysis of photography in art museums into research on historical consciousness without treating the exhibitions or the images as mere illustration.

YOKOHAMA, a commuter's train ride from Tokyo, is an old port city, one of the first to admit Americans and Europeans in the nineteenth century. The Yokohama Museum of Art, on the other hand, is new and not very inviting. Situated on a large concrete plaza, it is a vast structure with an eight-story watchtower and a cavernous

of the Tokyo Kōgei Daigaku Shashin Center (Tokyo Institute of Polytechnics, Center of Photography), and the Cultural Products Division of Asahi Shinbun (Asahi Newspaper) also resulted in a book by the Kobe Aid Fund, *Sekai no shashinka kara fukkō no machi e* [From the World's Photographers to a Restored Town] (Tokyo, 1996). This unusual effort demonstrates an awareness of both photography's commercial value and its potential for social engagement.

⁸ Takashi Fujitani, emphasizing the pivotal impact of the Showa emperor's death in 1989, points to a "new search for authenticity" in "Electronic Pageantry and Japan's 'Symbolic Emperor,'" *Journal of Asian Studies* 51 (November 1992): 849. Historian Nakamura Masanori argues that "the grand tale of Japan as an economic superpower and the world's most stable political system has already lost its power of persuasion over Japanese citizens." Nakamura, "The History Textbook Controversy and Nationalism," in *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars: Textbook Nationalism, Citizenship, and War, Comparative Perspectives* 30 (April–June 1998): 28. Gavan McCormack considers multiple causes of Japan's malaise including corruption and environmental destruction in *The Emptiness of Japanese Affluence* (Armonk, N.Y., 1996).

⁹ Viewing the arts as one of the primary ways of defining Japanese national identity is not just a postwar phenomenon. See Satō Dōshin, *Nihon bijutsu: Kindai Nihon "kotoba" to senkaku* [Japanese Arts: Modern Japanese "Words" and Pioneers] (Tokyo, 1996), for a discussion of the Meiji (1868–1912) period origins of the term *bijutsu* (the arts) and how that category was used to define "Japan." For further analysis, see Stefan Tanaka, "Imagining History: Inscribing Belief in the Nation," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 53 (February 1994): 24–44.

gray atrium. The building radiates an appreciation of the gargantuan. However, *Photography in the 1940s* demonstrated none of this relish for sheer size. The exhibition was, instead, excruciatingly precise and exquisitely crafted.

With eighty-four photographs from Europe, America, and Japan, Assistant Curator Kuraishi Shino and the museum staff created a dense compendium of images engaging aesthetic, social, and political themes.¹⁰ The exhibition brochure forthrightly justified choosing the theme of the 1940s through reference to the fiftieth anniversary of Japan's defeat.¹¹ When pressed to elaborate further, Kuraishi reiterated that it was the express purpose of the exhibition to juxtapose "aesthetic sophistication" with "the serious political confusion . . . of the period."¹² There can be no doubt that this exhibition confronted the past: the question becomes how and why it did so. Why choose to pierce the silence about the war that hung over Tokyo's photography world that summer?¹³ What histories were articulated through this international collection of images? What idea of Japan took shape through these photographs?

Two images commanded the entrance to the exhibition: Robert Capa's "Collaborators, Chartres, August 18, 1944" and Ansel Adams's "Mount Williamson from Manzanar" (1942), Manzanar being one of the internment camps for Japanese and Japanese Americans in California.¹⁴ (See Figures 1 and 2.) In a sense, these paired scenes of moral failure from France and the United States set the tone for all that followed. The deliberately ordered exhibition then presented Sakamoto Manshichi's serene prints of *haniwa* (the archaic clay figurines renowned for their enigmatic smiles) and of medieval Buddhist statuary.¹⁵ These Japanese works were followed by classic paeans to America's natural beauty,¹⁶ particularly of the far

¹⁰ All the names of Japanese people are written in the Japanese order with family names first unless they appear in quotations from sources that have reversed their normal order or the authors have used the English form of their names in an English-language publication. The name Hiroshi Hamaya in Figures 4 and 7 is given in English-language order, family name last, at the request of Magnum Photos.

¹¹ "Shashin tenjishitsu: 1940 nendai no shashin" [Photography Exhibition Room: Photography in the 1940s], in "Yokohama Bijutsukan josetsuten" [Yokohama Museum of Art, from the Permanent Collection] (May 18 to August 30, 1995).

¹² Kuraishi Shino, private communication with the author, August 11, 1995. I am indebted to Mr. Kuraishi for his thoughtful responses to the questions I put to him about the exhibition and for his kindness in helping me obtain copyright permissions and prints for some illustrations in this article.

¹³ Japanese museums (with the exception of those always concerned with representing aspects of the war, such as the Peace Museum in Hiroshima and the museum attached to the Yasukuni shrine) largely avoided marking the fiftieth anniversary of the war's end. In Washington, D.C., by contrast, the National Museum of American History, the National Archives, the National Air and Space Museum, and the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum all featured exhibitions explicitly dealing with the war. This confluence of exhibitions was not the result of consensus on how to remember World War II in the United States, as the controversy over the Smithsonian Institution's display of the *Enola Gay* demonstrates. For the text of the original Smithsonian proposal, see Philip Nobile, ed., *Judgment at the Smithsonian: The Uncensored Script of the Smithsonian's Fiftieth Anniversary Exhibit of the Enola Gay* (New York, 1995). For a retrospective account from the standpoint of a specialist in Japan, see John Whittier Treat, "The *Enola Gay* on Display: Hiroshima and American Memory," *positions: east asia cultures critique* 5 (Winter 1997): 863–78.

¹⁴ The wall label does not explicitly state that Manzanar was a Japanese internment camp. However, the story of Manzanar is known in Japan in part through photographs taken by an inmate: Miyatake Tōyō, *Miyatake Tōyō no shashin, 1923–79* (Tokyo, 1984). Titles of images are taken from the wall labels supplied by the Yokohama Museum of Art and do not exactly match the titles of the figures in all cases.

¹⁵ Sakamoto Manshichi, "Haniwa" (1945), "Hand of Vairocana, Tōshōdai-ji" (1945), and "Hand of Mahavairocana, Enjō-ji" (1945).

¹⁶ These works include Edward Weston, "Civilian Defense" (1942) and "China Cove, Point Lobos"



FIGURE 1: Robert Capa, "Collaborators, Chartres, France, August 18, 1944." Copyright Magnum Photos, Inc., New York.

West, by further celebratory scenes of traditional Japanese culture,¹⁷ by a few stylized Japanese wartime propaganda shots of civilian workers, and then by images of Western soldiers at war. In the middle of the exhibition, the war ended in a few enigmatic photographs and the postwar period began to unfold. Tokyo springs up from its ashes in a frenzy of rebuilding, while New York revels in garish decadence and Paris displays elegant fashion.¹⁸ Back and forth, the exhibition swung between "the West" and Japan, between nature and culture, between war and peace.

(1940); Minor White, "Sun over the Pacific, Devil's Slide" (1947) and "Sandblaster, San Francisco" (1949); Harry Callahan, "Weed against the Sky, Detroit" (1948); and Ansel Adams, "Grand Teton and Snake River, Grand Teton National Park, Wyoming" (1942), "Teneya Creek, Dogwood, Rain: Yosemite National Park" (1948), and "Moonrise, Hernandez, New Mexico" (1944).

¹⁷ These include Domon Ken, "Potter's Wheel, Kyoto" (1940) and "Matsuo and Chiyo, Scene from a Bunraku Puppet Show" (1940–43); Hamaya Hiroshi's "Boys Singing to Drive Evil Birds Away, Niigata" (1940), "Welcome Fire for a Departed Soul, Niigata" (1945), and "Fire Festival for the Traveler's Guardian Deity, Niigata" (1940).

¹⁸ Richard Avedon, "René, the New Look of Dior, Place de la Concorde, Paris" (1949), "Dorian Leigh, Coat by Dior, Avenue Montaigne, Paris" (1949), "Carmen, Coat by Cardin, Paris" (1949), and "Dorian Leigh, Schiaparelli" (1949).

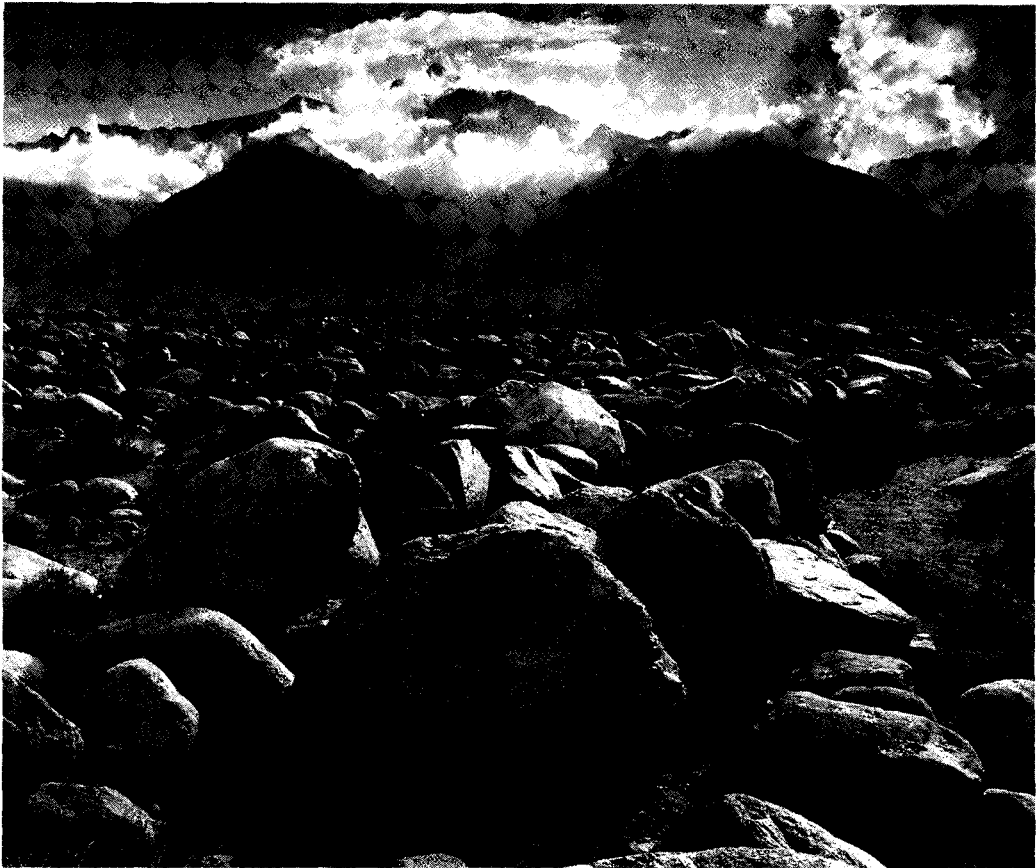


FIGURE 2: Ansel Adams, "Mount Williamson, the Sierra Nevada, from Manzanar, California," 1945. Copyright Ansel Adams Publishing Rights Trust, Collection Center for Creative Photography, the University of Arizona, Tucson.

Two separate though interwoven narratives emerged from the images on the walls: one about "the West" and the other about Japan. In the first narrative, the West was made to indict itself. Capa plays the leading prosecutor with his photographs of French collaborators whose heads have been shaved, of an American soldier kicking a prisoner, and of a wounded child in Sicily.¹⁹ Henri Cartier-Bresson's "Gestapo Informer Recognized by a Woman She Had Denounced, Deportation Camp, Dessau, Germany" (1945) reinforces the theme. The seeming predilection for personal confrontation among Westerners demonstrated by Capa's and Cartier-Bresson's work was evinced even in photographs not related to the war. For instance, in Weegee's "The Critic," an impoverished woman glowers at two grotesque, bejeweled matrons leaving a limousine. (See Figure 3.) This apparent Western tendency to pervert social harmony reverberates as physical deformity in Lisette Model's portraits of a hermaphrodite and dwarf in postwar New York, which are used to close the exhibition.²⁰ Even the joys of victory, marked

¹⁹ Robert Capa, "Chartres, August 18, 1944," "Collaborators, Chartres, August 18, 1944," "Leipzig, April 18, 1945," and "Troina, Sicily, August 6, 1943."

²⁰ Lisette Model, "Lower East Side, New York" (1940) and "Hermaphrodite, 42nd Street Flea Circus, New York" (1940).



FIGURE 3: Weegee [Arthur Fellig], "The Critic," 1943. Copyright 1994, International Center of Photography, New York, Bequest of Wilma Wilcox.

by Alfred Eisenstaedt's photograph of the kissing couple titled "V-J Day, Times Square" (1945) and Capa's view of Liberation Day in Paris (1944), seem, in this context, histrionic.

The cumulative psychological portrait of a race prone to excess was unmistakable; yet the Nazis, Japan's allies, were hardly pictured at all, and the Holocaust was absolutely invisible. The only German image in the entire show, a show purportedly dedicated to dealing with the political confusion of the 1940s, was August Sander's "Junker Soldat, Westerwald" (1945), a close-up portrait of a soldier in whose face it is difficult to read anything more profound than sheer youth.

While the Yokohama Museum's indictment of Americans and Western Europeans was precise and unmitigated, the brutality of these foreigners seemed principally to endanger themselves. The exhibition pointedly avoided being a parable about Western aggression against Japan. Indeed, when the exhibition turned our gaze to "the East," the Allies became a remote, ambiguous presence. For instance, Hamaya Hiroshi's "Half-Breed in the Orphanage of Harbin, China" (1940) depicts a Eurasian child standing forlornly behind high gates with a European crest. (See Figure 4.) The harm represented here seems indirect, the fault obscure. Whose child is it? What East and what West come together in this frail boy's body? Who made an orphan of the child? Even Hiroshima was represented only by Kimura



FIGURE 4: Hiroshi Hamaya, "Half-Breed in the Orphanage of Harbin, China," 1940. Copyright Magnum Photos, Inc., New York.

Ihee's 1946 photograph of a couple slumped in an overgrown field outside the city a year after the bombing. The couple appears tired, but any injuries are invisible, and the city becomes a presence only through the caption.²¹ There were no depictions of Western soldiers in Asia, no representations of fighting on the continent nor any vignettes from island battlefields. It was as though East and West had never bled into the same soil, had never really touched.

The second narrative presented by the exhibition made Japan the central figure, a Japan divorced not only from "the West" but also from "the East" outside its

²¹ Recent discussions of the relationship between photographs and their captions (and text in general) include Mary Price, *The Photograph: A Strange, Confined Space* (Stanford, Calif., 1994); W. J. T. Mitchell, ed., *The Language of Images* (Chicago, 1980); Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (Chicago, 1986); and, most notably, Mitchell, *Picture Theory* (Chicago, 1994).

home islands. In avoiding images of Asia outside Japan, the exhibition reduced the war in this second narrative to an overwhelmingly civilian undertaking. It was a war of defense against an anonymous, seldom-glimpsed enemy. Not only were there no representations of Western soldiers in the East but also virtually no Asian military men of any nationality and certainly no Asian men fighting each other. Only one member of the Japanese armed forces was pictured in the entire exhibition; this airman stands proudly in his clean uniform before a Douglas DC-4 in Yagi Osamu's 1941 portrait "Fighter of the Air." The staged photograph of the unnamed hero presents him and his aircraft against a blank sky without any context, as though the DC-4 were parked before a photographer's screen.

Since, with this one exception, the exhibition avoided representations of Japanese military men, its non-Western narrative highlights Japanese women, brave, beautiful, and clean.²² They serve as military nurses, as volunteer steel workers, and as correspondents in orchestrated propaganda shots. (See Figure 5.) In slightly less sanitized images, Hayashi Tadahiko depicts women lined up in a neighborhood association fire brigade in 1941 and women maneuvering lumber down a muddy forest road in 1943.²³ (See Figure 6.) Together, these photographs present a heavily gendered rendition of wartime Japan as a woman's world. Only after the war ends do Japanese men appear in any number, smoking in the Asakusa district of Tokyo, selling books, and standing in unemployment lines.²⁴

The conflagration of World War II subsides for Japan with Hamaya Hiroshi's quiet "Sun on the Day the War Ended, 1945," in which the sun alone fills the frame, and Morooka Koji's 1946 photograph of a sunlit city street with strolling couples titled "Peace Is Restored, Tokyo." We do not see any of the subject matter from which Japanese photographers made powerful images in the aftermath of the war: returning army personnel waiting to be discharged, Occupation soldiers patronizing strip joints and shoeshine boys, Japanese civilians scavenging through rubble.²⁵ The main focus is on the reconstruction of urban dwellings and shops, as in Nakagawa Kazuo's four-part series *Ginza Recovery*, which charts the rapid rebuilding of downtown Tokyo in 1944, 1945, 1946, and 1947.

The duality of the exhibition narrative is enhanced by the choice of "the forties" as its frame of reference. In a country where several alternative methods of calculating time exist, issues of dating are never entirely neutral. The concept of "the forties" relies on a system of dating imported from the West in the 1870s rather than on the official Japanese method of measuring years by imperial reigns, in which each enthronement resets the calendar at year 1. During the war, dates were

²² It has been argued that during the war the Imperial House was presented to the Japanese public in a particularly feminine guise, one of motherly concern for the nation, in order to enhance its appeal. See Kanō Mikiyo, "'Omigokoro' to 'hahagokoro': 'Yasukuni no haha' o umidasu mono," in Kanō Mikiyo, ed., *Josei to tennōsei* (Tokyo, 1979). See also T. Fujitani's discussion of the emperor and gender during the war in *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996).

²³ Domon Ken, "Young Nurse, Red Cross Hospital, Azabu, Tokyo" (1941); Hayashi Tadahiko, "Line Up of Members of the Neighborhood Association" (1941).

²⁴ Kimura Ihee, "Asakusa Park, Tokyo" (1947) and "Booksellers' Shinbashi Area, Tokyo" (1948); Okumura Taikō, "Unemployed by the Bridge" (1949).

²⁵ Depictions of these subjects can be found, for instance, in Kuwabara Kineo, *Tokyo: 1934-1993* (Tokyo, 1995); and Yoshida Jun, *Yoshida Jun shashin kan: Sengo fōkasu 293* [The Photographic Perspective of Yoshida Jun: Postwar Focus 293] (Tokyo, 1983).



FIGURE 5: Domon Ken, “Young Nurse, Red Cross Hospital, Azabu, Tokyo,” 1941. Copyright Domon Ken Kinenkan, Sakata-shi, Japan. Courtesy of the Yokohama Museum of Art.

usually written according to the reign year of the emperor, a method of dating that continues in governmental forms and other official papers today.²⁶ Alternatively, the Japanese Empire also took 660 BCE as its inaugural year, marking its calendar from the arrival of the first emperor of Japan, grandson of the sun goddess Amaterasu. Through this calculation, Japan celebrated the year 2600 in 1940. With these options before it, had the Yokohama Museum wished to convey a different history, it might have mounted an exhibition, for instance, on the Showa teens, covering 1935 to 1945. In choosing the temporal frame of “the forties,” the curator used time as an interpretive device, ensuring that war was balanced with peace and

²⁶ The Showa era began in 1926 (Showa 1) and ended with the death of Hirohito in 1989. The current era, Heisei, then began.



FIGURE 6: Hayashi Tadahiko, "Carrying out the Timber, Futatsui, Yoneshiro-river, Akita," 1943. Copyright Hayashi Yoskikatsu, Tokyo. Courtesy of the Yokohama Museum of Art.

"the West" was balanced with Japan, obscuring the empire's long engagement on the Asian continent.²⁷

In sum, the images presented at Yokohama created a double story of Western aggression and Japanese innocence, Western shame and Japanese recovery, and the abiding beauty of Western (primarily American) landscapes and the immemorial loveliness of Japanese traditions. It was a tale underscored by the dichotomies of male and female and of nature and culture.²⁸ But definite as these presences were, they also conjured up absences. Where were the pictures of Koreans, South Asians, Okinawans, Nazis, Jews, Russians, Chinese,²⁹ and many others who might have complicated the neat oppositions on which this bifurcated tale rested? Where were Japan's leaders, Japan's soldiers, and the occupying Americans? These invisible images crowded the blank spaces on the museum walls; the exhibition seemed

²⁷ To this day, issues of calculating time remain controversial both in indicating the span of the war by what it is called—the Pacific War, the Fifteen Year War, the Greater East Asian War, or World War II—and in how to date official documents. See, for instance, Ienaga Saburō, *The Pacific War, 1931–1945* (New York, 1978), xiii–xiv.

²⁸ The link forged here and elsewhere between women and (Japanese) culture as opposed to men and nature undermines the assumption of several American scholars that the association between women and nature is universal. See, for instance, the statements of Sherry B. Ortner, "Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture?" in Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere, eds., *Women, Culture and Society* (Stanford, Calif., 1974); and Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution* (New York, 1979).

²⁹ The only exception to the exclusion of Chinese is Henri Cartier-Bresson, "Shanghai" (1949), depicting refugees from the Chinese civil war.

almost overwhelmed by possibilities foregone. In short, *Photography in the 1940s* remembered, but it remembered with deliberate selectivity.

ALTHOUGH CURATOR KURAISHI SHINO may have set out to convey the “serious political confusion” of the period, confusion seemed little in evidence in the expurgation of all images of Japanese militarism, colonialism, and occupation. Elsewhere, such absences might have occasioned comment and even public outcry. Imagine a German photography exhibition, especially one at a major public institution, claiming to represent the political situation of the 1940s with virtually no images of Nazis; imagine an American documentary on the 1960s without reference to Vietnam, political assassinations, or the civil rights movement. But the Yokohama exhibition, while well attended, elicited no major reviews, much less any protest. Accustomed as we have become in the United States to viewing museums and memorials as the battlefields of competing historical interpretations, it is perhaps the lack of controversy in response to *Photography in the 1940s* that most challenges us to understand its context.

For many Japanese, the aporia that seemed so glaring, at least to this American viewer, may have hardly registered. Especially before the death of wartime Emperor Hirohito in 1989, reluctance to remember the 1930s and 1940s was keen. The grandparents who never spoke of wartime or occupation experiences, the whitewashed textbooks read by children, the government officials who carefully expunged wartime images from the arena of public discussion and stridently resisted Asian demands for apology and recompense all conspired to make forgetting easy.³⁰ For many Japanese people, the past remains simply past and irrelevant to their current lives.³¹ As I have already noted, Tokyo-area photography curators other than Kuraishi found it simple enough to avoid all reference to the war in the summer of 1995.³²

³⁰ The Ministry of Education banned a textbook series written by historian Ienaga Saburō in part because of the photographic illustrations he had chosen. These photographs—captioned “Air-raid on the Mainland,” “Wartime Manners and Customs,” “Damages of the War” (showing a one-armed veteran begging), and “The Atomic Bomb and Hiroshima”—were rejected, said the ministry, because “only dark pictures are included and on the whole the impression is too dark.” See Ienaga Saburō, “The Historical Significance of the Japanese Textbook Suit,” *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 2 (Fall 1970): 9. For other discussions of the resistance to remembering the war, see Norma Field, *In the Realm of the Dying Emperor* (New York, 1991); Ian Buruma, *The Wages of Guilt: Memories of War in Germany and Japan* (New York, 1994); and Ienaga, *Pacific War*.

³¹ Although the benefit of remembering past wrongs (whether suffered or perpetrated) is seldom questioned outright, Timothy Garton Ash points out that, “historically, the advocates of forgetting are numerous and weighty.” Ash, “The Truth about Dictatorship,” *New York Review of Books* (February 19, 1998): 35. In Japan, many progressives and academics as well as ordinary citizens and government officials opted for willed amnesia and ignorance of the war and wartime atrocities as a way to move forward without recriminations. See Yoshida Yutaka, *Nihon no sensō-kan: Sengōshi no nakano henyō* [Japanese Views on the War: Changes in Postwar History] (Tokyo, 1995). Even in Japanese veteran groups, some of those who wished to discuss their military experience have been dissuaded on the basis that it “has nothing to do with us anymore,” and the value of forgetfulness has been emphasized. Philip Brasor, “History Put on Back Burner But Front-line Tales Remember,” *Japan Times* (August 20, 1998).

³² The atomic bombings at Hiroshima and Nagasaki escape the general amnesia on the war and are much more frequently and openly discussed and represented in the visual arts. Although photographs of the immediate aftermath of those events are rare because of the scale of the destruction and subsequent Occupation censorship, photographer Yamahata Yōsuke carried his camera around

On the other hand, in the 1990s, what might be termed a "memory shift" has accompanied the "regime shift" in Japan's political economy described by political scientist T. J. Pempel.³³ Willful amnesia about wartime activities is a less plausible stance than it used to be, and indeed, as Australian historian Gavan McCormack argues, "the question of responsibility for the war that ended half a century ago becomes more pressing for Japan" rather than less.³⁴ Some grandparents who never brought themselves to speak of the war with the younger members of their families now relate their experiences on a web site created by the "Computer Ōbāchan no Kai" (Society of Computer-Literate Grannies).³⁵ The Asahi newspaper and publishing company has created several forums for people who wish to write about their war experiences, most recently an open-ended newspaper series titled "The Torment of Memory," which solicits stories from former soldiers of the imperial army.³⁶ Television shows have explored aspects of the war as well. Controversy over how to represent Korean and other non-Japanese dead has disturbed the tranquility of Hiroshima Peace Park, and similar problems of representation have been raised at war memorials in Okinawa after decades of silence.

On the official level, each Japanese prime minister since 1993 has intoned "deep remorse" on the August 15 anniversary of the war's end. Partly due to the lawsuits initiated in Tokyo courts in the early 1990s by Asian victims pressing claims for apology and compensation, it has become less easy (though not impossible) to deny outright the most gruesome aspects of the war—the massacres at Nanking and elsewhere,³⁷ the use of chemical and biological weapons,³⁸ human experimentation

Nagasaki following the blast. American curator Christopher Beaver organized an exhibition of these images, "Nagasaki Journey: The Photography of Yōsuke Yamahata, August 10, 1945," which opened in Nagasaki in August 1995 and toured New York, San Francisco, and Washington. Other Japanese photographers who have taken the aftermath of bombings as their subject include Shomei Tōmatsu and Domon Ken.

³³ T. J. Pempel, "Regime Shift: Japanese Politics in a Changing World Economy," in "Symposium on Continuity and Change in Heisei Japan," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 23 (Summer 1997): 333–62.

³⁴ Gavan McCormack, "The Japanese Movement to 'Correct' History," *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars: Textbook Nationalism, Citizenship, and War, Comparative Perspectives* 30 (April–June 1998): 16.

³⁵ "Computer Ōbāchan no Kai" started its web site in early August 1998. Their home page (in Japanese), called "August 15, as We Remember It," contains photographs from the 1940s and can be found on the World Wide Web at www.setagaya.net/jijibaba8-15/.

³⁶ Letters from an earlier series have been translated in Frank B. Gibney, ed., *Senso: The Japanese Remember the Pacific War; Letters to the Editor of the Asahi Shimbun*, Beth Cary, trans. (Armonk, N.Y., 1995).

³⁷ In May 1998, members of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) visited the memorial to the victims of the Nanking Massacre for the first time. While the leader of the group, senior deputy secretary general of the LDP Nonaka Hiromu, acknowledged the "scar" of Nanking as "an abnormal incident in an abnormal age," other members of his party criticized the trip. The Nanking Massacre is one of the most controversial issues of the war. The Japanese government has strongly condemned as inaccurate Iris Chang's book, *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* (New York, 1997).

³⁸ In accordance with an international treaty to ban chemical weapons, the Japanese government has committed itself to disposing of the chemical weapons it left in China after the war by 2007. It estimates that 700,000 chemical shells remain; China puts the number at 2 million. "Japan's Chemical Weapons in China: Arms Disposal to Cost ¥100 Billion," *Japan Times* (August 14, 1998). For a fuller description of the wartime use of these weapons, see Sheldon H. Harris, *Factories of Death: Japanese Biological Warfare, 1932–45, and the American Cover-up* (London, 1994).

in Unit 731,³⁹ and the system of sexual slavery. In 1996, Ministry of Education officials, once so adamant that textbooks present the Asian war in the mildest terms possible, permitted mention of the military sex slaves known as “comfort women.”⁴⁰ From the perspective of Japan’s fiercest critics, especially its Asian victims, this “memory shift” appears belated, prevaricating, and self-interested, but it has, nonetheless, changed the dynamic of recollection in Japan.⁴¹

AS WITH ANY RETROSPECTIVE EXHIBITION, *Photography in the 1940s* is an artifact of contemporary possibilities for historical practice as well as a repository of history. The very existence of the exhibition promoted the tentative shift toward recollection outlined above, but that still leaves the pressing question of exactly what conception of the nation’s past and its current identity was projected by this particular collection of images. Why did the Yokohama Museum of Art assign itself the task of resuscitating wartime images and then refuse to show images of Japan’s militarism? Why focus on the 1940s and then never hint that Japan was occupied by foreign troops for half that period? Why indict the West but not in relation to harm done to Japan? In other words, how are we to understand the history that *Photography in the 1940s* created?

The first possible answer to these questions might be a simple explanation involving the availability of photographs themselves. It could be argued that no pictures of Japanese military subjects, for instance, met Kuraishi’s standard of “aesthetic sophistication.” Of the more overtly topical photographs selected for the exhibition, most conform to a modernist documentary aesthetic institutionalized in American museum photography departments since the 1960s. Others, such as Domon Ken’s conventionally stylized propaganda photograph, “Young Nurse, Red Cross Hospital, Azabu, Tokyo” (Figure 5), may have been included less for reasons of aesthetic sophistication than the photograph’s now canonical status.⁴² However, by either criterion, there was a wealth of photographs available, taken by Japanese amateur, press, and military photographers and by non-Japanese all over Asia as

³⁹ Morimura Seiichi, *Akuma no Hōshoku* [The Devil’s Gluttony] (Tokyo, 1982); Hal Gold, *Unit 731 Testimony: Japan’s Wartime Human Experimentation Program* (Tokyo, 1996).

⁴⁰ As historians Laura Hein and Mark Selden point out, the permissible sentence or two referring to “comfort women” in middle school textbooks hardly fulfills the demands of “critics sympathetic to the comfort women [who] have censured these descriptions as inadequate for their failure to discuss, still less condemn, the system.” Hein and Selden, “Learning Citizenship from the Past: Textbook Nationalism, Global Context, and Social Change,” *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 30 (April–June 1998): 10. See also Yoshimi Yoshiaki, *Jūgun Ianfu* [The Comfort Women] (Tokyo, 1995); and “Special Issue: The Comfort Women; Colonialism, War, and Sex,” *positions: east asia cultures critique* 5 (Spring 1997).

⁴¹ Pragmatic apologies have helped strengthen relations with other Asian countries, but the overt instrumentality of some statements of remorse undermines their effectiveness. For instance, in August 1998, newly appointed Minister of Agriculture Nakagawa Shōichi retracted his statement that there was no evidence that women were forced to serve as sex slaves by the Japanese armed forces, saying that such comments might have negative effects on the ongoing fisheries talks between Japan and South Korea. “Nakagawa Retracts Sex Slave Comments,” *Japan Times* (August 1, 1998): 2.

⁴² The exhibition includes Capa’s “D-Day,” a photograph whose borderline legibility (induced, famously, by a nervous darkroom technician) blurs the issue of aesthetic sophistication. This image assumed its iconic power as a relic of D-Day itself but now influences aesthetic standards precisely through its iconic power; the potency of comparable Japanese photographs will depend in part on the extent of their cultural circulation.

Japanese forces advanced.⁴³ A more complex sense of how standards of aesthetic sophistication are created would admit a broader class of photographic imagery, including the poster art and magazine graphics that helped mobilize Japan's wartime population.⁴⁴

The second possible explanation for the absent images might be that none existed in the Yokohama Museum's permanent collection, from which this exhibition was drawn. Given that the Yokohama photography collection is growing steadily, the museum could have obtained such pictures, had it wished to do so.⁴⁵ Even more to the point, a very different story was already available within the resources of the museum as of 1995. Its extensive Robert Capa collection alone could have provided images of Jews and of Nazis. Capa's photograph of a leveled Warsaw could have thrown the destruction of Tokyo into relief; home-front suffering could have appeared universal and not just a Japanese phenomenon with Capa's portrayals of Londoners during the Blitz. Had the time span been extended back to 1938, Capa's pictures of China could have conveyed a fuller story, revealing something of Japanese aggression on the continent. In short, neither aestheticism nor availability accounts for the twists in Yokohama's tale. The choice of images at Yokohama was not, I think, determined by necessity but rather by interpretations of the war and of appropriate representations of Japan's national history.

In turning to the possible interpretations guiding this exhibition, we enter a field sabotaged, almost literally, by secret dangers. I refer not to the explosive issues of intentionality and audience response or to the problems of museum-created histories that charge debates in the American and European contexts. Rather, in Japanese museums and galleries, ultranationalist activity, seemingly supported by the police, circumscribes what can be shown without controversy.⁴⁶ Those rare works that concern the war or the emperor system (*tennōsei*) draw ultranationalists' ire and their blaring sound trucks. Art is destroyed, artists threatened, museums harassed, the police visit at midnight, and exhibitions are closed.⁴⁷

⁴³ Important examples of Japanese war photography can be found in Kuwabara Kineo, ed., *Nihon shashin zenshū*, Vol. 4: *Sensō no kioku* [Memories of War] (Tokyo, 1987); and in Nihon shashinka kyōkai, *Nihon shashin shi, 1840–1945* [The History of Japanese Photography, 1840–1945] (Tokyo, 1971), trans. by John W. Dower, ed., as *A Century of Japanese Photography* (New York, 1980). See also John Taylor, *War Photography: Realism in the British Press* (London, 1991); and the Time-Life series *World War II*, esp. Arthur Zich, ed., *The Rising Sun* (Alexandria, Va., 1977); and Rafael Steinberg, ed., *Island Fighting* (Alexandria, 1978). The latter volume contains a striking photograph of Japanese troops dressed in grass skirts and black face by Yanagida Fumio, 10–11.

⁴⁴ See, for instance, the carefully composed image by Kanamaru Shigene and Yamawaki Iwao of two determined Japanese soldiers coming over the edge of a trench, one heaving a grenade, with a trampled American flag in the foreground, "Uchiteshi tomamu" [Ever Onward] (1943), or the graphics in illustrated magazines of the period such as *Nippon*, *Homu Raifu* [Home Life], *Manchuria Graph*, and *Front*.

⁴⁵ Comparison between the exhibited photographs and the *Yokohama bijutsukan shōzō himmoku roku II: Shashin* [Catalogue of the Collection, Yokohama Museum of Art, II: Photographs] (Yokohama, 1989) shows that the museum continues to make acquisitions of this type of photography.

⁴⁶ Positions along a political spectrum are, of course, always relative. The term "ultranationalism" (*chōkokkashugi*) was used by Japan's leading twentieth-century political theorist Maruyama Masao in discussing far right-wing activities, and it has become the customary term for describing such groups by those who disapprove of them. On the other hand, historian Hata Inuhiko of Nihon University used a different scale in making the following distinctions in relation to the 1937 Nanking Massacre: "conservatives" consider it an "illusion," "radicals" call it a "massacre," and moderates believe it is somewhere between the two. "Nanking Debate a Rallying Point," *Japan Times* (August 19, 1998): 3.

⁴⁷ Gallery owners have been visited late at night by plainclothes policemen and advised not to open

These far right-wing groups are no small handful of malcontents but number about 120,000 in 980 organizations across the nation. Their ties to particular politicians and bureaucrats are indistinct but potent. For instance, when an ultranationalist group objected to the Toyama Museum of Modern Art's acquisition of Ōura Nobuyuki's "Holding Perspectives," a print series with images of Emperor Hirohito, the Toyama regional assembly intervened by deeming the art offensive and publicly questioning the judgment of museum officials. All planned Ōura exhibitions were canceled and the catalogues for the exhibition burned after a Shinto priest tore up the museum's display copy.⁴⁸ In most cases, the impulse of the police, gallery owners, museum officials, and even artists with avant-garde proclivities is to avoid confrontation and expunge from view the stray chrysanthemum (symbol of the imperial family) or offending reference to Chinese and Korean comfort women. Artist Shimada Yoshiko, quite exceptionally, fought back when the Toyama Museum succumbed to right-wing complaints about Ōura's work by sending the ashes of one of her own paintings in protest to museum authorities. The museum returned the ashes. Shimada reports that it is easier to live outside Japan because her own work is critical of the emperor system and sympathetic to the plight of the comfort women.⁴⁹ Such protective self-censorship and lack of law enforcement leaves the art world paralyzed to resist ultranationalist pressure.

Given this threatening atmosphere, the staff of the Yokohama Museum did not, could not, operate without constraint in choosing images for an exhibition touching on the vexed subject of the war. The curator willingly entered the fraught public sphere where incompatible senses of Japanese national identity, some supported by vicious nationalists, compete for recognition. Although he did not choose to engage such controversial issues as the guilt of the emperor, the ruthlessness of the military, or the nation's dedication to war, he also refused the safety of silence. In these circumstances, *Photography in the 1940s* might be perceived as an act of courage. On the other hand, it proceeded very gingerly down the path of memory. A tense ambiguity, perhaps the frustrating consequence of subconscious self-censorship, connected its juxtaposed images. Positioned against the competing

exhibitions, as happened with Kitagawa Yūji's exhibition in Gen Gallery in June 1993. Later, the police admitted the visits but denied suggesting that the exhibition be closed. E. Patricia Tsurumi, "Censored in Japan: Taboo Art," *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 26 (1994): 66–70. Nor are the visual arts the only ones censored in this powerful way. For instance, "Sevuntiin" [Seventeen], written by Ōe Kenzaburō, concerns the October 1960 assassination of Asanuma Inejirō, chair of the Socialist Party, by Yamaguchi Otoyō, a seventeen-year-old right-wing fanatic who committed suicide three weeks after his arrest. Ōe's story, published in two parts in the literary magazine *Bungakukai* (January–February 1961), earned him death threats and harassment from the extreme right, especially Dai Nippon Aikokutō's leader Akao Bin, who had been Yamaguchi's mentor. This story has never been republished in Japan after its controversial first appearance, and foreign rights to translation have never been granted even though Ōe was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature. Luk Van Haute, "Young and Politically Incorrect: Ōe Kenzaburō's Early Marginal Heros," in Bjarke Frellesvig and Roy Starrs, eds., *Japan and Korea: Contemporary Studies* (Aarhus, 1997), 104. For another instance of right-wing attacks against literary arts, this one ending in a bloody attack on a publisher's family, see John Whittier Treat, "Beheaded Emperors and the Absent Figure in Contemporary Japanese Literature," *PMLA* (January 1994): 100–15.

⁴⁸ Nancy Shalala, "Censorship Silences Japanese Artists," *Asian Art News* (September–October 1994): 62–67; and Shalala, "Hidden Terrors Put Gag on Art World," *Japan Times* (July 10, 1994).

⁴⁹ The Ota Gallery in Ebisu, Tokyo, continues to represent Shimada, and Mr. Ota kindly provided background information on the problems faced by artists such as Shimada and Ōura.

senses of Japanese nationhood and history outside the museum, the exhibition can be interpreted as having given shape to three radically different forms of national identity: Japan as a nation formed through a history of innocence and resistance, Japan as a nation inviolable in its ahistorical essence, and Japan as a nation engaged in traumatic self-discovery through engagement with the Other, a Japan that finds itself in the mirror of the West.

The first possible mode of national identity emerges from reading the exhibition as directly as possible and taking Kuraishi at his word: he sought to confront the events of the 1940s and convey the experience of the Japanese people. The images he presented depicted a people swept away by the tide of war, a war visited upon them not so much by the West as by some unnamed natural force, although the West, arguably, was analogized to nature obliquely through many photographs, particularly those of Ansel Adams. Indeed, on close examination, many of the images convey the impression of Japanese people being driven away from culture into nature: women into the forests as recruits to take over logging operations, the couple into the field far outside Hiroshima, the sun itself on the day the war ends. Against a natural disaster of such magnitude, little resistance was possible, or so this collection may have suggested. For the general populace, the war was less action than stunned reaction.

In these circumstances, the only possible antiwar stance for practicing photographers may have been what historian Ienaga Saburō places under the rubric passive resistance, the refusal to participate enthusiastically in the war. The exhibition brochure briefly suggests this view when it mentions that some photographers, rather than be absorbed into the propaganda machine, "consciously became engrossed in Japanese traditions and conventions" and used their mastery of "the theory and practice of documentary photography" to record objects and events unrelated to the war. They tried to drop out, tried to find a place of refuge from contemporary Japan in the customary Japan of the rural hinterlands.⁵⁰

Hamaya Hiroshi is a prime exemplar of this strategy.⁵¹ Traveling to distant Niigata, far from Japanese military, industrial, and governmental centers, Hamaya focused his lens on folk customs. With a longing eye, his camera recorded an undulating line of boys carrying torches through a snowy night in a celebration designed to chase away imaginary evil birds and lift mid-winter spirits.⁵² (See Figure 7.) The Fire Festival for the guardian deity of travel also captured Hamaya's attention.⁵³ But during the same year, 1940, when these photographs were taken, Hamaya left Niigata to go to Japanese-occupied Harbin, where, treading on conquered soil, he photographed the "half-breed" orphan whom we see later in the exhibition. Should the Harbin series be viewed as an act of resistance or as an act of complicity? Does the receptivity to circumstances under which documentary

⁵⁰ Kuraishi does not refer directly to Ienaga's thesis in the exhibition brochure, but his conception of "dropping out" is similar to Ienaga's concept. Ienaga, *Pacific War*, 204–08.

⁵¹ Okatsuka Akiko, curator at the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, also discusses Hamaya's career and his decision to flee wartime work in *Nihon kindai shashin no seiritsu to tenkai* [The Founding and Development of Modern Photography in Japan] (Tokyo, 1995), 25–26. This exhibition ran from January 21 to March 26, 1995. I am grateful to Ms. Okatsuka for providing background information on the pressures faced by public art museums in Japan.

⁵² Hamaya Hiroshi, "Boys Singing to Drive Evil Birds Away, Niigata" (1940).

⁵³ Hamaya Hiroshi, "Fire Festival for the Traveler's Guardian Deity" (1940).



FIGURE 7: Hiroshi Hamaya, "Boys Singing to Drive Evil Birds Away, Niigata," Japan, 1940. Copyright Magnum Photos, New York.

photographers necessarily work protect them from charges of active perpetration of the events around them or does it implicate them?⁵⁴

The same question arises with the work of Domon Ken. His images of a Kyoto potter's wheel and a Bunraku puppet show may evoke timeless custom and suggest passive resistance to the war, but they are part of a body of work that also includes propaganda shots used to rally the nation.⁵⁵ The exhibition forthrightly included both aspects of Domon's work just as it did Hamaya's. Perhaps, recognizing the complexity of competing loyalties to state, society, family, and self, the exhibition implied that even inconsistent acts of non-engagement with the war should be lauded as heroic, considering the nation's general commitment to total war. As curator, Kuraishi may even have been intimating that the same was true for his own

⁵⁴ The role of documentary photographers has been praised and attacked on these grounds. Don McCullin, an active practitioner, defends documentary work saying, "I hate carrying cameras, they disfigure me. I carry a conscience." McCullin, "Notes by a Photographer," in Emile Meijer and Joop Swart, eds., *The Photographic Memory* (London, 1987), 26. In contrast, critic Allan Sekula dismisses the efforts of documentary photographers as a cruel means by which "the oppressed are granted a bogus Subjecthood." Sekula, "On the Invention of Photographic Meaning," in Victor Burgin, ed., *Thinking Photography* (London, 1982), 109. More subtly, W. J. T. Mitchell argues that the aesthetic, ethical, and political goals of a documentary project may be ultimately irreconcilable. Mitchell, *Picture Theory*, 294–95.

⁵⁵ Domon Ken's work was represented by four images: "Head of Anira, Muro-ji" (temple statuary, Anira is one of the twelve Yakushi generals) (1940); "Potter (Potter's Wheel), Kyoto" (1940); "Matsuo and Chiyo, Scene from the Bunraku Puppet Show 'Sugawara Denju Tenarai Kagami'" (part of a series, 1940–43); "Young Nurse, Red Cross Hospital, Azabu, Tokyo" (1941).

act of noncompliance with the consensus of silence on the war by photography museums that summer.

The problem of interpreting *Photography in the 1940s* in this way is that the images of tradition created by Hamaya and Domon could have worked in the 1940s as passive resistance only in the context of a society whose energies were utterly devoted to the imperial cause. The gestures of these photographers attain the status of political opposition only if they are positioned against the backdrop of a dedicated populace sending its middle school students to work in bomb factories and its teenagers to die in suicide missions. In the Yokohama exhibition, however, we saw virtually none of this dedication to military victory. Without the purposeful activity of empire in the foreground, the images of traditional art and customs cannot appear to countermand the values of the state. Instead, their loveliness is absorbed by the nation at war: the quiet visage of a Buddhist statue melds with the quiet face of a military nurse. In not showing or not being able to show photographs documenting Japanese militarism, *Photography in the 1940s* transformed passive resistance into mere passivity. Without adequate context, the meaning of the images is transposed from the discourse of resistance to one of acquiescence.

Ironically, then, the constraint on exhibiting imperial and military images within art museums undermines the possibility of recollecting a legacy of innocence or passive resistance. If the deeds of Japan's military masters and enemies cannot be represented, the identity of the Japanese people cannot be understood as having emerged through resistance to those deeds. Indeed, on a more abstract level, the proposition that national identity emerges through the contingencies of time is itself undermined. In creating a consciously retrospective exhibition, the Yokohama Museum may have hoped to suggest that contemporary Japanese identity is rooted in history, that the nation is itself a historical artifact, the result of various decisions, events, and accidents that have impinged on its nature. The curator may have sought to present photographs that document moments of national becoming. In this effort, however, *Photography in the 1940s* fails. That which can be shown—the impotent innocence of the emperor's subjects and the timeless images of traditional arts and festivals—suggests not a nation formed through contingency and will but one best understood through some timeless aesthetic essence.

The sense of nationhood conveyed through this collection is that, whatever the war was, whatever natural forces beat against the nation, Japan remained inviolate. Postwar rebuilding spectacularly and rapidly reconstituted the physical basis of life, but in these postwar years as well the identity of the nation remained the same. The brush with American occupiers vanishes without trace. The cumulative image is of a Japan that transcends the eventfulness of history for an abiding cultural essence.

Despite the curator's stated purpose of creating a history through photographic images, the indirect pressures of ultranationalist censorship won out on two levels. Not only have many of the images of Japan's war been excised from public view, but the general concept that history is the medium through which national identity emerges has also been checked. Before the "memory shift" of the 1990s and even after, Japan's far right wing has sought to project an image of Japan in which national, state, and popular interests are identical, best represented in high art forms that de-emphasize contingency and idiosyncratic creativity. Traditional arts

such as kabuki and Nō, calligraphy and Japanese-style painting, lacquerware and ceramics garner large governmental subsidies, while those arts prizing individual expression or the role of chance are more suspect in that they hint at alternatives foregone and competing perspectives, only some of which can be identical with those of the state. Photographs, particularly when elevated within public museums, unless strictly dedicated to formalism or representative of trends in European and American art, threaten to shatter this ideal of Japan as a changeless culture.

In having the potential to suggest the nation's historicity by creating interactions between specific images from Japan's past and present-day viewers, photography exhibitions can promote what for the right wing is the subversive notion that national identity is always in a state of becoming.⁵⁶ Worse yet, from this perspective, if a viewer can interrogate the past on the museum wall, he or she might interrogate the policies of the present. The right-wing concept of national essence is not simply a conservative plea for the purity of the past but a contemporary polemic against democratic practices that foster respect for competing interests, constantly renegotiated through open political activity. It is not just a particular version of history but historicity itself, the necessary matrix of democracy, that becomes the core issue for the Yokohama exhibition and for the struggle over Japan's national identity in general.

BOTH OF THE INTERPRETATIONS of the Yokohama exhibition that I have presented so far—as proposing a mild national history for Japan and as resisting narrative history altogether—leave out a crucial element: the American and European photographs. My analysis of the form of Japanese nationhood represented in this exhibition has focused exclusively on the Japanese photographs, but this approach may be too simple, accepting a dichotomy that can be overcome. A third way of interpreting *Photography in the 1940s* might take its images of Western aggression and Western collaborators to stand in for obscured memories of Japanese brutality and national complicity. In this scenario, through sublimation and projection, Japan's aggressive past might be obliquely acknowledged.

Though implausible, this reading of the exhibition can be supported in several ways. For instance, one could argue that *Photography in the 1940s* chose not to portray the West as a direct enemy of Japan, thereby easing the way for Japanese viewers to identify with the perpetrators of violence. The right wing has claimed that the Fifteen Year War was justified due to European and American colonialism in Asia—so *Photography in the 1940s* chose not to represent Westerners in Asia. In the images on the walls, the brutality of Westerners is frequently directed at other Westerners, a fact that may recall the terrible treatment suffered by Japanese army recruits at the hands of their own officers. Seen in this light, the exhibition contained not two separate narratives—one of the West and another of Japan—but a single narrative in which the West becomes the subconscious past of a guilty nation. When the narrative required violence, our eyes were directed westward, and

⁵⁶ I have discussed the resistance to photography on this basis in "Raw Photographs and Cooked History."

when the narrative depicted the home front, we saw Japanese women and culture, but, by this third reading, *Photography in the 1940s* was ultimately one story of war with innocence and brutality on all sides.

Construed in this way, *Photography in the 1940s* defies a new right-wing approach to history currently being urged by groups such as Jiyūshugi Shikan Kenkyūkai (Liberal View of History Study Group) and Atarashii Rekishi Kyōkasho o Tsukuru Kai (Society for Making New History Textbooks).⁵⁷ These groups, despite organizational and intellectual ties to the form of ultranationalism described above, aggressively revise history not merely to mask failures (although they seek to do that as well) but to affirm what they prefer to call the Greater East Asian War as an act of self-defense and purposeful liberation of Koreans, Chinese, and other peoples suffering under American and European colonialism.⁵⁸ Far from lamenting the defeat of Japan's noble aims, this version of history views the sacrifices of the Fifteen Year War as providing the foundation for Japan's postwar prosperity. In short, theirs is a tale of pure national triumph. Although such retrospective defenses of Japan's war aims are not entirely new,⁵⁹ the orchestrated efforts of these "study groups" and their aggressive embrace of history as the battlefield of national identity must be seen as a response to the general shift toward recollection in the 1990s and indeed as part of it.⁶⁰

In keeping with the "memory shift" within Japan and recognizing that visual media serve wide audiences as "theaters of memory," the Jiyūshugi Shikan Kenkyūkai and its affiliates vigorously promote their message not only through books⁶¹ but through television,⁶² cartoons,⁶³ and films such as *Pride: Unmei no toki*

⁵⁷ These national organizations were formed in 1995 and 1996 respectively by University of Tokyo Professor of Education Fujioka Nobukatsu.

⁵⁸ Fujioka Nobukatsu insists that the issue of the so-called comfort women is "a grand conspiracy for the destruction of Japan" and a falsehood that portrays Japan as a "lewd, foolish, and rabid race without peer in the world." See Gavan McCormack's discussion of Fujioka's views on this issue in "Japanese Movement to 'Correct' History," 18–19.

⁵⁹ See, for instance, Hayashi Fusao, *Daitōa sensō kōtei ron* [Affirming the Greater East Asian War], parts 1 and 2 (Tokyo, 1965); *Nihon e no keikoku* [A Warning to Japan] (Tokyo, 1969); and *Hayashi Fusao chosaku shu* [An Anthology of the Writings of Hayashi Fusao], 3 vols. (Tokyo, 1968–69). Historian Hayashi's argument that Japan went to war to liberate Asia met with immediate rebuttals and denunciation.

⁶⁰ The forces within Japan working to revive history have responded actively to this new threat. Historian Nakamura Masanori points out that articles in *Rekishi hyōron* [History Criticism], *Kyōiku* [Education], *Sekai* [The World], *Kikan: Senso sekinin kenkyū* [Quarterly War Responsibility Research], and *Shūkan kin'yōbi* [Friday Weekly] have denounced Jiyūshugi Shikan Kenkyūkai, although Nakamura also suggests that "historians, politicians, middle- and high-school teachers were slow to react." Attempts by Fujioka and his followers to have references to "comfort women" once again excised from textbooks have met with stout resistance within Japan, where over 200 petitions have been presented to city councils urging that these references be retained. Nakamura, "History Textbook Controversy and Nationalism," 28.

⁶¹ Best-selling books by Fujioka Nobukatsu have forcefully promoted this version of history. His best-known publication is the three-volume *Kyōkasho ga oshienai rekishi* [The History Not Taught in Textbooks] (Tokyo, 1996–97). His general themes are repeated in *Ojoku no kin-gendai shi: Ima, kokufuku no toki* [Disgraceful Modern History: Now, the Time of Recovery] (Tokyo, 1996). His attack on changes in the textbook coverage can be found in "'Jūgun ianfu' o chūgaku ni oshieru na" [Don't Teach Middle School Students about the "Military Comfort Women"], in Atarashii rekishi kyōkasho o tsukuru kai, ed., *Atarashii Nihon no rekishi ga hajimaru* [A New Japanese History Is Beginning] (Tokyo, 1997). Other well-placed academics who have supported his arguments include Hata Ikuhiko and Nishio Kanji.

⁶² The Asahi Television program "Asamade" [Live 'til Dawn] on February 1, 1997, featured members

(Pride: The Fatal Moment).⁶⁴ Nor has the power of museums to shape historical consciousness been ignored by this new brand of right-wing revisionism. For instance, in the spring of 1998, critics connected with Jiyūshugi Shikan Kenkyūkai and led by University of Tokyo professor Fujioka Nobukatsu forced the panel advising the governor of Tokyo on a city war museum to redraw its plans. These critics denounced as “masochistic” the original plan’s characterization of Tokyo as a city with military targets.⁶⁵ Although the new proposals for the museum continue to call for exhibitions at sites of former military facilities, all references to Tokyo as a military city have been dropped, and the space proposed for displays concerning the American bombing campaign (which killed an estimated 80,000 to 120,000 people) has been enlarged. In this proposed museum and in other media, the wartime history of Japan takes the form of righteous action in self-defense against the West and justified violence on behalf of other Asians. While the right-wing image of Japan discussed earlier deflected attention away from the past toward enduring cultural symbols and sought to remove the besmirching traces of time from the essence of national identity, the image of Japan molded by the new right is, by contrast, vibrantly historical. From its perspective, eventful narrative history can be revived as a basis of national unity, since memory bears no burden of shame or pain.

Seen against this aggressively triumphant vision, *Photography in the 1940s*, with its gentle portrayal of domestic Japan and strictly non-confrontational depiction of Allied violence, becomes a bulwark of moderation. If we further consider the exhibition as bridging the dichotomy between Japan and the West to create a single narrative, it becomes possible to read it as a plea for a new historical beginning, one that refuses to take the nation as the sole object of recollection. In keeping with this benign interpretation, *Photography in the 1940s* could be said to promote the transnational idea that a shared knowledge of terror and death forces us to recognize that no one nation stands alone: one nation’s history always entails the perspective of others. German historian Michael Geyer argues compellingly for this response to the shattering experience of war. He portrays the “commemoration of death as work on the bond of human solidarity, mindful of a genocidal past,” and insists that this commemoration is “a necessary element of the renewal of historical

of the study group attacking historian Yoshimi Yoshiaki as “sick” for his work on comfort women revealing the extent of the forced abductions and government complicity. See Yoshimi, *Jūgun Ianfu*.

⁶³ Cartoonist Kobayashi Yoshinori is a member of the movement, publishing a cartoon series supportive of its stance on Japanese history in the magazine *Sapio*.

⁶⁴ *Pride* (the original title was in English) depicts wartime Prime Minister General Tōjō Hideki as a hero vengefully hounded to death by the victorious Allies during the Tokyo trials that followed Japan’s defeat. Tsugawa Masahiko, the actor portraying Tōjō, and the film’s director, Itō Shunya, treated the film as an ideological as well as a commercial venture. The ¥1.5 billion production costs were underwritten by the president of a home construction company known for his links with right-wing groups. It was a box-office success and became the top-grossing Japanese-made film in the first six months of 1998. Among those defending it against a surge of protests from domestic and foreign groups, including an official protest from the Chinese government, was Hosokawa Ryūichirō, former managing editor of the major newspaper *Mainichi Shinbun*, who exonerated Japan from responsibility for the war with China by suggesting that this war was “started with a conspiracy engineered by Liu Shaoqi, a Chinese Communist subordinate of Mao Zedong.” Hosokawa, “Japanese Need a Good Dose of *Pride*,” *Japan Times* (June 2, 1998).

⁶⁵ “War Museum Plan Rephrased,” *Japan Times* (April 21, 1998).

consciousness, which will then be able to look back on the epoch of world wars as a passing era."⁶⁶ By this light, Japanese national identity and representations of that identity in photographic exhibitions will necessarily engage other nations and other images from around the world. In this sense, there can only be one story.

Despite its attractions as a psychoanalytic reading and its suggestion of human solidarity, this third interpretation of the Yokohama exhibition is, finally, implausible. The gulf between self and other—*gaijin*, outsiders, foreigners—that structures Japanese national consciousness is such that it is unlikely that many Japanese visitors recognized themselves in Robert Capa's soldiers or Edward Weston's female nude with a gas mask entitled "Civilian Defense" (1942). The notable dearth of images of Germans also betrays a reluctance to draw parallels between Japan and the part of the West to which Japan was allied during wartime. The "West" *in toto* remains foreign. As sociologist Kosaku Yoshino has argued, "Japanese identity is the anti-image of foreignness and, as such, can only be affirmed by formulating the images of the Other; namely, the West."⁶⁷ Even the catalogue of the Yokohama Museum's complete photographic holdings is organized along this principle: the first section devoted to Japanese photographers, the second labeled *Gaikoku sakka no shashin* (Photographs by Foreign Photographers).⁶⁸ Given the refusal to represent, let alone claim, the impulse toward brutality and annihilation as universally human, *Photography in the 1940s* did not, I believe, commemorate that painful decade in such a way that historical consciousness could be renewed on an altered basis of human solidarity. Instead, eventfulness, activity, and specific histories mark the images created by Europeans and Americans; the images by Japanese are quiet and still. These two collectivities stand opposed to one another without serving as mirrors of a universal humanity.

Photography in the 1940s changes hue as our understanding of its background changes. Against the right-wing urge to forget, it appears to have made a stand for the value of remembering; against the new right's triumphal vision of Japan's wartime aims, it appears to have been a mild antidote, offering the heroism of survival rather than that of noble liberators. At best, the exhibition was a modest act of historical representation, compelling principally in its precise calibration of the limits of historical consensus in Japan at the moment of its production. Just as the "regime shift" in Japan's political economy remains open-ended, so too the "memory shift" has yet to consolidate opinion on the role and nature of modern history. Certainly, *Photography in the 1940s* did not challenge the public to confront the harsher images of Japan's past. It did, however, present it with a few tools to participate in a democratic form of history making, if history is, as Raphael Samuel argues, "not the prerogative of the historian, nor even, as postmodernism contends, a historian's 'invention' . . . [but], rather, a social form of knowledge; the work, in any given instance, of a thousand different hands."⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Michael Geyer, "The Place of the Second World War in German Memory and History," *Neo: New German Critique* 71 (Spring–Summer 1997): 40.

⁶⁷ Kosaku Yoshino, *Cultural Nationalism in Contemporary Japan: A Sociological Enquiry* (London, 1992), 11.

⁶⁸ As of 1989, the foreigners' section encompassed no East Asian and no South Asian photographers at all. *Yokohama bijutsukan shozō hinmoku roku II*.

⁶⁹ Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, 8.

MUCH AS IT SAYS ABOUT the current situation in Japan, *Photography in the 1940s* speaks to an issue that transcends the particularities of the exhibition, the fiftieth anniversary of Japan's surrender, and Japan itself. This larger issue is the problematic relationship of photography with time. As the Yokohama exhibition demonstrates, when art museums create visual histories, they necessarily mediate between whatever sense of time inheres within the images and the broader social conception of time and national history. In some circumstances, this mediation is relatively simple. Where nations understand themselves as entities that change through time, photography can seem naturally to mark history because it is assumed that the viewer, photographer, curator, and nation partake of the same quality of continuous, evolving time. In these conditions, documentary practices flourish, and photography in art museums can speak to aesthetic and political developments with ease. Where national identity has resisted temporality, as in Japan, the capacity of photography to mark time becomes subversive. Museums resist photography in general and documentary photography in particular.⁷⁰ In other words, these three elements—photography, temporality, and national identity—triangulate the space within which museum curators must work. In Japan, that space happens to be contested and relatively small. In the United States and Europe, where it is larger, the force of this triangulation is sometimes overlooked.

A brief examination of some critical perspectives on photography will reveal how variously photography's relation to time has been understood. Although the photography critics whom I will consider here, John Berger, Roland Barthes, and Siegfried Kracauer, do not directly address the question of how a nation's sense of time influences a photograph's relation to time, they represent the extraordinary range of views on photography and temporality. Berger, for instance, argues that a photograph *is*, in its very essence, a moment in time. He insists, "The true content of a photograph is invisible, for it derives from a play, not of form, but of time."⁷¹ For Berger, a photograph is analogous to the movement of a conductor's baton, more allied with music than with painting. Its rhythms are the temporal rhythms of modernity, the rhythms of a public eventfulness that is assumed to be universal and democratically accessible. For Berger, time is all of one substance—"the continuum" as he calls it—and every photograph gestures outside itself to this whole. "A photograph," he argues, "whilst recording what has been seen, always and by its nature refers to what is not seen. It isolates, preserves and presents a moment taken from a continuum."⁷² Indeed, Berger insists, "every photograph is in fact a means of testing, confirming and constructing a total view of reality."⁷³ But to conceive as Berger does of photography's destination or effect as a total reality, we must elide the differences among individuals and various forms of collective audience—the nation, the global art world, citizens of Yokohama, subjects of the emperor. The

⁷⁰ For instance, according to its director, Ueki Hiroshi, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, did not hold any photography exhibitions between 1974 and 1995. Instead of deploring this neglect of the medium, Ueki emphatically justifies the museum's lack of interest in his foreword to the catalogue of the first exhibition to break this pattern. Ueki, "Foreword," *Tokyo kokuritsu kindai bijutsukan to shashin 1953–1995*, 7.

⁷¹ John Berger, "Understanding a Photograph" [1974], in Alan Trachtenberg, ed., *Classic Essays on Photography* (New Haven, Conn., 1980), 293.

⁷² Berger, "Understanding a Photograph," 293.

⁷³ Berger, "Understanding a Photograph," 294.

identification between photography and continuous time makes the place and mode of consumption of an image insignificant.

Other critics see photographs as causing spasms in the linear flow of time. Roland Barthes in particular admires photography's capacity to render a unique moment repeatable: "What the Photograph reproduces to infinity has occurred only once: the Photograph mechanically repeats what could never be repeated existentially."⁷⁴ In calling the camera "a clock for seeing," Barthes is not underscoring some universal, rhythmic sense of time nor is he interested in public time. Instead, through Barthes' clock, the individual witnesses madness, disorder, and death; the camera is a clock that allows us, paradoxically, to see the irregularities of time.⁷⁵

In contrast to Berger, Barthes focuses on the problems of audience and place. He deliberately contrasts private delectation of the image with museum displays of photography, and finds the private experience far more compelling. Alone, Barthes sinks into an image, enjoying an intense private reverie. He tells us, "if I like a photograph, if it disturbs me, I linger over it."⁷⁶ Time stops, to be revisited again and again, becoming disordered. Because of this private intensity, Barthes claims, "society is concerned to tame the Photograph, to temper the madness which keeps threatening to explode in the face of whoever looks at it."⁷⁷ Society does so in part by making photography into art, into a public icon. In the public space of a museum, the photographic image is regularized and subordinated to public control—or so Barthes argues.

But in Japan particularly, the opposite seems true. Private imagery appears to disturb society little. Marking family, school, vacation, and business events with snapshots is a private ritual nowhere more stylized than in Japan. Photographs of the deceased are routine elements of Buddhist memorial services. Pornographic photography circulates with remarkable frankness and lack of constraint. Making photography into a public art, however, lifts it from the ephemerality of daily life and places it in the extended realm of national experience and memory. Here, the viewer is no longer the individual or small group but the larger civic collectivity. In the public art museum, collections of photographs appear to comment on Japan's cultural form of nationalism. Rather than taming the photograph, as Barthes suggests, this displacement tempts madness of a public, not a private, sort. This museum photography, curated deliberately, threatens to recall not only a particular collective history but collective historicity as well. The contrast between Barthes' experience and the Japanese evidence illustrates that the relationship of photography to time cannot be understood without reference to the viewer's various subjectivities (including his or her nationality), each of which has its own sense of temporality and history.

German film critic Siegfried Kracauer presents yet a third view when he argues that the photograph has no inherent relation to the time. In a 1927 article, he points out that, although a photograph may *seem* to be "a representation of time," "time

⁷⁴ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, Richard Howard, trans. (New York, 1981), 4.

⁷⁵ Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 15.

⁷⁶ Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 99.

⁷⁷ Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 117.

is not part of the photograph.”⁷⁸ For Kracauer, a photograph does not preserve time; rather, time stands outside the image, transforming and, ultimately, diminishing and desiccating it. “If photography is a *function of the flow of time*,” he maintains, “then its substantive meaning will change depending upon whether it belongs to the domain of the present or to some phase of the past.” Eventually, a photograph is “emptied of life” as time passes, unless we work to resuscitate it.⁷⁹ In effect, Kracauer is arguing that the continued connection between an image and a moment in time, far from being natural, is the result of purposeful effort.

The problem of “the flow of time” haunted Kracauer, who returned to the issue almost forty years later when he began work on *History: The Last Things before the Last* (posthumously published). Deepening and altering his previous analysis, Kracauer declares that time is not “homogenous”; it is not a continuum. “Because of the antinomy at its core,” he argues, “time not only conforms to the conventional image of a flow but must also be imagined as being not such a flow. We live in a cataract of times.”⁸⁰ If this is so, a photograph never represents a simple beat in the even, universal temporal flow, as Berger would have it. Instead, the practice of photography—and of history—must grapple precariously with heterogeneous forms of time. While for Berger, time is a string of notes in a public concert and for Barthes, the delicious yet disturbing moments of private intensity, for Kracauer, time, both public and private, is a towering waterfall, a jarring cataract of currents, each flowing at a different rate and a different temperature. From Kracauer’s perspective, neither photography nor history can grasp the whole structure of this elusive, fractured reality. Kracauer believes neither in a “total reality” nor in the ability of the word or image to refer to that whole. Instead, Kracauer insists, both history and photography are inherently provisional, redeeming transient phenomena from oblivion and allowing us to “think *through* things, not above them when, and only when, we contend with the cataract.”⁸¹

If, as Kracauer argues, photographers and historians both have contingent relationships to heterogeneous time, it follows that curators working with photographs to create histories also practice a contingent craft: they are tightrope walkers across the roaring waterfall. It is not just the curator’s own views and the photographers’ aesthetic and historical materials but also the outlook of a transient public audience that must be brought together to create that fragile compound: the meaningful exhibition. How the civic collectivity understands itself in relation to time will influence how photography exhibitions function within the public sphere. Kracauer is not interested in national identity per se nor specifically in the idea of atemporality within his cataract of times, although he does speak of “‘pockets’ and voids amidst these temporal currents.”⁸² Nevertheless, his insistence on time’s multiplicity and discontinuity provides a means of understanding the competing ideas of history in contemporary Japan and elsewhere. The idea of a “cataract of

⁷⁸ Siegfried Kracauer, “Photography,” rpt. in *Critical Inquiry* 19 (Spring 1993): 424.

⁷⁹ Kracauer, “Photography,” 429.

⁸⁰ Siegfried Kracauer, *History: The Last Things before the Last* (1969; rpt. with new preface, Princeton, N.J., 1995), 199. Kracauer’s argument against the homogeneity and continuity of time directly contradicts Berger’s view.

⁸¹ Kracauer, *History*, 192.

⁸² Kracauer, *History*, 199.

times" illuminates the way in which that nation can appear to conform simultaneously to the regular rhythms of modern development, to a sense of collectivity that transcends the flow of time, and to a unique and glorious beat of its own. Time thus becomes the matrix of the tension among various forms of modernity and postmodernity in contemporary Japan. Recent photography exhibitions convey this tension with particular force. Each curator must negotiate the multiple senses of time that are currently part of the Japanese identity.

The point I want to stress is this: neither photography, nor national identity, nor time is a stable element. Photography can chronicle public time, refer only to private memories, or suppress temporality in favor of strict formalism. Collectivities, national and otherwise, can share global chronologies and structures, or they can mark their differences in time and in form. Time can serve as the denominator of national development, or it can be excluded from accounts of national essence. Stable definitions of these elements are possible only in particular circumstances where ideology deftly masks its own assumptions. What the exhibition at Yokohama suggests is how precariously these three elements cohere in an atmosphere where fundamental questions about history are being raised. The triangulation between photography, national identity, and time is what makes photography exhibitions in Japan today so charged with possibilities. This triangulation makes curating photography a political as well as an aesthetic act, and it allows institutions such as the Yokohama Museum of Art to participate in Japan's contemporary struggle over the fundamental basis of its national identity.

The attempt made in *Photography in the 1940s* to suggest Japan's historicity through documentary photography is unusual. It denotes one of the many new avenues toward self-understanding being explored in post-postwar Japan. As Gavan McCormack argues, "For those who would see, the seeds for many different possible futures are sprouting in Japan. Which will strengthen and grow to maturity, and which will weaken and die, will be determined by the struggles that will ensue over the years that span the end of the century and the millennium."⁸³ This exhibition, however tentatively and inadequately, participated in that struggle for the future by trying to provide Japan with a usable past.

⁸³ McCormack, *Emptiness of Japanese Affluence*, 20.

Julia A. Thomas is an assistant professor in the department of history at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. She is completing a book on configurations of nature in modern Japanese political ideology. Her work on Japanese photography is part of a book-length project provisionally titled *Still Images, Cataracts of Time: Photography, Temporality, and Nationhood in Japan*.

AHR Forum
Histories and Historical Fictions

*Storytelling has returned to claim a prominent place in history. Rising interest in the narrative has also rekindled controversies about the virtues and vices of recovering the past through the methods of historians and novelists, the pages of histories and historical fictions. And, of course, these debates occur in a self-styled postmodern age when all ways of knowing—including learning through stories and the epistemological meanings of boundaries between academic disciplines and between academics and novelists—are themselves rendered uncertain. This Forum addresses these interrelated concerns. Its centerpiece is an essay by acclaimed novelist **Margaret Atwood**. She recounts the writing of her most recent novel, *Alias Grace*, as a deliberate exercise in historical fiction and uses that experience to ponder the appeal of such novels and the meaning of their engagements with the past. Three historians who work on very different times and places but share an interest in experimenting with the forms of historical presentation—**Lynn Hunt, Jonathan D. Spence, and John Demos**—respond to Atwood's essay. Each of them probes particular issues raised by Atwood, from the meaning of historical time to the importance of recovering the details of the past to the challenges of dealing with the unknowable. Together, their comments suggest how a turn to the past by one of our era's master storytellers reveals the breadth of the challenges posed by the renewed interest in narratives among historians.*

AHR Forum: Histories and Historical Fictions
In Search of *Alias Grace*:
On Writing Canadian Historical Fiction

MARGARET ATWOOD

IT'S A GREAT HONOR, AND ALSO A GREAT PLEASURE, to be delivering the Bronfman Lecture at the University of Ottawa—that is, it's a great pleasure for me. I hope it will be a pleasure for you as well, but I must put you on notice that you have invited a writer of fiction to speak to you, and these are a suspicious bunch of people. Consider what they do all day: they concoct plausible whoppers, which they hope they can induce the public to swallow whole.

In a town of politicians, this may seem like a respectable enough way of earning your living, but fiction writers do not come with the usual props and backups designed to add verisimilitude to an otherwise bald and unconvincing tale: that is, the graphs, the studies, the statistics, the blue and red books, the Royal Commissions and omissions, and so forth. Fiction writers do not pretend to be specialists or experts at anything except what Dylan Thomas termed their “craft and sullen art.” About all they really know anything about is the writing of their latest book, and they're usually not even sure how they managed that, having done it in a sort of stupor; and if they do know, they aren't about to tell, any more than a magician will hasten to reveal exactly how he made the pigeon come out of your ear.

But here I am, advertised as a person who will communicate to you something or other having to do with Canadian Studies; and having been brought up by the Girl Guides, where we were taught that the boxes of cookies we were peddling had to contain actual cookies, however eccentric in texture and taste, I always try—unlike some of more political avocation—to live up to the claims on the package.

So what I am going to talk about this evening does have to do with Canadian Studies—more particularly the Canadian novel, and even more particularly, the Canadian historical novel. I will address the nature of this genre insofar as it has to do with the mysteries of time and memory; I will meditate on why so many of this kind of novel have been written by English-speaking Canadian authors lately; and after that I'll talk a little about my own recent attempt to write such a novel. At the end I'll try to add on some sort of meaning-of-it-all nugget or philosophical summation, as such a thing is implicitly called for in the list of ingredients on the cookie box.

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Fiction is where individual memory and experience and collective memory and experience come together, in greater or lesser proportions. The closer the fiction is to us as readers, the more we recognize and claim it as individual rather than collective. Margaret Laurence used to say that her English readers thought *The Stone Angel* was about old age, the Americans thought it was about some old woman they knew, and the Canadians thought it was about their grandmothers.

Each character in fiction has an individual life, replete with personal detail—the eating of meals, the flossing of teeth, the making of love, the birthing of children, the attending of funerals, and so forth—but each also exists within a context, a fictional world comprised of geology, weather, economic forces, social classes, cultural references, and wars and plagues and such big public events; you'll note that, being Canadian, I put the geology first. This fictional world so lovingly delineated by the writer may bear a more obvious or a less obvious relation to the world we actually live in, but bearing no relation to it at all is not an option. We have to write out of who and where and when we are, whether we like it or not, and disguise it how we may. As Robertson Davies has remarked, “we all belong to our own time, and there is nothing whatever that we can do to escape from it. Whatever we write will be contemporary, even if we attempt a novel set in a past age.”¹ We can't help but be modern, just as the Victorian writers—whenever they set their books—couldn't help but be Victorian. Like all beings alive on Middle Earth, we're trapped by time and circumstance.

What I've said about fictional characters is, of course, also true of every real human being. For example: here I am, giving this Bronfman Lecture in Ottawa. By what twists of coincidence or fate—how novelistic these terms sound, but also how faithful to real experience they are—by what twists of coincidence or fate, then, do I find myself back here in my city of origin?

For it was in Ottawa that I was born, fifty-seven years, three days, and several hours ago. The place was the Ottawa General Hospital; the date, November 18, 1939. About the exact hour, my mother—to the despair of many astrologers since—is a little vague, that being a period when women were routinely conked out with ether. I do know that I was born after the end of the Grey Cup Football Game. The doctors thanked my mother for waiting; they'd all been following the game on the radio. In those days, most doctors were men, which may explain their sportive attitude.

“In those days”—there I am, you see, being born in *those* days, which are not the same as *these* days; no ether now, and many a woman doctor. As for Ottawa, I wouldn't have been there at all if it hadn't been for the Great Depression: my parents were economic refugees from Nova Scotia—here's your economic force—from which they were then cut off by the Second World War—here's your big public event.

We lived—here's your personal detail—in a long, dark, railroad-car-shaped second-story apartment on Patterson Avenue, near the Rideau Canal—there's your geology, more or less—an apartment in which my mother once caused a flood by rinsing the diapers in the toilet, where they got stuck—in *those* days there were no

¹ Robertson Davies, “Fiction of the Future,” *The Merry Heart: Selections 1980–1995* (Toronto, 1996), 358.

disposable diapers, and not even any diaper services. In *those* days, as I'm sure some of you believe you remember, there was much more snow—here's your weather—and it was much whiter and more beautiful than any snow they ever come up with nowadays. As a child, I helped to build snow forts that were much bigger than the Parliament Buildings and even more labyrinthine—here's your cultural reference. I remember this very clearly, so it must be true, and here's your individual memory.

What's my point? It's out of such individual particulars that fiction is constructed, and so is autobiography, including the kind of autobiography we are each always writing but haven't yet got around to writing down, and so, too, is history. History may intend to provide us with grand patterns and overall schemes, but without its brick-by-brick, life-by-life, day-by-day foundations, it would collapse. Whoever tells you that history is not about individuals, only about large trends and movements, is lying. The shot heard 'round the world was fired on a certain date, under certain weather conditions, out of a certain rather inefficient type of gun. After the Rebellion of 1837, William Lyon Mackenzie escaped to the United States dressed in women's clothing; I know the year, so I can guess the style of his outfit. When I lived in the rural Ontario countryside north of Toronto, a local man said, "There's the barn where we hid the women and children, that time the Fenians invaded." An individual barn, individual women and children. The man who told me about the barn was born some sixty years after the Fenian attack, but he said *we*, not *they*: he was remembering as a personal experience an event at which he had not been present in the flesh, and I believe we have all done that. It's at such points that memory, history, and story all intersect; it would take only one step more to bring all of them into the realm of fiction.

We live in a period in which memory of all kinds, including the sort of larger memory we call history, is being called into question. For history, as for the individual, forgetting can be just as convenient as remembering, and remembering what was once forgotten can be distinctly uncomfortable. As a rule, we tend to remember the awful things done to us and to forget the awful things we did. The Blitz is still remembered; the fire-bombing of Dresden—well, not so much, or not by us. To challenge an accepted version of history—what we've decided it's proper to remember—by dredging up things that society has decided are better forgotten, can cause cries of anguish and outrage, as the makers of a recent documentary about the Second World War could testify. Remembrance Day, like Mother's Day, is a highly ritualized occasion; for instance, we are not supposed, on Mother's Day, to commemorate *bad* mothers, and even to acknowledge that such persons exist would be considered—on that date—to be in shoddy taste.

Here is the conundrum, for history and individual memory alike, and therefore for fiction also: How do we *know* we know what we think we know? And if we find that, after all, we don't know what it is that we once thought we knew, how do we know we are who we think we are, or thought we were yesterday, or thought we were—for instance—a hundred years ago? These are the questions one asks oneself, at my age, whenever one says, "Whatever happened to old what's-his-name?"; they are also the questions that arise in connection with Canadian history or, indeed, with any other kind of history. They are also the questions that arise in

any contemplation of what used to be called “character”; they are thus central to any conception of the novel.

The novel concerns itself, above all, with time. Any plot is a *this* followed by a *that*; there must be change in a novel, and change can only take place over time, and this change can only have significance if either the character in the book—or, at the very least, the reader—can remember what came before. As Henry James’s biographer Leon Edel has said, if there’s a clock in it, you know it’s a novel.

Thus there can be no history, and no novel either, without memory of some sort; but, when it comes right down to it, how reliable is memory itself—our individual memory, or our collective memory as a society? Once, memory was a given. You could lose it and you could recover it, but the thing lost and then recovered was as solid and all-of-a-piece, was as much a *thing*, as a gold coin. “Now it all comes back to me,” or some version of it, was a staple of the recovering-from-amnesia scenes in Victorian melodramas—indeed, even so late as the recovering-from-amnesia scene in Graham Greene’s *The Ministry of Fear*: and there was an *it*, there was an *all*. If the seventeenth century revolved around faith—that is, what you believed—and the eighteenth around knowledge—that is, what you could prove—the nineteenth could be said to have revolved around memory. You can’t have Tennyson’s *Tears, idle tears . . . O death in life, the days that are no more*, unless you can remember those days that used to be and are no more. Nostalgia for what once was, guilt for what you once did, revenge for what someone else once did to you, regret for what you once might have done, but didn’t do—how central they all are to the previous century, and how dependent each one of them is on the idea of memory itself. Without memory, and the belief that it can be recovered whole, like treasure fished out of a swamp, Marcel Proust’s famous *madeleine* is reduced to a casual snack. The nineteenth-century novel would be unimaginable without a belief in the integrity of memory; for what is the self—“the character”—without a more-or-less continuous memory of itself, and what is the novel without the self? Or so they would have argued, back then.

As for the twentieth century, at least in Europe, it has been on the whole more interested in forgetting—forgetting as an organic process and sometimes as a willed act. Salvador Dalí’s famous painting *The Persistence of Memory* features a melting clock and a parade of destructive ants; Samuel Beckett’s play *Krapp’s Last Tape* is relentless in its depiction of how we erase and rewrite ourselves over time; Milan Kundera’s novel *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*, has a touchstone twentieth-century title; the horrifying film *Night and Fog* is only one of many twentieth-century statements about how we industriously and systematically obliterate history to suit our own vile purposes; and in George Orwell’s *1984*, the place where documents are sent to be destroyed is called, ironically, the Memory Hole. The twentieth century’s most prominent theories of the psyche—those that evolved from Freud—taught us that we were not so much the sum of what we could remember as the sum of what we had forgotten;² we were controlled by the Unconscious, where unsavory repressed memories were stored in our head, like rotten apples in a barrel, festering away but essentially unknowable, except for the suspicious smell. Furthermore,

² See, for instance, Ian Hacking, *Rewriting the Soul: Multiple Personality and the Sciences of Memory* (Princeton, N.J., 1995).

twentieth-century European art as a whole gradually lost faith in the reliability of time itself. No longer an evenly flowing river, time became a collage of freeze-frames, jumbled fragments, and jump-cuts.³

The hero of Spanish writer Javier Marias's 1989 novel *All Souls* represents a host of twentieth-century European spiritual relatives when he says, "I must speak of myself and of my time in the city of Oxford, even though the person speaking is not the same person who was there. He seems to be, but he is not. If I call myself 'I,' or use a name which has accompanied me since birth and by which some will remember me . . . it is simply because I prefer to speak in the first person and not because I believe that the faculty of memory alone is any guarantee that a person remains the same in different times and different places. The person recounting here and now what he saw and what happened to him then is not the same person who saw those things and to whom those things happened; neither is he a prolongation of that person, his shadow, his heir or his usurper."⁴

End of quote. Fine and dandy, we say, with our streetwise postmodern consciousness. Problems do arise, however. If the "I" of now has nothing to do with the "I" of then, where did the "I" of now come from? Nothing is made from nothing, or so we used to believe. And, to get back to Canadian Studies—why is it that it's now—within the last fifteen or twenty years, and so near the end of the fragmenting and memory-denying twentieth century—that the Canadian historical novel has become so popular, with writers and readers alike?

But what exactly do we mean by "historical novel"? All novels are in a sense "historical" novels; they can't help it, insofar as they have to, they *must*, make reference to a time that is not the time in which the reader is reading the book. But there is the past tense—yesterday and yesterday and yesterday, full of tooth flossing and putting the antifreeze into the car, a yesterday not so long ago—and then there is The Past, capital T and P.

Charles Dickens's Scrooge timorously asks the Ghost of Christmas Past whether the past they are about to visit is "long past" and is told, "No—*your* past." For a considerable period, it was only "your past"—the personal past of the writer and, by extension, that of the reader—that was at issue in the Canadian novel. I don't recall any serious writer in the 1960s writing what we think of as historical romances proper, that is, the full-dress petticoat-and-farthingale kind, which were associated with subjects like Mary Queen of Scots. Perhaps it was thought that Canada lacked the appropriate clothing for such works; perhaps the genre itself was regarded as a form of trash writing, like bodice rippers—which, like any other genre, it either is or isn't, depending on how it's done.

Once, we as a society were not so squeamish. Major Richardson's hugely popular nineteenth-century novel *Wacousta* was, among other things, a historical novel along the lines of Sir Walter Scott, granddaddy of the form, and James Fenimore Cooper, his even more prolix descendant. These were nineteenth-century novelists, and the nineteenth century loved the historical novel. *Vanity Fair*, *Middlemarch*, *A Tale of Two Cities*, *Ivanhoe*, *Treasure Island*—all are historical novels of one kind or

³ See, for instance, Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York, 1975).

⁴ Javier Marias, *All Souls*, Margaret Jull Costa, trans. (London, 1992), 3.

another, and these are only a few. Perhaps the question to be asked is not why Canadians are writing historical novels now, but why we didn't do it before.

In any case, by the 1960s, it was as if we'd forgotten that on this continent, north of the 49th parallel, there was ever a bodice to be ripped or a weak-minded lady to be rendered hysterical by the experience. We were instead taken up by the momentous discovery that we ourselves actually existed, in what was then the here and now, and we were busily exploring the implications of that.

Our generation of English-speaking Canadians—those of us who were children in the 1940s and adolescents in the 1950s—grew up with the illusion that there was not then, and never had been, a Canadian literature. I say "illusion," because there had in fact been one; it's just that we weren't told about it. The collapse of English colonial imperialism had abolished the old-style school reader—the kind that used to contain excerpts from English literature, mingled with bits from our native singers and songstresses, usually so termed. Thus you could go through twelve years of schooling, back then, and come out with the impression that there had only ever been one Canadian writer, and that was humorist Stephen Leacock.

The 50s came right after the 40s and the 30s; and the double-whammy of the Depression followed by the war had wiped out what in the 10s and 20s had been a burgeoning indigenous publishing industry, complete with best-sellers. (Remember Mazo de la Roche? We didn't. We were told nothing about her.) Add to that the weight of the paperback book industry—completely controlled, back then, from the United States—and the advent of television, most of which came from south of the border, and you get the picture. There was radio, of course. There was the CBC. There were Wayne & Shuster and *Our Pet*, *Juliette*. But it wasn't much of a counterbalance.

When we hit university in the late 1950s and encountered intellectual magazines, we found ourselves being fed large doses of anxiety and contempt, brewed by our very own pundits and even by some of our very own poets and fiction writers, concerning our own inauthenticity, our feebleness from the cultural point of view, our lack of a real literature, and the absence of anything you could dignify by the name of history—by which was meant interesting and copious bloodshed on our own turf. In Quebec, people were more certain of their own existence, and especially of their own persistence, although they had lots of Parisian-oriented voices to tell them how sub-standard they were. In Angloland, Earle Birney's famous poem that concludes, "It's only by the lack of ghosts we're haunted," sums up the prevailing attitude of the time.

Well, we young writers charged ahead anyway. We thought we were pretty daring to be setting our poems and stories in Toronto and Vancouver and Montreal, and even Ottawa, rather than in London or Paris or New York. We were, however, intently contemporary: history, for us, either didn't exist, or it had happened elsewhere, or if ours it was boring.

This is often the attitude among the young, but it was especially true of us, because of the way we had encountered our own history. Quebec has always had its own version of history, with heroes and villains, and struggle, and heartbreak, and God; God was a main feature until recently. But those of us in English Canada who went to high school when I did were not dosed with any such strong medicine.

Instead, we were handed a particularly anemic view of our past, insofar as we were given one at all. For others on more troubled shores, the epic battles, the heroes, the stirring speeches, the do-or-die last stands, the freezing to death during the retreat from Moscow. For us, the statistics on wheat and the soothing assurances that all was well in the land of the cow and potato, not to mention—although they *were* mentioned—the vein of metallic ore and the stack of lumber. We looked at these things and saw that they were good, if tedious, but we didn't really examine how they'd been obtained or who was profiting by them, or who did the actual work, or how much they got paid for it. Nor was much said about who inhabited this space before white Europeans arrived, bearing gifts of firearms and smallpox, because weren't we nice people? You bet we were, and nice people do not dwell on morbid subjects. I myself would have been much more interested in Canadian history if I had known that our dull prime minister, William Lyon Mackenzie King, had believed that the spirit of his mother was inhabiting his dog, which he always consulted on public policy—it explains so much—but nobody knew about such things back then.

The main idea behind the way we were taught Canadian history seemed to be reassurance: as a country, we'd had our little differences, and a few embarrassing moments—the Rebellion of 1837, the hanging of Louis Riel, and so forth—but these had just been unseemly burps in one long gentle after-dinner nap. We were always being told that Canada had come of age. This was even a textbook title: *Canada Comes of Age*. I'm not sure what it was supposed to mean—that we could vote and drink and shave and fornicate, perhaps; or that we had come into our inheritance and could now manage our own affairs.

Our inheritance. Ah, yes—the mysterious sealed box handed over by the family solicitor when young master attains his majority. But what was inside it? Many things we were not told about in school, and this is where the interest in historical writing comes in. For it's the very things that *aren't* mentioned that inspire the most curiosity in us. *Why* aren't they mentioned? The lure of the Canadian past, for the writers of my generation, has been partly the lure of the unmentionable—the mysterious, the buried, the forgotten, the discarded, the taboo.

This digging up of buried things began perhaps in poetry; for instance, E. J. Pratt's narrative poems on subjects like the sinking of the *Titanic* and the life of the French Jesuit missionary St. Jean de Brébeuf. Pratt was followed by certain younger writers; I think of Gwendolyn MacEwen's mid-1960s verse play *Terror and Erebus*, about the failure of the John Franklin expedition. I blush to mention Margaret Atwood's *The Journals of Susanna Moodie* of 1970, but since I'll need to mention it later on anyway, I'll get the blushing over with now. Other poets—Doug Jones and Al Purdy in particular, but there were more—used historic events as subjects for individual poems. James Reaney was a pioneer in the use of local history—he was writing the Donnelly trilogy in the late 60s, although the plays were not produced until later. There were other plays in the 1970s, too—Rick Salutin's *1837: The Farmers' Revolt*, about the Upper Canadian Rebellion, springs to mind.

Then came the novels. These weren't historical romances of the bodice-ripping kind; instead, they were what we should probably term “novels set in the historic past,” to distinguish them from the kind of thing you find in drugstores that have

cloaks and raised silver scrollwork titles on them. When is the past old enough to be considered historic? Well, roughly, I suppose you could say it's anything before the time at which the novel-writer came to consciousness. That seems fair enough.

In the novel, then, we had Anne Hébert's excellent *Kamouraska*, as early as 1970. It was written in French, but it was translated, and many English-speaking writers read it. As far back as Margaret Laurence's *The Diviners* in 1974 and Marian Engel's *Bear* in 1976, figures from the Canadian past were used as a point of reference for the Canadian present—Catherine Parr Traill by Laurence, an obscure and probably invented nineteenth-century English emigrant by Engel. Rudy Wiebe's *The Temptations of Big Bear*, in 1973, and *The Scorched Wood People*, in 1977, are usually thought of as being enclosed by the parentheses (Native People), but they are of course set entirely in the past. Then there's Timothy Findley's *The Wars*, in 1977.

In the 1980s and 90s, the trend intensified. Graeme Gibson's *Perpetual Motion* was published in 1982. After that, their names are legion. Robertson Davies's *Murder and Walking Spirits* is a historical novel. So—using my definition of historic—are Michael Ondaatje's *In the Skin of a Lion* and *The English Patient* and Brian Moore's *Black Robe*. So are Alice Munro's two stories "Meneseteung" and "A Wilderness Station." So are George Bowering's *Burning Waters* and Daphne Marlatt's *Ana Historic*, and Jane Urquhart's *The Whirlpool* and *Away*: so are Carol Shields's *The Stone Diaries* and Timothy Findley's *The Piano Man's Daughter*. In this year alone, we have Findley's *You Went Away*, Ann-Marie MacDonald's *Fall on Your Knees*, Katherine Govier's *Angel Walk*, Anne Michaels's *Fugitive Pieces*, Gail Anderson-Dargatz's *The Cure for Death by Lightning*, and Guy Vanderhaeghe's *The Englishman's Boy*.

All of these are set in the past—Dickens's *long* past—but not all use the past for the same purposes. Of course not; the authors of them are individuals, and each novel has its own preoccupations. Some attempt to give more-or-less faithful accounts of actual events, in answer perhaps to such questions as "Where did we come from and how did we get here?" Some attempt restitution of a sort, or at least an acknowledgment of past wrongs—I would put the Rudy Wiebe novels and Guy Vanderhaeghe's book in this category, dealing as they do with the deplorable North American record on the treatment of Native peoples. Others, such as Graeme Gibson's, look at what we have killed and destroyed in our obsessive search for the pot of gold. Others delve into class structure and political struggles—Ondaatje's *In the Skin of a Lion*, for instance. Yet others unearth a past as it was lived by women, under conditions a good deal more stringent than our own; still others use the past as background to family sagas—tales of betrayal and tragedy and even madness. "The past is another country," begins the English novel *The Go-Between*: "they do things differently there."⁵ Yes, they do, and these books point that out; but they also do quite a few things the same, and these books point that out as well.

Why, then, has there been such a spate of historical novels in the past twenty years, especially in the past decade? Earlier, I gave some possible reasons why this trend didn't occur earlier; but why is it occurring now? Some might say that we are more confident about ourselves—that we're now allowed to find ourselves more

⁵ L. P. Hartley, *The Go-Between* (London, 1953), 9.

interesting than we once did; and I think they would be right. In this, we are part of a worldwide movement that has found writers and readers, especially in ex-colonies, turning back toward their own roots, while not rejecting developments in the imperial centers. London and Paris and New York are still wonderful places, but they are no longer seen as the only homes of the good, the true, and the beautiful, as well as of those more typical twentieth-century tastes, the bad, the false, and the ugly. You want squalor, lies, and corruption? Heck, we've got 'em home-grown, and not only that, we always have had, and there's where the past comes in.

Some might say that, on the other hand, the past is safer; that, at a time when our country feels very much under threat—the threat of splitting apart, and the threat of having its established institutions and its social fabric and its sense of itself literally torn to pieces—it feels comforting to escape backwards, to a time when these things were not the problems. With the past, at least we know what happened: while visiting there, we suffer from no uncertainties about the future, or at least the part of it that comes in between them and us: we've read about it. The *Titanic* may be sinking, but we're not on it. Watching it subside, we are diverted for a short time from the leaking lifeboat we are actually in right now.

Of course, the past was not really safer. As a local museum custodian has commented, "Nostalgia is the past without the pain," and, for those living in it, the past was their present, and just as painful as our present is to us—perhaps more so, considering the incurable diseases and the absence of anesthesia, central heating, and indoor plumbing back then, to mention a few of the drawbacks. Those who long for a return to the supposed values of the nineteenth century should turn away from the frilly-pillow magazines devoted to that era and take a good hard look at what was really going on. So although coziness may be an attraction, it's also an illusion; and not many of the Canadian historical novels I have mentioned depict the past as a very soothing place.

There is also the lure of time travel, which appeals to the little cultural anthropologist in each one of us. It's such fun to snoop, as it were; to peek in the windows. What did they eat, back then? What did they wear, how did they wash their clothes, or treat their sick, or bury their dead? What did they think about? What lies did they tell, and why? Who were they really? The questions, once they begin, are endless. It's like questioning your dead great-grandparents—does any of what they did or thought live on in us?

I think there's another reason for the appeal, and it has to do with the age we are now. Nothing is more boring to a fifteen-year-old than Aunt Agatha's ramblings about the family tree, but often, nothing is more intriguing to a fifty-year-old. It's not the individual authors who are now fifty—some of them are a good deal younger than that. I think it's the culture.

I once took a graduate course entitled "The Literature of the American Revolution," which began with the professor saying that there actually *was* no literature of the American Revolution, because everyone was too busy revolting during that period to write any, and so we were going to study the literature just before it and the literature just after it. What came after it was a lot of hand-wringing and soul-searching on the part of the American artistic community,

such as it was. Now that we've had the revolution, they fretted, where is the great American genius that ought to burst forth? What should the wondrous novel or poem or painting be like, in order to be truly American? Why can't we have an American fashion industry? And so on. When *Moby Dick* and Walt Whitman finally did appear, most right-thinking people wiped their feet on them; but such is life.

However, it was out of this questioning and assessing climate—where did we come from, how did we get from there to here, where are we going, who are we now—that Nathaniel Hawthorne wrote *The Scarlet Letter*, a historical novel set in seventeenth-century New England. The eighteenth century had mostly been embarrassed by the Puritans, especially by their crazed zeal during the Salem witchcraft trials, and had tried to forget about them; but Hawthorne dug them up again and took a long hard look at them. *The Scarlet Letter* is not, of course, seventeenth century in any way the Puritans would have recognized; in good nineteenth-century style, it's far too admiring and respectful of that adulterous baggage, Hester Prynne. Instead, it's a novel that uses a seventeenth-century New England Colonial setting for the purposes of a newly forged nineteenth-century American Republic. And I think that's part of the interest for writers and readers of Canadian historical fiction now: by taking a long hard look backwards, we place ourselves.

HAVING MORE OR LESS DELIVERED TWO of the three main things I promised you, I'll now turn to the third—that is, my own attempt to write a piece of fiction set in the past. I didn't plan to do it, but I somehow ended up doing it anyway; which is how my novels generally occur. Nor was I conscious of any of the worthy motives I have just outlined. I think novelists begin with hints and images and scenes and voices, rather than with theories and grand schemes. Individual characters interacting with, and acted upon by, the world that surrounds them, are what interests the novelist—the details, not the large pattern—although a large pattern does then emerge.

The book in question is *Alias Grace*, and here is how it came about. In the 1960s, for reasons that can't be rationally explained, I found myself writing a sequence of poems called *The Journals of Susanna Moodie*, which was about an English emigrant who came to what is now Ontario in the 1830s, and had a truly awful time in a swamp north of Peterborough, and wrote about her experiences in a book called *Roughing It in the Bush*, which warned English gentlefolk not to do the same: Canada, in her opinion, was a land suited only to horny-handed peasants, otherwise known as honest sons of toil. After she escaped from the woods, she wrote *Life in the Clearings*, which contains her version of the Grace Marks story.

Susanna Moodie describes her meeting with Grace in the Kingston Penitentiary in 1851; she then re-tells the double murder in which Grace was involved. The motive, according to Moodie, was Grace's passion for her employer, the gentleman Thomas Kinnear, and her demented jealousy of Nancy Montgomery, Kinnear's housekeeper and mistress. Moodie portrays Grace Marks as the driving engine of the affair—a scowling, sullen teenage temptress—with the co-murderer, the

manservant James McDermott, shown as a mere dupe, driven on by his own lust for Grace, as well as by her taunts and blandishments.

Thomas Kinnear and Nancy Montgomery ended up dead in the cellar, and Grace Marks and James McDermott made it across Lake Ontario to the United States with a wagon full of stolen goods. They were caught and brought back, and tried for the murder of Thomas Kinnear; the murder of Nancy Montgomery was never tried, as both were convicted and condemned to death. James McDermott was hanged. Grace Marks was sentenced as an accessory, but as a result of petitions by her well-wishers, and in consideration of her feeble sex and extreme youth—she was barely sixteen—her sentence was commuted to life.

Susanna Moodie saw Grace Marks again, this time in the violent ward of the newly built Provincial Lunatic Asylum in Toronto; and there her account ends, with a pious hope that perhaps the poor girl was deranged all along, which would explain her shocking behavior and also afford her forgiveness in the Afterlife. That was the first version of the story I came across, and, being young, and still believing that “non-fiction” meant “true,” I did not question it.

Time passed. Then, in the 1970s, I was asked by CBC producer George Jonas to write a script for television. My script was about Grace Marks, and was based on Moodie’s version, which was already highly dramatic in form. In it, Grace is brooding and obsessive, and James McDermott is putty in her hands. I did leave out Moodie’s detail about Grace and James cutting Nancy up into four pieces before hiding her under a washtub. I thought it would be hard to film, and anyway why would they have bothered?

I then received an invitation to turn my television script into a theater piece. I did give this a try. I hoped to use a multi-level stage, so the main floor, the upstairs, and the cellar could all be seen at once. I wanted to open the play in the penitentiary and close it in the lunatic asylum, and I had some idea of having the spirit of Susanna Moodie flown in on wires, in a black silk dress, like a cross between Peter Pan and a bat; but it was all too much for me, and I gave it up and then forgot about it.

More time passed. Soon enough, it was the early 1990s, and I was on a book tour and sitting in a hotel room in Zurich. A scene came to me vividly, in the way that scenes often do. I wrote it down on a piece of hotel writing paper, lacking any other kind; it was much the same as the opening scene of the book as it now exists. I recognized the locale: it was the cellar of the Kinnear house, and the female figure in it was Grace Marks. Not immediately, but after a while, I continued with the novel. This time, however, I did what neither Susanna Moodie nor I had done before: I went back to the past.

The past is made of paper; sometimes, now, it’s made of microfilm and CD-ROMs, but ultimately they, too, are made of paper. Sometimes, there’s a building or a picture or a grave, but mostly it’s paper. Paper must be taken care of. Archivists and librarians are the guardian angels of paper; without them, there would be a lot less of the past than there is, and I and many other writers owe them a huge debt of thanks.

What’s on the paper? The same things that are on paper now. Records, documents, newspaper stories, eyewitness reports, gossip and rumor and opinion

and contradiction. There is—as I increasingly came to discover—no more reason to trust something written down on paper then than there is now. After all, the writers-down were human beings, and are subject to error, intentional or not, and to the very human desire to magnify a scandal, and to their own biases. I was often deeply frustrated, as well, not by what those past recorders had written down but by what they'd left out. History is more than willing to tell you who won the Battle of Trafalgar and which world leader signed this or that treaty, but it is frequently reluctant about the now-obscure details of daily life. Nobody wrote these things down because everybody knew them, and considered them too mundane and unimportant to record. Thus I found myself wrestling not only with who said what about Grace Marks but also with how to clean a chamber pot, what footgear would have been worn in winter, the origins of quilt pattern names, and how to store parsnips. If you're after the truth, the whole and detailed truth, and nothing but the truth, you're going to have a thin time of it if you trust to paper; but, with the past, it's almost all you've got.

Susanna Moodie said at the outset of her account that she was writing Grace Marks's story from memory, and, as it turns out, her memory was no better than most. She got the location wrong, and the names of some of the participants, just for starters. Not only that, the actual story was much more problematic, though less neatly dramatic, than the one Moodie had told. For one thing, the witnesses—even the eyewitnesses, even at the trial itself—could often not agree; but, then, how is this different from most trials? For instance, one says the Kinnear house was left in great disarray by the criminals, another says it was tidy and it was not realized at first that anything had been taken. Confronted with such discrepancies, I tried to deduce which account was the most plausible.

Then there was the matter of the central figure, about whom opinion was very divided indeed. All commentators agreed that Grace Marks was uncommonly good-looking, but they could not agree on her height or the color of her hair. Some said Grace was jealous of Nancy, others that Nancy was, on the contrary, jealous of Grace. Some viewed Grace as a cunning female demon, others considered her a simple-minded and terrorized victim, who had only run away with James McDermott out of fear for her own life.

I discovered as I read that the newspapers of the time had their own political agendas. Canada West was still reeling from the effects of the 1837 Rebellion, and this influenced both Grace's life before the murders and her treatment at the hands of the press. A large percentage of the population—some say up to a third—left the country after the rebellion; the poorer and more radical third, we may assume, which may account for the Tory flavor of those who remained. The exodus meant a shortage of servants, which in turn meant that Grace was able to change jobs more frequently than her counterparts in England could. In 1843—the year of the murder—editorials were still being written about the badness or worthiness of William Lyon Mackenzie; and, as a rule, the Tory newspapers that vilified him also vilified Grace—she had, after all, been involved in the murder of her Tory employer, an act of grave insubordination—but the Reform newspapers that praised Mackenzie were also inclined to clemency toward Grace. This split in

opinion continued through later writers on the case, right up to the end of the nineteenth century.

I felt that, to be fair, I had to represent all points of view. I devised the following set of guidelines for myself: when there was a solid fact, I could not alter it; long as I might to have Grace witness James McDermott's execution, it could not be done, because, worse luck, she was already in the penitentiary on that day. Also, every major element in the book had to be suggested by something in the writing about Grace and her times, however dubious such writing might be; but, in the parts left unexplained—the gaps left unfilled—I was free to invent. Since there were a lot of gaps, there is a lot of invention. *Alias Grace* is very much a novel rather than a documentary.

As I wrote, I found myself considering the number and variety of the stories that had been told: Grace's own versions—there were several—as reported in the newspapers and in her "Confession"; James McDermott's versions, also multiple; Susanna Moodie's version; and those of the later commentators. For each story, there was a teller, but—as is true of all stories—there was also an audience; both were influenced by received climates of opinion, about politics, and also about criminality and its proper treatment, about the nature of women—their weakness and seductive qualities, for instance—and about insanity, in fact, about everything that had a bearing on the case.

In my fiction, Grace, too—whatever else she is—is a storyteller, with strong motives to narrate but also strong motives to withhold; the only power left to her as a convicted and imprisoned criminal comes from a blend of these two motives. What is told by her to her audience of one, Dr. Simon Jordan—who is not only a more educated person than she is but a man, which gave him an automatic edge in the nineteenth century—is selective, of course. It is dependent on what she remembers; or is it what she says she remembers, which can be quite a different thing? And how can her audience tell the difference? Here we are, right back at the end of the twentieth century, with our own uneasiness about the trustworthiness of memory, the reliability of story, and the continuity of time. As I have said, we can't help but be contemporary, and *Alias Grace*, though set in the mid-nineteenth century, is of course a very contemporary book. In a Victorian novel, Grace would say, "Now it all comes back to me"; but as *Alias Grace* is not a Victorian novel, she does not say that, and, if she did, would we—any longer—believe her?

These are the sorts of questions that my own fictional excursion into the nevertheless real Canadian past left me asking. Nor did it escape me that a different writer, with access to exactly the same historical records, could have—and without doubt would have—written a very different sort of novel. I am not one of those who believes there is no truth to be known; but I have to conclude that, although there undoubtedly was a truth—somebody did kill Nancy Montgomery—truth is sometimes unknowable, at least by us.

WHAT DOES THE PAST TELL US? In and of itself, it tells us nothing. We have to be listening first, before it will say a word, and, even so, listening means telling, and

then re-telling. It's we ourselves who must do such telling, about the past, if anything is to be said about it; and our audience is one another. After we, in our turn, have become the past, others will tell stories about us and about our times, or not, as the case may be. Unlikely as it seems, it is possible we may not interest them. Worse, they may not exist.

But, meanwhile, while we still have the chance, what should we ourselves tell? Or rather, what *do* we tell? Individual memory, history, and the novel are all selective: no one remembers everything, each historian picks out the facts he or she chooses to find significant, and every novel, whether historical or not, must limit its own scope. No one can tell all the stories there are. As for novelists, it's best if they confine themselves to the Ancient Mariner stories, that is, the stories that seize hold of them and torment them until they've grabbed a batch of unsuspecting Wedding Guests with their skinny hands, and held them with their glittering eyes or else their glittering prose, and told them a tale they cannot choose but hear.

Such stories are not about this or that slice of the past, or this or that political or social event, or this or that city or country or nationality, although of course all of these may enter into the picture, and often do. They are about human nature, which usually means they are about pride, envy, avarice, lust, sloth, gluttony, and anger. They are about truth and lies, and disguises and revelations; they are about crime and punishment; they are about love and forgiveness and long suffering and charity; they are about sin and retribution and sometimes even redemption.

In the recent film *Il postino*, the great poet Pablo Neruda upbraids his friend, a lowly postman, for having filched one of Neruda's poems to use in his courtship of a local girl. "But," replies the postman, "poems do not belong to those who write them. Poems belong to those who need them." And so it is with stories about the past. The past no longer belongs only to those who once lived in it; the past belongs to those who claim it, and are willing to explore it, and to infuse it with meaning for those alive today. The past belongs to us, because we are the ones who need it.

Margaret Atwood was born in 1939 in Ottawa and grew up in northern Ontario and Quebec, and Toronto. She received her undergraduate degree from Victoria College at the University of Toronto and her master's degree from Radcliffe College. Throughout her thirty years of writing, Atwood has received numerous awards and several honorary degrees. She is the author of more than twenty-five volumes of poetry, fiction, and nonfiction and is perhaps best known for her novels, which include *The Edible Woman* (1970), *The Handmaid's Tale* (1983), *The Robber Bride* (1994), and most recently, *Alias Grace* (1996). Acclaimed for her talent for portraying both personal and worldly problems of universal concern, Atwood has been published in more than twenty-five languages, including Japanese, Turkish, Finnish, Korean, Icelandic, and Estonian. She currently lives in Toronto with novelist Graeme Gibson.

AHR Forum: Histories and Historical Fictions

"No Longer an Evenly Flowing River": Time, History, and the Novel

LYNN HUNT

IN A FEW, DECEPTIVELY SMOOTH PAGES OF PROSE, Margaret Atwood raises a swarm of questions about fiction, history, time, memory, and writing.¹ They buzz around each other, massing for a moment here or there around a particularly juicy morsel but rarely take a precisely defined shape. Her evidence likewise darts off in many directions and, because it comes from Canadian novels, will be unfamiliar to some readers. So why should historians linger here? Should we not just admire, or envy, her light touch and gentle prodding and then turn our heels and avoid this hornet's nest?

A recent experience in the classroom compelled me to draw closer than I might otherwise have thought wise. When I last taught my department's large introductory course on European history, "Europe in a Wider World, 1550–Present," to some 250 students, I assigned in addition to the textbook and collection of documents the usual variety of historical and fictional works: Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, Carlo Ginzburg's *The Cheese and the Worms*, Friedrich Nietzsche's *Genealogy of Morals*, Christopher Browning's *Ordinary Men*, and Samuel Beckett's *Waiting for Godot*. On the final examination, much to my chagrin, many, if not most, students referred to all these works, including Browning's, as "novels," even though I thought I had assigned no novels at all. Since then, I have recurrently worried about the meaning of this confusion. Has the distinction between history and fiction (leaving aside the division between plays and novels) somehow vanished among the young? Does the erasure reveal something fundamental about our supposedly postmodern age? Should I begin my lectures by explaining the difference between history writing and fiction?

No doubt I should explain the difference between history and fiction to my undergraduate students. Atwood's essay, however, prompts me to consider whether this is really the vital issue for those who write history. She takes more or less for granted the difference between history and fiction, and so, I will argue, should historians. The boundaries separating the two are worth exploring but only briefly. Of much greater interest are the underlying reasons for the increasing convergence between certain kinds of history and certain kinds of fiction. This convergence might go some way toward explaining the reaction of my students. Even though

¹ Margaret Atwood, "In Search of *Alias Grace*: On Writing Canadian Historical Fiction," rpt. in *AHR* 103 (December 1998): 1503–16.

Atwood does not herself frame the issue in terms of convergence, she does lead us to it by shifting her focus back and forth. When she asks, for example, why the Canadian historical novel has become so popular, she answers with a history—of Canadian history and Canadian novels and of her own very successful endeavors to combine the two. In the process of recounting these histories, she poses important questions about the appeal of the past and the meaning of time itself. “No longer an evenly flowing river,” in much of twentieth-century painting and novels, she maintains, “time became a collage of freeze-frames, jumbled fragments, and jump-cuts.”² Although she does not necessarily endorse this view of time, she forces historians to think about their own.

Time runs through her essay like a haunting motif, but Atwood does not use it to distinguish history from fiction. Everything she says about the novel in this regard—“The novel concerns itself, above all, with time . . . there must be change in a novel”—might also, and uncontroversially, be said about history.³ There are clocks in history, too. When Atwood strikes her different notes on the meaning of time, she is unperturbed by any worries about the boundaries between history and fiction. She assumes that history and fiction are different in some respects and alike in others; maintaining a clear separation between the two is not only unnecessary for her purposes but possibly distracting. She worked hard, she recounts, to give her own historical novel numerous true details of daily life in mid-nineteenth-century Canada and still never thought she was writing something other than fiction.

Although nothing can more predictably elevate the temperature of discussion among professional historians than the theoretical question of the degree of similarity of history to fiction, I want to follow Atwood in avoiding it. For her, the dilemmas facing history and fiction are much alike, though perhaps confronted differently: “How do we *know* we know what we think we know?” And, speaking of the knower, “If the ‘I’ of now has nothing to do with the ‘I’ of then, where did the ‘I’ of now come from?”⁴ Rather than proceed from these questions to long disquisitions on the objectivity of knowledge or the philosophical meaning of identity, Atwood immediately changes gears. The question of knowledge leads her to the problem of individual identity over time, which in turn leads her to the novel because it is centrally concerned with memory and identity. Consideration of identity leads her in particular to the Canadian historical novel because it seems to offer a response to the denial of memory and with it the continuities of identity. By shifting gears in this fashion, she bypasses all the potholes of theoretical dispute and all the dead ends of inconclusive epistemological argument. Instead, she tells a story.

This account of the “digging up of buried things”⁵ might have aroused only a kind of provincial interest—how an ex-colony such as Canada challenged the cultural dominance of London, Paris, and New York—if it had not been intertwined with more general concerns about the experience of time and history at the end of the twentieth century. Has the popularity of the historical novel grown because the past

² Atwood, “In Search of *Alias Grace*,” 1507.

³ Atwood, “In Search of *Alias Grace*,” 1506.

⁴ Atwood, “In Search of *Alias Grace*,” 1505, 1507.

⁵ Atwood, “In Search of *Alias Grace*,” 1509.

seems safer than the present? Is this passion for history just an exercise in nostalgia, regret, or guilt? Or is it merely a version of anthropological curiosity, what Atwood calls "the lure of time travel"?⁶ Is discovery of the past only an empty kind of emotional reassurance?

Having raised these various possibilities, Atwood then offers her own provocative but undeveloped suggestion to explain the appeal of history: "it has to do with the age we are now," as a culture and not as individuals. By this, she seems to imply that Canadian and even Western culture is now middle-aged and therefore finds itself almost inevitably "taking a long hard look backwards" to place itself.⁷ Although she limits her pursuit of this insight to the telling of the story of her own experience of writing a historical novel, it has a wider resonance.

I do not mean, however, that Atwood subscribes to an explicit postmodernist stance that claims the culture has exhausted the potential of modernism and with it scientific standards of truth, the conviction that history can capture an objective reality, the belief that individual identity displays continuity over time, and so on. Just as she sidesteps the disputes about history and fiction, continually juggling their differences and similarities, she also adopts a disabused stance toward historical documentation without giving up on the search for historical verisimilitude. She discovers that the documents tell no one true story; that documents themselves are produced by a process of sorting, sifting, shaping, and suppression; that what is written on paper cannot be automatically trusted. And yet, she proceeds to study those documents, compare them for inconsistencies, and develop an account that as fairly as possible represents "all points of view" of her characters. She forthrightly recognizes that all of us face certain insoluble dilemmas; she shares the pervasive "uneasiness about the trustworthiness of memory, the reliability of story, and the continuity of time."⁸ It is the last of these that interests me here, because historians have largely ignored it.

In the recent disputes about historical epistemology and the rapidly growing body of work on historical memory, too little attention has been paid to the question of time itself. As Atwood's essay shows, the issue will not disappear even if we are not sure—as she is not—what to make of it. Certain aspects of the modern conception of historical time have come under fire: the teleology of progress and modernization and any notion of linear development have been explicitly challenged from many quarters.⁹ Even though few historians would refer, as some anthropologists do, to "the oppressive uses of Time," many historians who study the non-West do question the idea that all cultures live in the empty simultaneity of a kind of Newtonian historical time.¹⁰ We no longer assume, in short, that time is "an evenly flowing river."

It has proved much easier, however, to dispute the modernist conception of historical time than to develop an adequate replacement for it. Atwood's essay can

⁶ Atwood, "In Search of *Alias Grace*," 1511.

⁷ Atwood, "In Search of *Alias Grace*," 1511, 1512.

⁸ Atwood, "In Search of *Alias Grace*," 1515.

⁹ Although I do not think that history is currently in a state of crisis, I do agree with Joan Scott that "the very meaning of time . . . is what is at stake." Joan W. Scott, "Border Patrol," *French Historical Studies* 21 (Summer 1998): 383–97, quote 392.

¹⁰ Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York, 1983), 2.

be read as a meditation on precisely this issue, for she is obviously uncomfortable with the implications of time conceived only in terms of “freeze-frames, jumbled fragments, and jump-cuts.” She turns to the historical novel as a way of exploring the meanings of temporality. Historians have been recently prospecting the same kind of terrain, even when this has not been their conscious intention. The most striking recent trends in historical writing—microhistory, the persistent popularity of biography, and the displacement of historical interest into museum exhibitions, historical novels, films, CD-ROMs, and interactive web sites—all thrive on a certain suspension of belief about temporal continuity. They all dig more deeply into one moment, and it is not clear what conception of time might unify them or even if they require an elaborated temporality. Yet since most of these forms participate in the revival of narrative (without in any way implying a necessary teleology or meta-narrative), they depend on novelistic techniques of presentation. History and fiction thus converge on questions of narrative and time. It is hardly accidental, then, that Atwood returns again and again to these issues.

The current convergence between certain kinds of history and certain kinds of fiction may well represent a return of the long repressed mutual implication of the two. The modern novel and modern history writing both drew from the same well of temporal realism dug in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Literary theorists and historians alike have begun to explore the origins of modern temporality. Mikhail Bakhtin argued that the novel depends on a modern “chronotope” (time-space matrix) that foregrounds everyday life. In his view, the novel gets its distinctiveness and vitality from this relationship to time.¹¹ Benedict Anderson reversed the terms and maintained that the novel and the newspaper themselves propagated a new notion of temporality; they configured the “secular, historically clocked, imagined community” of modern life. “One could argue,” Anderson suggested, “that every essential modern conception is based on a conception of ‘meanwhile.’”¹²

There is little agreement about the precise origins of modern temporality, although most scholars trace them to the “early modern period.” Some find the sources of what Walter Benjamin called “homogeneous, empty time” in the age of discoveries made by the new science and European overseas voyages.¹³ In the most ambitious historical study of modern time consciousness, Reinhart Koselleck recounts a whole series of political and cultural ruptures that transformed the notion of time between 1500 and 1800.¹⁴ More recently, literary historian Stuart Sherman has traced to mid-seventeenth-century England the “culturally critical encounter” between chronometry and a new prose structure (the diary and its descendant, the newspaper): “In England during the 1660s, a new technology for counting time on clocks emerged simultaneously with a new paradigm for recount-

¹¹ M. M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, Michael Holquist, ed., Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, trans. (Austin, Tex., 1981).

¹² Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn. (London, 1991), 35, 24.

¹³ On Benjamin, see Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 24. On the importance of the age of discoveries, see Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 3.

¹⁴ Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*, Keith Tribe, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1985).

ing it in prose." Sherman brilliantly analyzes how "closely calibrated clocks and calendrically successive texts" shaped our modern consciousness of time and, not incidentally, all forms of social practice, including especially the temporal realism of the novel.¹⁵

Although much remains to be uncovered about "the planes of historicity," the topic of time is clearly on the agenda.¹⁶ At the end of the twentieth century, novelists and historians are beginning to develop a temporal conscience; they have begun to question the most fundamental—and the most theoretically implicit—dimension of their endeavor. Its very appearance as a contestable subject is significant in itself. As in so many things, consciousness of hidden choices only becomes possible when different options seem to appear on the horizon. The modern sense of time came into being as a sense of break with the past, and the new interest in the givenness of temporality might be evidence that our notions and experience of time are changing once again. But just what these new conceptions might be remains to be seen. For my purposes, then, I would slightly alter Atwood's concluding line, "The past [Time] belongs to us, because we are the ones who need it." Time consciousness, like Atwood's past, has to be infused with "meaning for those alive today."¹⁷

¹⁵ Stuart Sherman, *Telling Time: Clocks, Diaries, and English Diurnal Form, 1660–1785* (Chicago, 1996), x–xi.

¹⁶ Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 3.

¹⁷ Atwood, "In Search of *Alias Grace*," 1516.

Lynn Hunt is Annenberg Professor of History at the University of Pennsylvania. She is the author of various books on the French Revolution, co-author with Joyce Appleby and Margaret Jacob of *Telling the Truth about History* (1994), editor of *The New Cultural History* (1989), and, with Jacques Revel, *Histories: French Constructions of the Past* (1995). With Victoria Bonnell, Hunt is editing a new collection, *Beyond the Cultural Turn* (forthcoming, 1999). She is part of an interuniversity group preparing a web site and CD-ROM on the French Revolution, found on the World Wide Web at www.chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/.

AHR Forum: Histories and Historical Fictions
Margaret Atwood and the Edges of History

JONATHAN D. SPENCE

THE WAY I THINK ABOUT WRITING HISTORY clearly has strong resemblances to the ways Margaret Atwood thinks about writing fiction. Certainly, most historians would not be as up-front as she is in stating that her central occupation is to “concoct plausible whoppers,” which she hopes she can “induce the public to swallow whole,” even though they might privately feel that now and again some of their colleagues do just that.¹ But her statement of the novelist’s overall view of context and craft, as she explicates it in her Bronfman Lecture, seems to me a beautiful and comprehensive statement of what the historian is often also attempting.

At one level, she sees this as being an attempt to conjure up “geology, weather, economic forces, social classes, cultural references, and wars and plagues and such big public events.” At another, it is to catch that elusive place in which “individual memory and experience and collective memory and experience come together.”² Something about the way Atwood started her list with geology and weather made me realize that various passages in my own books that seem to me to have worked well are those that link the cosmic forces to the individual’s being and memory: the earthquake that devastated Woman Wang’s community, the thunder that startled the Kangxi emperor, the swirling dust that filled Matteo Ricci’s eyes and nose, the snow that sucked the legs of the Taiping rebels to a standstill. It is true that the novelist can have a snowfall or earthquake virtually whenever he or she chooses, given certain constraints of verisimilitude, whereas the historian seeks clear proof that snow did fall on such and such a day or that the earth did quake and open. But they both use the phenomena of weather and geology in similar ways, to deepen the meaning of their story. As Atwood admirably phrases it, both historian and storyteller are at times “remembering as a personal experience an event at which [they] had not been present in the flesh.”³

Atwood also echoes my own feelings about history writing when she questions the claims for a heroic scale in our endeavors. “History may intend to provide us with grand patterns and overall schemes,” she writes, “but without its brick-by-brick, life-by-life, day-by-day foundations, it would collapse. Whoever tells you that

¹ Margaret Atwood, “In Search of *Alias Grace*: On Writing Canadian Historical Fiction,” rpt. in *AHR* 103 (December 1998): 1503–16, quote 1503.

² Atwood, “In Search of *Alias Grace*,” 1504.

³ Atwood, “In Search of *Alias Grace*,” 1505.

history is not about individuals, only about large trends and movements, is lying.”⁴ Like Atwood with her stories, I think I have often been drawn to write about a particular historical topic because my head was growing full of “hints and images and scenes and voices,” rather than because of “theories and grand schemes.” Like Atwood, I am drawn into the act of writing by my absorption with “individual characters interacting with, and acted upon by, the world that surrounds them.” I feel, as she does, that if we can explore these interactions intelligently and with probity, “a large pattern does then emerge.”⁵

Where, then, are the crucial differences in what we do? Partly, they lie in the zones of freedom that we allow ourselves. Atwood is precise about the three guidelines she followed in composing *Alias Grace*: first, “when there was a solid fact,” she “could not alter it”; second, “every major element in the book had to be suggested by something in the writing about Grace and her times, however dubious such writing might be”; third, “in the parts left unexplained—the gaps left unfilled—[she] was free to invent.”⁶ It is with this list of guidelines that a historian like myself, deeply drawn to her other arguments, starts to separate himself out from the overlays between a novelist’s sensibilities and a novelist’s procedures.

The first of her guidelines is already problematic to the historian: although the use of “could” in Atwood’s phrase “could not alter it” seems definitive enough—not “would” or “should” not alter it but *could* not, as though it were a mental and physical impossibility—the historian knows that much time is spent trying to determine whether or not something is “solid fact.” There is information about the past in abundance, in an immense variety of forms, but tracking that information into the realm of the actual, gauging its reliability, and deciding whether or not it can constitute a “fact” or a reliable piece of “evidence” is where much of the historian’s adventuring lies.

In a way, Atwood recognizes this in her second guideline, which relates to her belief that “every major element” in her own book should be supported by a piece of writing by somebody else, “however dubious” that writing might be. The historian knows that this is a dark area: the more obsessive our quest, the more determined we are to prove a hypothesis or sharpen a moment of potential drama, the more likely we may be to overlook the fact that what we are reading is indeed “dubious” and consign it to the world of “fact” or “source” in our own heads and bolster its credibility with apparently convincing citations.

Her third category constitutes, on the surface, a lesser quandary. Obviously, one might respond, the historian is not “free to invent” whenever he or she finds “gaps left unfilled.” And yet, even being scrupulous, we may draw conclusions that are equivalent to filling gaps. For instance, we may assume that a missing conversation or memo in a sequence has no particular importance; we may take it for granted that something laying in the in-tray on a desk was read by the intended recipient; we may assume someone noticed a sunset, or meant what they said about being in love. We may juxtapose pieces of information in such a way as to imbue them with

⁴ Atwood, “In Search of *Alias Grace*,” 1505.

⁵ Atwood, “In Search of *Alias Grace*,” 1512.

⁶ Atwood, “In Search of *Alias Grace*,” 1515.

new meanings, or at least hint at their interconnections. We do not need the circumlocutions of schoolday essays—"surely he must have been thinking," or "no doubt she was aware of"—to perform the same sleight of hand. And—though this is perhaps the most dangerous ground of all—where is the precise sin in guessing? China's greatest early historians, for instance, scholars of integrity, determination, and immense learning, as a matter of course reconstructed conversations between the principal actors in their histories, even though there was no way such conversations could have been overheard or recorded at the time. To those historians, the recorded conversation was a device, a convention, to sharpen the interactions between the principal figures and lure the readers deeper into their minds.

Atwood sees, I think correctly, that we are all doomed "to write out of who and where and when we are, whether we like it or not, and disguise it how we may."⁷ But the tenacious historian may feel that the point of the endless and often exasperating search for knowledge about the past is to try and push those bindings to the limit, to throw one's whole energy into the quest for interpretation and modes of recording that are as true as one can get to the spirit and contingencies of the past. If that can be done, even to some extent, then the historian earns the right to bear a kind of witness, to speak with greater authority than others about what might have been and what could not have been. For Atwood, "the eating of meals, the flossing of teeth, the making of love, the birthing of children, the attending of funerals" is the simplest of lists that helps fill out the "individual life" of her fictional characters.⁸ The historian's quest involves taking such a list and shaking it until it rattles. The flossing of teeth is undoubtedly the easiest to accept or reject, based as it is on developments in dental technology, and the manufacturing and distributional factors that go with it, with variables like cost of the product and country concerned entering into the equation. The attending of funerals is not a universal factor in any sense, although it is likely to have been possible in many cultures at different moments and in different modes. Weighing its effects will always be problematic, perhaps impossible. The birthing of children is obviously not an experience common to all people either, but its probability in each individual's case can be explored through a variety of sources, and the possible psychological and physiological effects gauged with some chance of accuracy. The making of love can be seen as almost universal, if we range in our interpretations across all the zones from infantile fantasy, adolescent yearning, and adult actuality, but denial or self-denial must always be part of that exploration. Only the eating of meals may occur in almost all cultures save for the most despairing—and even so we must be aware of liquid diets and intravenous feeding as ever on the periphery, to deny universal claims.

Atwood's two closing echoes are grand ones, the ancient mariner who seizes the reluctant wedding guest with his skinny hand, and the postman with his vision that poems are for all those that "need" them. That is us, is it not, the historians?

⁷ Atwood, "In Search of *Alias Grace*," 1504.

⁸ Atwood, "In Search of *Alias Grace*," 1504.

Mariners and postmen, charters of the known and unknown, trackers of portents and ascribers of blame, doomed with only rare exceptions to deliver the results of our quests to those we will never have a chance to know.

Jonathan D. Spence is Sterling Professor of History at Yale University. His books include *The Death of Woman Wang* (1978), *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (1984), *The Question of Hu* (1988), and *God's Chinese Son: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiquan* (1996).

AHR Forum: Histories and Historical Fictions
In Search of Reasons for Historians to Read Novels . . .

JOHN DEMOS

MARGARET ATWOOD IS A NOVELIST of exceptional talent and longstanding accomplishment, whose book *Alias Grace* is a luminous work of fiction.

Margaret Atwood is a gifted historian (in an effective, if not strictly professional, sense), whose book *Alias Grace* is a compelling work of history.

Both statements, I submit, are accurate. And I hope in what follows to explore how, and why, they can be reconciled.

Indeed, Atwood's Bronfman Lecture affords exactly this opportunity. Though grounded throughout in the viewpoint of a novelist, it offers much descriptive, and prescriptive, comment that historians can easily transfer to their own work. On defining characteristics: "The novel concerns itself, above all, with time . . . There must be change in a novel." On fundamental goals and purposes: "by taking a long hard look backwards, we place ourselves." On presumed underpinnings: "Fiction is where individual memory and experience and collective memory and experience come together." Even the mischievous notion that novelists "construct plausible whoppers which they hope they can induce the public to swallow whole" may not be entirely inapplicable to historians.¹

Atwood refers especially to "historical novels," which she defines straightforwardly enough as those that are "set in the historic past."² She ponders at length the recent proliferation of such work by Canadian writers. Her account of specifically Canadian influences seems convincing, but the same trend has occurred elsewhere: in England, in Latin America, and, not least, in the United States.

AS A GRADUATE STUDENT IN THE 1960s, I read novels only occasionally, and furtively, and with a somewhat guilty conscience. The ones I most appreciated—by William Faulkner, Ernest Hemingway, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and other recognized mid-century "greats"—were entirely about "the here and now" (in Atwood's phrase).³ As such, they seemed to have little to teach a rookie historian. At best, they might provide models of "good writing"; and historians, both then and now, have aspired to be good writers. At worst, they were mere distraction; hence my guilty

¹ Margaret Atwood, "In Search of *Alias Grace*: On Writing Canadian Historical Fiction," rpt. in *AHR* 103 (December 1998): 1503–16, quotes 1506, 1512, 1504, 1503.

² Atwood, "In Search of *Alias Grace*," 1509–10.

³ Atwood, "In Search of *Alias Grace*," 1508.

conscience. The fact that I, like many others, was trying to practice a “new social history” only deepened my sense of predicament—since, from such scientifically minded work, fiction seemed impossibly remote. As a result, I would not admit to reading fiction at all, neither to my teachers nor to my graduate-student peers.

But in the 1970s, that pattern began to change. My first encounter with a bona fide historical novel (in the Atwood sense) involved Wallace Stegner’s *Angle of Repose*, which I read several years after its publication (in 1971) on a tip from my mother. “It’s very like the story of my parents,” she said; and I thought I should follow up. What I found seemed truly astonishing: a family story of some immediate and personal interest, yes, but also a great deal more. Stegner had taken actual people (the family of Mary Hallock Foote, a nineteenth-century artist and writer) and their actual papers (housed today in the Huntington Library) and created a virtual epic of life in the Great West. He had changed facts, including names, to suit his novelistic purposes, and had liberally filled many large gaps in the record. He had also framed the story with the musings of an entirely fictionalized twentieth-century narrator. The result was, most assuredly, a novel—it won for Stegner a Pulitzer Prize in fiction—but its historical resonance seemed huge. My own main field of interest just then was “family history.” And I recall wondering, when I put the book down, whether anything written by scholars had entered that field as effectively as *Angle of Repose*. A few years later, I read William Styron’s remarkable novel *Confessions of Nat Turner* and asked myself a similar question: Was there a stronger, deeper book anywhere in the long and distinguished scholarly literature on slavery?

From then on, the door was opened wide for me. (Perhaps it helped that I had gained tenure, and could feel comfortable reading whatever I liked!) I will spare readers of this *Forum* the full list of My Favorite Historical Novels—and mention just three more. Brian Moore’s *Black Robe* was a direct and powerful source of inspiration, as I struggled to re-imagine the “Indian missions” of colonial French Canada. Moore, like Stegner, had gone deeply into the records—chiefly, in his case, the famed *Jesuit Relations*—and had used them to create a highly persuasive historical context for his fictional story of a missionary priest. I entirely missed John Barth’s *The Sot-Weed Factor* when it came out in 1960. But to read it now is to rediscover an early masterwork of the “historical fiction” genre; Barth, I think, was simply too far ahead of things to get the credit he surely deserves. Finally, and importantly, there is *Alias Grace*. In her Bronfman Lecture, Atwood acknowledges “the lure of time travel,”⁴ and *Alias Grace* offers a superbly instructive ride through the landscape of mid-nineteenth-century North America. The tissues and textures of that very different milieu are rendered with a remarkable degree of historical verisimilitude—which, again, is based, as Atwood clearly tells us, on much painstaking research in the surviving documentary evidence.

By the mid-1980s, I had become an all-out convert to historical novels but was uncertain how to express the change in my scholarly work. I had been drawn, in the meantime, to the study of “Indian captivities”—and then to one captivity story in particular. So: should I follow the lead of the novelists I admired and write up my

⁴ Atwood, “In Search of *Alias Grace*,” 1511.

story as (historical) fiction? I considered that possibility and tried for a time to act on it. But writing history and writing fiction, I learned the hard way, are very different things—requiring different talents and different forms of commitment. Most of us will probably have to settle for doing one or the other, not both. In my own attempts to cross the line, problems of plotting and especially of dialogue proved insuperable.

Back to my starting point: how to act, in some presumably lesser way, on the example of historical novels. The trouble, in the mid-1980s, was an absence of models—of work by historians that even tried for this in-between ground. Then, *mirabile dictu*, models did appear. First, Robert A. Rosenstone's *Mirror in the Shrine* (1988), a fascinating portrait of nineteenth-century American expatriates in Japan, complete with elegant dashes of postmodern literary technique. Next, Simon Schama's *Dead Certainties* (1991), including his lengthy re-creation of a notorious Boston murder trial, with so much invented dialogue that he chose to call the work a "novella." And Jonathan Spence's *The Question of Hu* (1988). And James Goodman's *Stories of Scottsboro* (1994). And Stella Tillyard's *Aristocrats* (1994).

There were others, more than can easily be mentioned here. Some readers, and some practitioners, too, diagnosed a growing trend: even a "new narrative history." Whatever its name, the link to fiction seemed clear (to me) and *fundamental*. Moreover, when seen in the largest perspective, there were two trends approaching convergence: that of novelists drawn to historical fiction and that of scholars attempting a semi-novelistic brand of history. (I can think of no better term.) From all this, I drew increasing encouragement—enough finally (and here I add some "blushes" to those of Margaret Atwood in her Bronfman Lecture) to complete my book *The Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story from Early America* (1994).

THERE ARE TWO FINAL ISSUES I would like to raise and (briefly) explore, and two others I wish to dodge.

The dodges first. There isn't enough space here to describe the specific ways any of the historians mentioned above have sought to borrow from our novelist counterparts: the strategies, the techniques, the "moves" around one or another particular point. Some of these, I trust, are obvious; others are frankly obscure, perhaps also to the writers themselves. Readers, in any case, may be left to ponder such questions on their own. By the same token, there isn't space here even to introduce a considerable body of recent theorizing on the matter of history/fiction boundaries. Since, moreover, my personal inclinations run much more to practice than to theory, I had better not jump in where I cannot easily swim.

But with that much conceded, I am eager to proclaim two kinds of exemplary learning that go from the novelists toward the world of workaday historians. One is nothing more (or less) than a scrupulously close attention to significant human detail. Atwood's Bronfman Lecture describes her experience of "wrestling not only with who said what about Grace Marks, but also with how to clean a chamber pot, what footgear would have been worn in winter, the origins of quilt pattern names,

and how to store parsnips.”⁵ To a man and woman, the historical novelists have addressed precisely this challenge, and their “wrestling” process has taken them into the tiniest minutiae of evidence. (Another novel to mention, after all: Charles Frazier’s acclaimed *Cold Mountain*, in which the minutiae are so dense as to become almost suffocating. Still, to follow Frazier’s central character on his journey home from Civil War soldiering is to know the life of that time and place in a wholly immediate way.) History, too—at least some of history—can benefit from a similar concern with how-to-store-parsnips details. Only thus can we do justice to all the textural (as opposed to structural) qualities of the life of the past.

My second proclamation may seem virtually opposite to the first. But, just as historians might well follow novelists in “wrestling” more fully with the minutiae, so, too, might they follow in engaging more directly the foundations of (dare we say) the human condition. Here, again, is Atwood on historical fiction.

Such stories are not about this or that slice of the past, or this or that political or social event, or this or that city or country or nationality, although of course all of these may enter into the picture, and often do. They are about human nature, which usually means they are about pride, envy, avarice, lust, sloth, gluttony, and anger. They are about truth and lies, and disguises and revelations; they are about crime and punishment; they are about love and forgiveness and long suffering and charity; they are about sin and retribution and sometimes even redemption.⁶

Well . . . Cannot historians aspire to something like the same range? In this connection, and with still more blushes, I now reinvoke *The Unredeemed Captive*. I aimed in that book to write a particular “family story,” set in a single, solidly identified historical locale, involving specific people and events. Yet I also meant to touch themes of a deeply generic sort: love and hope, separation and loss, grief and understanding. (To be sure, my list overlaps Atwood’s at a number of key points.) Academic readers and reviewers, though remarkably generous in most of their reactions, seemed scarcely to notice the second and deeper level. Was this perhaps because we do not, as historians, usually claim “human nature” as part of our professional territory? And if so, must we rest content with such self-imposed limitations? Should we continue to leave the most basic, universal, and personally significant parts of all our lives to novelists, poets, philosophers, religious leaders, and their like?

I hope not.

⁵ Atwood, “In Search of *Alias Grace*,” 1514.

⁶ Atwood, “In Search of *Alias Grace*,” 1516.

John Demos is the Samuel Knight Professor of American History at Yale University. His main field of interest is American social history, with an emphasis on the colonial period. Besides *The Unredeemed Captive*, he is the author of *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony* (1970), *Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and the Culture of Early New England* (1982), and *Past, Present, and Personal: The Family and the Life Course in American History* (1986).

Review Essay
Wizards, Bureaucrats, Warriors, and Hackers:
Writing the History of the Internet

ROY ROSENZWEIG

TAKE A LOOK AT THE STANDARD TEXTBOOKS on post-World War II America. You will search in vain through the index for references to the Internet or its predecessor, the ARPANET; even mentions of “computers” are few and far between. The gap is hardly a unique fault of these authors; after all, before 1988, the *New York Times* mentioned the Internet only once—in a brief aside. Still, it is a fair guess that the textbooks of the next century will devote considerable attention to the Internet and the larger changes in information and communications technology that have emerged so dramatically in recent years. Few will share *Wired* publisher Louis Rossetto’s hyperbolic claim that the digital revolution presages “social changes so profound their only parallel is probably the discovery of fire.”¹ But most historians will feel compelled to reckon with the emergence of the Internet as a standard feature of everyday life.

How will that history be written? Four recent works offer some clues by addressing the history of the Internet from different perspectives (biographic,

My thanks to Steve Brier, Josh Brown, Deborah Kaplan, Mike O’Malley, and the anonymous readers for the *AHR* for helpful comments on an earlier version of this essay. The *AHR* will be posting links to the web sites mentioned in these notes on the World Wide Web at www.indiana.edu/~ahr/.

¹ Quoted in David Hudson, *Rewired: A Brief and Opinionated Net History* (Indianapolis, Ind., 1997), 7. I checked the indexes of the following seven books for references to “ARPA,” “ARPANET,” “computer,” “IBM,” or “Internet,” and only found references to computers (but not the Internet) in the Schaller volume: William H. Chafe, *The Unfinished Journey: America since World War II*, 3d edn. (New York, 1995); Otis L. Graham, Jr., *A Limited Bounty: The United States since World War II* (New York, 1996); George Donelson Moss, *Moving On: The American People since 1945* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1994); Frederick F. Siegel, *Troubled Journey: From Pearl Harbor to Ronald Reagan* (New York, 1984); Joseph Siracusa, *The Changing of America: 1945 to the Present* (Arlington Heights, Ill., 1986); Michael Schaller, Virginia Scharff, and Robert D. Schulzinger, *Present Tense: The United States since 1945* (Boston, 1992); Howard Zinn, *Postwar America: 1945–1971* (Indianapolis, 1973). Historians have been far from alone in ignoring the Internet. Although Microsoft claims that it had begun to develop an Internet strategy in 1994, its 1994 edition of *Encarta*, its multimedia encyclopedia, does not include the word “Internet.” (It does briefly mention the ARPANET, although the entry is considerably shorter than the one for “Gates, William Henry, III.” For pre-1988 coverage, see David Burnham, “Reagan Seeks Drive to Raise Productivity of U.S. Agencies,” *New York Times* (February 20, 1985): A18. The Internet got its first real notice in the mainstream media in November 1988 when Robert Morris’s “virus” temporarily shut it down: John Markoff, “Author of Computer ‘Virus’ Is Son of N.S.A. Expert on Data Security,” *New York Times* (November 5, 1988): A1. For a perceptive counter to the utopian language that often surrounds discussions of the Internet, see Philip E. Agre, “Yesterday’s Tomorrow” (1998), available on the World Wide Web at <http://dlis.gseis.ucla.edu/people/pagre/tls.html> (a slightly different version was also published in the *Times Literary Supplement*, July 3, 1998).

bureaucratic, ideological, and social) and considering different sources for the “creation” of the Internet—from inventive engineers and solid government bureaucrats to the broader social context of the Cold War or the 1960s. Although the Internet may be heralded as an entirely novel development, its historians have generally followed some well-worn paths in the history of technology. These conventional approaches are often illuminating, but the full story will only be told when we get a history that brings together biographical and institutional studies with a fully contextualized social and cultural history. The rise of the Net needs to be rooted in the 1960s—in both the “closed world” of the Cold War and the open and decentralized world of the antiwar movement and the counterculture. Understanding these dual origins enables us to better understand current controversies over whether the Internet will be “open” or “closed”—over whether the Net will foster democratic dialogue or centralized hierarchy, community or capitalism, or some mixture of both.

“CONTEXTUALIST” APPROACHES HAVE LONG DOMINATED academic studies of the history of technology, but narratives of “great men” of science and technology remain popular, deriving their power both from widespread assumptions about new ideas emerging from particular men of genius as well as from the narrative appeal of biography.² The title of Katie Hafner and Matthew Lyon’s well-written and extensively researched work of popular history, *Where Wizards Stay Up Late: The Origins of the Internet*, neatly inscribes the book’s great man approach. So does the dust jacket, which promises “the fascinating story of a group of young computer whizzes . . . who . . . invented the most important communications medium since the telephone.”³

Hafner and Lyon begin their tale of “origins” with Bolt Beranek and Newman (BBN), the computer consulting company that had the initial contract from the Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA) for what became known as the ARPANET. (Founded in 1957 in the post-Sputnik panic over Soviet technological prowess, ARPA, a Defense Department unit, supported research and development in technology, particularly military-oriented systems such as ballistic missile defense.) The book’s prologue describes a reunion of ARPANET’s designers at BBN in 1994. This narrative choice and the centrality of BBN to the entire book owe a great deal to the study’s origins in a suggestion from BBN, which opened its archives to Hafner and Lyon and even helped fund the project.⁴

Having started with the contractor, Hafner and Lyon explain the source of the

² For reviews of the historiography, see, for example, John M. Staudenmaier, *Technology’s Storytellers: Reweaving the Human Fabric* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), which argues that at least half the articles in *Technology and Culture*’s first two decades of publication take a “contextual” approach; and Stephen H. Cutcliffe and Robert C. Post, eds., *In Context: History and the History of Technology: Essays in Honor of Melvin Kranzberg* (Bethlehem, Pa., 1989). For a perceptive overview of writing in computer history, see Michael S. Mahoney, “The History of Computing in the History of Technology,” *Annals of the History of Computing* 10, no. 2 (1988): 113–25.

³ Katie Hafner and Matthew Lyon, *Where Wizards Stay Up Late: The Origins of the Internet* (New York, 1996).

⁴ BBN did not, however, exercise any control over the actual book. I have used the abbreviation ARPA throughout this essay, but, in fact, it later became the Defense Advanced Research Projects

contract with another story. As they tell it, Bob Taylor, the head of the ARPA office that dealt with computer research (known as the Information Processing Techniques Office), faced an “irksome” problem in the winter of 1966. The room next to Taylor’s office housed three computer terminals, each connected to a mainframe running at a different site funded by ARPA. Since the different terminals used different computer systems, program languages, and operating systems, they required different login procedures and commands. “It became obvious,” Taylor later remembered, “that we ought to find a way to connect all these different machines” and, thus, share extremely expensive computer equipment. “Great idea,” his boss responded. “You’ve got a million dollars more in your budget right now. Go.”⁵

After Taylor gained funding for his project, he turned to “a shy, deep-thinking young computer scientist . . . named Larry Roberts,” who was “blessed with incredible stamina” and “had a reputation for being something of a genius,” to “oversee the design and construction of the network.” In 1967, at a meeting in Ann Arbor, Wes Clark of Washington University came up with the crucial idea of making the network function by inserting a sub-network of smaller computers between the host computers and the network lines—what later came to be called Interface Message Processors, or IMPs. Riding to the airport in a cab, Clark told Roberts that only Frank Heart could build such a network at a reasonable cost. Heart, too, is a wizard: “intensely loyal” and “nurturing,” he has “prodigious energy” and the ability to make “certain that jobs he signed up for really got done.” And with his help, BBN, the Cambridge consulting company where he worked, snared the million-dollar contract to build the ARPANET. (When BBN won the contract for the Interface Message Processors, Senator Edward Kennedy sent them a famous telegram congratulating them on the “ecumenism” of their planned work on the “Interfaith Message Processor.”)⁶

But why begin with Taylor and BBN? Many popular narratives of the rise of the Internet start earlier and with a story that is more grounded in a particular historical context. A widely distributed “Brief History of the Internet” by science fiction writer Bruce Sterling opens: “Some thirty years ago, the RAND Corporation, America’s foremost Cold War think-tank, faced a strange strategic problem. How could the US authorities successfully communicate after a nuclear war?” The solution, as Sterling explains it, emerged in 1964 from the Rand Corporation and particularly from engineer Paul Baran, who imagined a network with no central authority, which “would be designed from the get-go to transcend its own unreliability.”⁷ Unlike a centralized network in which destroying the central switching point brings down the entire structure, Baran theorized that a distributed

Agency (DARPA) and in 1993, it became ARPA again. A key initial focus of ARPA was space exploration, but that work was soon spun off into NASA.

⁵ Hafner and Lyon, *Where Wizards*, 12–13, 42.

⁶ Hafner and Lyon, *Where Wizards*, 44, 25, 74, 92, 102; Peter H. Salus, *Casting the Net: From ARPANET to Internet and Beyond* (Reading, Mass., 1995), 34.

⁷ Bruce Sterling, “A Brief History of the Internet,” *Magazine of Fantasy and Science Fiction* (February 1993), but found on the World Wide Web at www.forthnet.gr/forthnet/isoc/short.history.of.internet. This account is also conventionally given (albeit sometimes in garbled form) in the many technical manuals on the Internet. See, for example, *The Internet Unleashed 1996*, 3d edn. (Indianap-

network could sustain multiple hits and keep working through alternative channels. Crucial to Baran's distributed network was his second key innovation, using digital technology to break up messages into discrete pieces that could be sent individually and then reassembled at the end point—a feature that builds more reliability into the system and makes more effective use of communications lines than telephone circuit-switching technology. (Telephone circuits set up a dedicated line between two people through which a continuous transmission is sent; if the participants turn silent for a minute, they still continue to use the circuit. “Packet-switching networks” are much more efficient because the data are broken into smaller chunks, which can flow through multiple paths and also share the same lines with other pieces of data.) British physicist Donald Davies, who later developed some similar networking ideas, gave Baran's “message blocks” the name “packets”—a rubric that has stuck today and is embodied in the notion of “packet-switching networks”—the core technology of the Internet.⁸

Starting with Baran instead of Taylor roots the Internet in the darkness of the Cold War rather than the bright idea of a clever engineer and emphasizes surviving (or fighting) nuclear war rather than sharing computer resources. His work, Baran later told an interviewer, “was done in response to the most dangerous situation that ever existed.” Like his contemporary at Rand, Herman Kahn (the model for “Dr. Strangelove” in the Cold War satire that appeared the same year as Baran's report), Baran thought the unthinkable—how to carry on after a nuclear apocalypse. “If war does not mean the end of earth in a black-and-white manner,” Baran wrote, “then it follows that we should do those things that make the shade of gray as light as possible: . . . to do all those things to permit the survivors of the holocaust to shuck their ashes and reconstruct their economy swiftly.”⁹

Hafner and Lyon do not ignore Baran, but they downplay his significance as part of de-emphasizing the military origins of the Net even while they make clear that Baran's ideas were crucial in the development of the ARPANET. They credit Baran with putting in some of the Internet's “blocks” and “stones” but not with being its “architect.” Roberts himself later put Baran more in the center of things, noting that when he read Baran's reports in 1967: “suddenly I learned how to route packets. So we talked to Paul and used all of his concepts and put together the [ARPANET] proposal.”¹⁰ But the real point for Hafner and Lyon is about intentions, not credit; the ARPANET, they insist, “embodied the most peaceful

olis, Ind., 1995), 10, which begins its history of the Net with the heading: “From the Cold War—A Hot Network.”

⁸ On Davies's work, see Martin Campbell-Kelly, “Data Communications at the National Physical Laboratory (1965–1975),” *Annals of the History of Computing* 9 (1988): 221–47.

⁹ Hafner and Lyon, *Where Wizards*, 56. On Rand and Herman Kahn, see Fred Kaplan, *The Wizards of Armageddon* (New York, 1983), 220–31. *Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb*, dir. Stanley Kubrick (1964).

¹⁰ Quoted in Arthur L. Norberg and Judy E. O'Neill with contributions by Kerry J. Freedman, *Transforming Computer Technology: Information Processing for the Pentagon, 1962–1986* (Baltimore, Md., 1996), 166. According to Taylor, he was initially unaware of Baran's work, but Janet Abbate pointed out that “Baran's ideas quickly entered networking discourse and practice” and that Baran “discussed his ideas with many computing and communications experts and his report was widely read by others.” Abbate, “From Arpanet to Internet: A History of Arpa-Sponsored Computer Networks, 1966–1988” (PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1994), 27.

intentions to link computers at scientific laboratories across the country so that researchers might share computer resources . . . Arpanet and its progeny, the Internet, had nothing to do with supporting or surviving war—never did.”¹¹

Starting with Taylor’s effort to connect disparate computers, Hafner and Lyon weave a lively tale of the origins of the Internet. But their biographical focus slights the technical and intellectual (as well as the military) roots of the ARPANET experiment: the influence, for example, of work on time-sharing computers (machines set up so that they can be used at the same time by multiple users), small-scale computer networking projects, and the larger vision of giving people access to the world’s knowledge—a heritage that runs from Denis Diderot’s *Encyclopédie* to H. G. Wells’s “world brain” to Vannevar Bush’s “memex” to J. C. R. Licklider’s “libraries of the future.”¹² By de-emphasizing the social and political contexts in which the Net was built, Hafner and Lyon tell a story that most engineers would like—a tale of adventurous young men motivated by technical curiosity and largely unaffected by larger ideological currents or even narrower motives of self-advancement or economic enrichment.

Given their interest in the engineers and in BBN, Hafner and Lyon devote most of their book to a fast-paced narrative of the design and building of the system. They excel at explicating technical matters for a non-technical audience. But their coverage trails off after they describe the first public demonstration of the ARPANET at the International Conference on Computer Communication in Washington in October 1972. Although that event established the feasibility of packet switching, success at this point was limited. No one had really figured out what the network was good for; as late as the fall of 1971, network traffic was barely 2 percent of what it could potentially handle; it was, as Hafner and Lyon nicely put it, “like a highway system without cars.”¹³

THE BIOGRAPHIC, GREAT MAN MODEL stretches Hafner and Lyon’s literary talents, in part because the Internet lacks a central founding figure—a Thomas Edison or a Samuel F. B. Morse. It resulted more from bureaucratic teams than inspired individuals. Bureaucracy, however, rarely makes for lively reading. A bureaucrats’ story unfolds with great care and mastery, though little excitement, in *Transforming Computer Technology: Information Processing for the Pentagon, 1962–1986* by Arthur L. Norberg and Judy E. O’Neill. Just as funding, in part, explains Hafner and Lyon’s focus on BBN, so, too, does funding explain Norberg and O’Neill’s organizational focus. The book originated from a Defense Department contract to study the Information Processing Techniques Office (IPTO), with the original idea coming from the office’s last director.¹⁴ That support made possible an important set of forty-five interviews, which are extensively used in this book and also in a number

¹¹ Hafner and Lyon, *Where Wizards*, 79–80.

¹² Martin Campbell-Kelly and William Aspray offer a very good, but brief, version of this analysis in *Computer: A History of the Information Machine* (New York, 1996), 283–94.

¹³ Hafner and Lyon, *Where Wizards*, 176.

¹⁴ Norberg and O’Neill, *Transforming Computer Technology*, vii. In 1986, IPTO was restructured and became the Information Science and Technology Office.

of other works on the development of computing, including Hafner and Lyon's book.

Norberg and O'Neill consider not just ARPANET but all ARPA computer funding between 1962 and 1986, including that for time-sharing, graphics, and artificial intelligence as well as networking. Although their book is scholarly in tone and in its extensive research and documentation, they champion their subjects just as Hafner and Lyon do. Throughout, the authors celebrate IPTO's "achievements," "contributions," "accomplishments," and "successes." The book also has its heroes—the bureaucrats who made everything happen. The authors devote one of the book's six chapters to describing and praising IPTO's "lean management structure." The agency's "technical accomplishments," they write, "were shaped as much by IPT office management as they were by researchers' intentions."¹⁵

By spotlighting ARPA, Norberg and O'Neill emphasize what Hafner and Lyon sometimes obscure—the close connection of all ARPA computer funding to military concerns. Calling their concluding chapter "Serving the Department of Defense and Nation," they celebrate rather than downplay that link. They point out, for example, that ARPA only set up the IPTO in 1962 in response to pressure from the Kennedy administration for improved military command and control systems.¹⁶ Computers, it was widely believed, would make it possible to "control greater amounts of information and to present it in more effective ways to aid decision making." Whereas Hafner and Lyon describe IPTO's first director, J. C. R. Licklider, as pushing it toward basic research, Norberg and O'Neill quote him telling another military official that ARPA should only fund research that offers "a good prospect of solving problems that are of interest to the Department of Defense."¹⁷ Such sentiments were hardly surprising from a man who went to work in the Pentagon the same month as the United States and Soviet Union teetered on the brink of nuclear war over missiles in Cuba.

Norberg and O'Neill also provide a more complete and complex portrait of the Internet's ties to military concerns. They agree with Hafner and Lyon that Taylor's "perceived need to share resources" sparked his initial decision to seek funding for the ARPANET. But they also show that networking experiments grew out of IPTO's fundamental concern with using computers to improve military command and control. Norberg and O'Neill further argue that the military origins of the ARPANET made it successful. While "incentives for networking were lacking in the [computing] community," they "did exist in DOD [Department of Defense], where there was a need to reduce the high cost of software development, improve communications among military units while increasing computer use, [and] further develop command and control systems."¹⁸

In any case, to focus on the particular "originary" moment of Taylor's search for

¹⁵ Norberg and O'Neill, *Transforming Computer Technology*, 6, 14, 25, 66.

¹⁶ The office was, in fact, initially called the Command and Control division.

¹⁷ Norberg and O'Neill, *Transforming Computer Technology*, 12, 29. Still, there is a difficult problem here of sorting out rhetoric from reality. Abbate maintains that "the agency's disavowal of basic research was more rhetorical than real" and that while "resulting technologies often became part of the military command and control system, the defense rationale may have come after the fact." "From Arpanet to Internet," 77.

¹⁸ Norberg and O'Neill, *Transforming Computer Technology*, 163, 193. They also trace back the networking experiment to Licklider's desire to foster "community" among the researchers funded by

initial funding is to underplay the Internet's multiple origins. By 1972, ARPA had shown the feasibility of packet switching, but it had only created a limited and lightly used network, which also operated in a changed political climate. Starting in the late 1960s, White House and congressional pressure forced ARPA to tie its funding much more closely to military needs.¹⁹ In response to those mandates, ARPA sought to apply directly what it had learned about packet switching to military applications, particularly through packet radio networks and packet satellites. As the additional networks as well as some early commercial networks emerged, Bob Kahn, an engineer who had moved from BBN to ARPA in 1972, and others realized that they had now replicated the problem that had vexed Taylor back in 1966: how do you connect incompatible networks—rather than just computers—to each other? (Kahn, interestingly, had a direct connection to one of the Internet's key alternate origins; it was his cousin Herman Kahn's works on thermonuclear war that had provided the Cold War context for Baran's work on packet switching.)²⁰

Out of this military-driven dilemma of "inter-networking" came both the concept and the name of the Internet. Kahn launched the "Internetting Project" to make it possible for "a computer that's on a satellite net and a computer on a radio net and computer on the ARPANET to communicate uniformly with each other without realizing what's going on in between."²¹ In collaboration with Vinton Cerf, Kahn developed in 1974 a new and more independent packet-switching protocol—at first called Transmission Control Protocol or TCP and later TCP/IP, with IP standing for "Internet Protocol"—that would serve as a kind of lingua franca for this new Internet. It remains in use today. Not only did military funding and necessity create this standard, but also the adoption of the protocol in 1980 by the Department of Defense for its own operations gave it a crucial boost. Equally important (and surprising given the context) was the Defense Department's public release of TCP/IP—in effect, this normally closed and secretive agency fostered a remarkably open (and hence free) standard of communication.²²

But the ultimate triumph of TCP/IP was also—as Janet Abbate's informative dissertation makes clear—a matter of international politics and commerce. European telecommunication companies, publicly controlled, pushed an alternative standard (x.25) that would be more compatible with their operations. A key American weapon in the "protocol wars" was Defense Department support, which grew at least in part out of the explicit design of those standards for the military. As a result, TCP/IP boosters could, as Peter Salus notes in *Casting the Net*, persuade

ARPA (154). This point is particularly stressed in Judy O'Neill, "The Role of ARPA in the Development of the ARPANET, 1961–1972," *Annals in the History of Computing* 17 (1995): 76–81.

¹⁹ In 1969, for example, Congress passed a rider—the Mansfield Amendment—to the military reauthorization bill that mandated, "None of the funds authorized to be appropriated by this Act may be used to carry out any research project or study unless such project or study has a direct or apparent relationship to a specific military function or operations." Norberg and O'Neill, *Transforming Computer Technology*, 36.

²⁰ For Robert Kahn's relationship to Herman, see "An Interview with Robert E. Kahn," conducted by Judy O'Neill, April 24, 1990, Reston, Virginia, Charles Babbage Institute, Center for the History of Information Processing, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

²¹ Hafner and Lyon, *Where Wizards*, 223.

²² Hafner and Lyon, *Where Wizards*, 251, 258.

“the military brass that the ARPANET protocols were reliable, available, and survivable.”²³ The victory of TCP/IP is not unconnected to why the United States still dominates the Internet.

Norberg and O'Neill provide a thorough institutional study but offer only passing references to the larger political and economic context. They acknowledge that the “political circumstances in the world of the past three decades led the Department of Defense to demand new developments in computing that would help to increase the sophistication and speed of new military systems,” but add that “we will not discuss it in this study.”²⁴ This lack of context also contributes to their largely uncritical view of ARPA's military mission. Despite the repeated references to military “benefits” and uses of the computer technology that ARPA funded, Norberg and O'Neill never discuss the actual use of computers on the battlefields of the Vietnam War, which was fought during the heyday of ARPA funding of computer projects.

ALTHOUGH PAUL EDWARDS'S *The Closed World: Computers and the Politics of Discourse in Cold War America* does not focus specifically on the Internet, it still shares many topics and sources with the Norberg and O'Neill and Hafner and Lyon books. Nevertheless, it is also their mirror opposite: whereas Norberg and O'Neill as well as Hafner and Lyon eschew context, Edwards places his story squarely within the narrative of the Cold War and emphasizes the world outside the laboratory; whereas Norberg and O'Neill celebrate (and Hafner and Lyon deny) the marriage of defense and computers, Edwards paints a forbidding portrait of their union; whereas Norberg and O'Neill and Hafner and Lyon provide straightforward (and easy to follow) institutional or biographical histories, Edwards, as a student of Donna Haraway and a graduate of the History of Consciousness program at the University of California, Santa Cruz, draws on and contributes to a large theoretical literature in cultural studies and structures his (sometimes confusing) account more as “collage than linear narrative.” Edwards departs most sharply from other works in his abandonment of the trope of “progress” that often marks writing about the history of technology.²⁵

The richness and the complexity of Edwards's sometimes brilliant account make

²³ Salus, *Casting the Net*, 126.

²⁴ Norberg and O'Neill, *Transforming Computer Technology*, 20.

²⁵ Paul N. Edwards, *The Closed World: Computers and the Politics of Discourse in Cold War America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), xv. John M. Staudenmaier noted the importance for historians of technology of a “master narrative” that offers a “whig reading of Western technological evolution as inevitable and autonomous.” He also observed a generational divide in which younger scholars have “argued for a reading of the sometimes technically irrational dimensions of technological decision making as politically or culturally motivated and of the concept of progress in particular as a conceptual tool that helps technical elites to dominate their inferiors.” Although Edwards's work is more influenced by Michel Foucault and cultural studies than by the history of technology, his book clearly fits with those emphasizing the “dark side” of technology. Staudenmaier, “Recent Trends in the History of Technology,” *AHR* 95 (June 1990): 725. For an essay urging historians of technology to decenter or abandon “progress as a conceptual pivot for research,” see Philip Scranton, “Determinism and Indeterminacy in the History of Technology,” in Merritt Roe Smith and Leo Marx, eds., *Does Technology Drive History? The Dilemma of Technological Determinism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1994), 148.

it difficult to summarize briefly.²⁶ Edwards contends that the digital computer is both cause and effect of what he calls the Cold War's "closed-world discourse," which he defines as "the language, technologies, and practices that together supported the visions of centrally controlled, automated global power at the heart of American Cold War politics." "Computers," he writes, "created the technological possibility of the Cold War and shaped its political atmosphere." And, in turn, "the Cold War shaped computer technology." Cold War politics "became embedded in the machines," including their "technical design," and the "machines helped make possible its politics." In this way, Edwards goes beyond historians who argue for the "social construction" of technology and focus on how different social groups shape the development of technology. He emphasizes instead what he calls the "*technological construction of social worlds*." Computers in this analysis, heavily influenced by the work of Michel Foucault, become themselves a source of power and knowledge—or in Edwards's words, "a crucial infrastructural technology—a crucial Foucaultian support—for the Cold War closed-world discourse."²⁷

That the Cold War, if not Cold War discourse, fostered the development of digital computers is relatively easy to show.²⁸ In 1950, for example, the federal government—overwhelmingly, its military agencies—provided 75 to 80 percent of computer development funds. Even when companies began funding their own research and development, they did so with the knowledge of a guaranteed military market. Such massive government support enabled American computer research to destroy foreign (mostly British) competition; the American hegemony in computer markets—routinely attributed to American free markets—rests on a solid base of government-subsidized military funding. "The computerization of society," writer Frank Rose aptly observes, "has essentially been a side effect of the computerization of war."²⁹

Such facts are relatively well known (although sometimes ignored by ideologues who depict the computer industry as the exemplar of *laissez faire*), but Edwards wants to make a deeper argument about the significance of military involvement in computer development. He rejects the idea that "military support for computer research was . . . benign or disinterested"—a view he attributes to historians who take "at face value the public postures of funding agencies and the reports of

²⁶ A considerable portion of Edwards's book deals with developments in artificial intelligence and what he calls the "cyborg discourse," which I have not discussed here.

²⁷ Edwards, *Closed World*, ix, 7, 34, 41. For the social constructivist approach, see, for example, Wiebe E. Bijker, *Of Bicycles, Bakelites, and Bulbs: Toward a Theory of Sociotechnical Change* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995). For a sharp critique, see Langdon Winner, "Upon Opening the Black Box and Finding It Empty: Social Constructivism and the Philosophy of Technology," *Science, Technology and Human Values* 18 (Summer 1993): 362–78. Abbate described social constructionism and systems theory as the key influences on her work. "From Arpanet to Internet," 7.

²⁸ For a general discussion of the centrality of military funding to postwar American science and technology, see Stuart W. Leslie, *The Cold War and American Science: The Military-Industrial-Academic Complex at MIT and Stanford* (New York, 1993). See also such works as Everett Mendelsohn, Merritt Roe Smith, and Peter Weingart, eds., *Science, Technology, and the Military*, 2 vols. (Dordrecht, 1988); David F. Noble, *Forces of Production: A Social History of Automation* (New York, 1984); Merritt Roe Smith, ed., *Military Enterprise and Technological Change: Perspectives on the American Experience* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985); Ann Markusen, et al., *The Rise of the Gunbelt: The Military Remapping of Industrial America* (New York, 1991); and the issue of *Osiris* 7 (1992) on "Science after '40," edited by Arnold Thackray.

²⁹ Quoted in Edwards, *Closed World*, 65.

project leaders.” (He could be talking directly about the Hafner and Lyon and Norberg and O’Neill books, but their work appeared either after or at the same time as his book.³⁰) Rather, he argues, “practical military objectives guided technological development down particular channels, increased its speed, and helped shape the structure of the emerging computer industry.” For example, he maintains that the shift from analog to digital computing was not the result of the innate technological superiority of the latter but of the digital approach’s better correspondence with and support for the vision of centralized command and control of the closed-world discourse.³¹ Unfortunately, Edwards never makes clear precisely how computing would look different today without defense funding under the shadow of the Cold War. Would we have analog computers on our desks—or none at all?

Indeed, Edwards is more interested in showing that computer technology helped create and develop the discourse of centralized command and control than in exploring how this vision actually shaped computer design. Computers, he writes, “helped create and sustain this discourse” by allowing the “practical construction of central real-time military control systems on a gigantic scale” and facilitating “the metaphorical understanding of world politics as a sort of a system subject to technological management.”³²

Much of this sounds and is rather abstract, but Edwards leavens the book’s relentless abstractions with a series of rich case studies and anecdotes. We learn, for example, about U.S. Air Force Operation Igloo White. Run from the Infiltration Surveillance Center in Thailand (the largest building in Southeast Asia) and costing nearly \$1 billion per year between 1967 and 1972, Igloo White sought to monitor all activity across the Ho Chi Minh Trail in southern Laos, including truck noises, body heat, and the scent of human urine. When the sensors (“shaped like twigs, jungle plants, and animal droppings”) picked up signals, they appeared magically on the display terminals as “a moving white ‘worm’ superimposed on a map grid.” Then the computers would project the “worm’s” movements and radio the coordinates to Phantom F-4 jets, whose computers would guide them to the precise map grid square; the computers back in Thailand controlled the release of the bombs. “The pilot,” observes Edwards, “might do no more than sit and watch as the invisible jungle below suddenly exploded into flames.” It was the perfect fantasy of the closed world of computerized and centralized command and control. In the apt words of one technician: “We wired the Ho Chi Minh Trail like a drugstore pinball machine, and we plug it in every night.” But the “pinballs” were smarter than the players. The Vietcong fooled the sensors with taped truck noises and bags of urine, which duly provoked massive air strikes on empty jungle corridors. These air strikes were then

³⁰ Edwards, *Closed World*, 44. He did, however, read the unpublished 1992 report that was the basis of the Norberg and O’Neill book.

³¹ For another account that persuasively undercuts the inevitability or “obviousness” of the triumph of digital over analog computing, see Larry Owens, “Where Are We Going, Phil Morse? Changing Agendas and the Rhetoric of Obviousness in the Transformation of Computing at MIT, 1939–1957,” *IEEE Annals of the History of Computing* 18, no. 4 (1996): 34–41. Owens offers a number of non-technical reasons for the triumph of the digital computing, including “Cold War worries about unrest, uncertainty, and unpredictability [that] fed a countervailing emphasis on management and control” (p. 38).

³² Edwards, *Closed World*, 7.

claimed as quantitative (and quantifiable) successes. A 1971 Senate report found that “truck kills claimed by the Air Force [in Igloo White] last year greatly exceeds the number of trucks believed by the Embassy to be in all of North Vietnam.” Even if the exaggerated claims had been true, they could only have been scored as successes in a crazy world in which it would have cost \$100,000 to destroy trucks and supplies worth a few thousand dollars.³³

Igloo White, as Edwards shows, typified computerized Cold War military operations. He devotes a chapter to the Semi-Automatic Ground Environment (SAGE) computerized air defense system, which cost billions of dollars and was obsolete by the time it was fully operational in 1961. But in the irrational closed world of the Cold War, SAGE actually “worked,” as Edwards argues. Computer scientists got to pursue their research; IBM Corporation built its dominance of the computer industry with the help of the massive SAGE contract. And on an ideological level, SAGE worked by “creating an impression of active defense that assuaged some of the helplessness of nuclear fear” and fostering the myth of centralized control and total defense.

Although Edwards offers little directly on the ARPANET, it is difficult to read his book and then share Hafner and Lyon’s or Norberg and O’Neill’s view of the connection between the military and the rise of the Internet as accidental or benign. One of the sharpest differences between Edwards’s account and the others is in the depiction of J. C. R. Licklider, who twice directed IPTO and whose famous 1960 paper on “man-machine symbiosis” helped shift computing from computation to communication. For both Hafner and Lyon and Norberg and O’Neill, Licklider is an almost sainted figure. “Everybody adored Licklider,” Hafner and Lyon write. “His restless, versatile genius gave rise through the years to an eclectic cult of admirers.” His “worldview,” they write, “pivoted” on the idea “that technological progress would save humanity.”³⁴

In these other accounts, particularly Hafner and Lyon’s, Licklider’s concern with “man-machine” interaction appears as largely an intellectual problem. But Edwards maintains that it grew directly out of his World War II work in Harvard’s Psycho-Acoustic Lab, which sought to reduce “noise” in battlefield communications systems. Such military concerns continued to inform Licklider’s work after the war. In his 1960 paper, for example, he explains the problem with batch processing (as opposed to real-time interactive computing) by writing: “Imagine trying . . . to direct a battle with the aid of a computer on such a schedule as this.” Edwards thus depicts Licklider as tightly wedded to military goals, describing him as “deeply desir[ing] to contribute to new military technologies from his areas of expertise.” Writing in 1978, Licklider expressed some frustration that the World-Wide Military Command and Control System’s computers were not yet “interconnected by an electronic network” and used an operating system designed for “batch processing.” He argued that “military command and control and military communications are prime network applications” and observed that “both interactive computing and networking had their origins in the SAGE system.”³⁵ But regardless of Licklider’s

³³ Edwards, *Closed World*, 3–4.

³⁴ Hafner and Lyon, *Where Wizards*, 29, 34. They dedicate their book to Licklider’s memory.

³⁵ J. C. R. Licklider, “Man-Computer Symbiosis,” *IRE Transactions on Human Factors in Electronics*,

own views, the Defense Department would never have committed funds to projects like ARPANET without the belief that they would ultimately serve specific military objectives and larger Cold War goals.

Thus it becomes clear that computer systems were invented for the Cold War, which provided the justification for massive government spending, and were pushed in particular technological directions. But these same computer systems, in turn, helped to support the discourse of the Cold War; they sustained the fantasy of a closed world that was subject to technological control. Even before ARPANET, the first real computer network was developed by the SAGE project because “the massive integration of a centralized, continental defense control system” required “long-distance communication over telephone lines.”³⁶

If the Internet, like networking and computing, in general, was a “side effect of the computerization of war,” did it also support that militarized and closed vision of the world? On the one hand, the notion of a network of interconnected computers—especially one that could survive nuclear attack—fostered the fantasy of centralized command and control that Edwards sees as crucial to closed-world discourse. Moreover, at least in Defense Department hands, the ARPANET was quite literally a “closed world” to which only a select number of ARPA-funded sites had access. But, on the other hand, Baran’s distributed network—perhaps precisely because it responded to a *post*-nuclear war scenario—could also have nurtured a highly decentralized view of the world. Norberg and O’Neill report, for example, that Defense Department officials initially viewed the new network with suspicion because it would “make it easier for subordinates to send messages without the approval of commanding officers, possibly circumventing the military’s chain of command.”³⁷

And in the 1960s, there were plenty of reasons to worry about subversion of the chain of command and of military thinking, in general—a fact that Edwards’s closed-world analysis seems to ignore.³⁸ He provides an often perceptive analysis of some of the key Cold War era films, for example. But he does not give enough weight to the way that *Dr. Strangelove* (1964) both popularized the closed-world discourse but also undercut it by showing the idea of controlling the nuclear world to be an absurd fantasy. Some leading scientists also came to have doubts. In December 1968, fifty senior faculty members at MIT—the center for the most important developments in computing as well as the country’s biggest academic defense contractor—circulated a statement that started: “Misuse of scientific and

vol. HFE-1 (March 1960): 5; Edwards, *Closed World*, 272; J. C. R. Licklider and Albert Vezza, “Applications of Information Networks,” *Proceedings of the IEEE* [Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers] 66 (November 1978): 1335. Licklider later told an interviewer that he had “this positive feeling toward the military. It wasn’t just to fund our stuff but they really needed it and they were good guys.” Edwards, *Closed World*, 267.

³⁶ Edwards, *Closed World*, 101.

³⁷ Norberg and O’Neill, *Transforming Computer Technology*, 270.

³⁸ Although Edwards devotes little attention to counter-discourses, he does note the “survival” in the current moment of “vestiges” of a “green-world discourse,” which he locates in “animistic religions, feminist witchcraft, certain Green political parties, and the deep ecology movement,” but he says these “lie at the farthest margins of politics, society, and culture.” He argues (and it is an argument that I have trouble following) that “the only possibility for genuine self-determination, is the political subject position of the cyborg.” Edwards, *Closed World*, 350.

technical knowledge presents a major threat to the existence of mankind. Through its actions in Vietnam our government has shaken our confidence in its ability to make wise and humane decisions.” That declaration led directly to the founding of the Union of Concerned Scientists early the next year; the group particularly challenged the conventional wisdom on nuclear weapons and fostered debate over military funding of academic research.³⁹ At least some scientists were beginning to question closed-world visions, and, indirectly, Edwards’s own work emerges out of that critical tradition.⁴⁰

Those creating the ARPANET could hardly have been unaware of these protests. Just six months before the network’s first successful connection in October 1969 between UCLA and the Stanford Research Institute (SRI), massive student protests focused on SRI, calling for an end to all classified, chemical warfare, and counterinsurgency research. On April 18, 1969, 8,000 students and faculty at Stanford voted to commend the protesters for “helping focus attention of the campus upon the nature of research being conducted at the University and SRI.”⁴¹ Antiwar protesters across the country repeatedly targeted closed or classified research.

In addition to those who frontally assaulted the closed-world vision of the defense establishment, there were those who took a less direct but still subversive approach. ARPA money supported the “hackers” at MIT’s Artificial Intelligence Lab, but some of their goals—the free sharing of information, for example—led to direct clashes. Richard Stallman, a systems programmer at the lab, carried on a guerrilla war against the use of passwords on the system. The lack of security encouraged by Stallman and others caused nervousness at the Defense Department, which threatened to cut the computer off the ARPANET, since anyone could walk into the lab and connect to the rest of the network.⁴²

An even more important question about the connection between closed-world discourse and the Internet is how the new global network operated in practice. Edwards shows that military systems like Igloo White and SAGE did not work as planned. What were actual workings of the ARPANET and Internet? To the biographical, bureaucratic, and ideological histories of the Internet, we need to add a social and cultural history.

³⁹ Statement reproduced in Union of Concerned Scientists, *1993 Annual Report* (Cambridge, Mass., 1994), inside front cover. See also undated flier “The Beginnings” from Union of Concerned Scientists, Cambridge, Mass.; and Leslie, *Cold War and American Science*, 233–41.

⁴⁰ In the aftermath of demonstrations against military research at the Stanford Research Institute, one group of graduate students, under faculty sponsorship, organized a course on sponsored research at Stanford, which sought to understand “how a generation of close interaction with the Department of Defense has affected Stanford as an academic institution.” Quoted in Leslie, *Cold War and American Science*, 248. The group published two volumes on Defense Department research at Stanford. More generally (and from a critical vantage), Brook Hindle argues that “darkside” views of science and technology emerged out of radical protests of the 1960s. Hindle, “Historians of Technology and the Context of History,” in Cutcliffe and Post, *In Context*, 235–40.

⁴¹ Leslie, *Cold War and American Science*, 245.

⁴² Steven Levy, *Hackers: Heroes of the Computer Revolution* (1984; rpt. edn., New York, 1994), 416–18.

MICHAEL AND RONDA HAUBEN'S *Netizens: On the History and Impact of Usenet and the Internet* offers a strikingly different historical narrative of the Internet—one that insists that the real story is not of the “wizards” who built the Internet but of the “Netizens” who figured out what it was “really” for and popularized it. In their populist account, ordinary users who realized that it offered a marvelous medium for democratic and interactive communication created the soul of the new network from the bottom up. And while the book is sometimes repetitive and poorly written, it offers an interpretive perspective that should be central to any future Net history.⁴³

The Haubens see the bottom-up origins of the Internet in “Usenet,” the international computer newsgroup network that has more recently been overshadowed by the World Wide Web but still has a substantial presence on the Internet—more than 30,000 different newsgroups covering everything from alien visitations (alt.alien.research) to Zoroastrianism (alt.religion.zoroastrianism). In 1979, two Duke University graduate students, Tom Truscott and Jim Ellis, working with other students at nearby schools, developed some simple programs through which computers using the popular Unix operating system could call each other and exchange files. In effect, the system made possible an online newsletter that would be continuously updated. Those with access to any of the connected computers could read the news postings and add their own comments with the knowledge that they would be quickly read by everyone else; the same program allowed e-mail to be sent between the Unix computers connected by phone modems.

The graduate students consciously saw themselves as offering a networking alternative to the ARPANET, then still limited for reasons of cost and security to Defense Department-funded sites.⁴⁴ Several months later, they described Usenet as trying to “give every Unix system the opportunity to join and benefit from a computer network (a poor man’s ARPANET, if you will).” Another of the graduate students, Stephen Daniel, later recalled that they had “little idea of what was really going on on the ARPANET, but we knew we were excluded.”⁴⁵ The students’ insurgent computer network grew with startling speed: from the initial three sites to 150 two years later, then jumping to 5,000 by 1987. In 1988, Usenet connected 11,000 sites, and participants posted about 1,800 different articles each day. Usenet grew along with the runaway popularity of Unix, which became the standard operating system for the 1980s. A crucial breakthrough had come in 1981 after Usenet gained a tenuous one-way connection from the ARPANET (linked between different computers at the University of California, Berkeley). When graduate student Mark Holton established this gateway, he pierced what some disgruntled Usenet participants described as the “iron curtain” surrounding ARPANET.⁴⁶ Barriers fell further two years later when the Defense Department segmented off

⁴³ David Hudson offers a similar “bottom up” perspective on the Net’s history in *Rewired*, 13–35.

⁴⁴ Campbell-Kelly and Aspray, *Computer*, 293.

⁴⁵ Michael Hauben and Ronda Hauben, *Netizens: On the History and Impact of Usenet and the Internet* (Los Alamitos, Calif., 1997), 41.

⁴⁶ Hauben and Hauben, *Netizens*, 172; Campbell-Kelly and Aspray, *Computer*, 221. Unix was initially developed at AT&T’s Bell Labs in the late 1960s. Although the system was a commercial development, AT&T was prevented by a 1956 consent decree from profiting from sources other than the phone business. As a result, they made Unix widely and cheaply available, and by the 1970s, it became a widely used standard, particularly in academic computing, where a university license cost only \$150.

its military communications into MILNET, which made it less nervous about what traveled over the ARPANET.

The runaway growth of Usenet as a forum for conversation and communication was paralleled by the earlier discovery of e-mail as the most popular use for ARPANET. In 1972, BBN engineer Ray Tomlinson, working on his own, developed a program for sending mail messages across the ARPANET. By the following year, three-quarters of network traffic was devoted to e-mail. Almost overnight, the empty highway found its cars; to this day, e-mail remains the most popular use of the Internet.⁴⁷ As with Usenet, e-mail had come from “below,” from computer users, who wanted to communicate with other computer users, rather than ARPA directives from above. And as with Usenet, the technology had emerged from someone “hacking” around, rather than carrying out an official plan.

Much of the Haubens’s book is devoted to a somewhat hyperbolic celebration of Usenet and other computer networks as a democratic and “uncensored forum for debate” that is the “successor to other people’s presses, such as broadsides at the time of the American Revolution and the penny presses in England.” They argue that the Internet has created a new kind of citizen, the “Netizens,” who they define as “people who decide to devote time and effort into making the Net, this new part of the world, a better place”—“a regenerative and vibrant community and resource.”⁴⁸ The Haubens see the democratic nature of the network growing out of its grass-roots source in the people who created Usenet.

In addition to emphasizing this later moment of creation for the Internet and locating its paternity in the person of some Duke graduate students, the Haubens also give a more democratic and grass-roots spin to the earlier history of ARPANET. In particular, they stress a moment in the development of ARPANET that others have described but not necessarily in the same populist tones. This came early in 1969 when BBN convened a “Network Working Group” to devise the protocols for the new network. Steve Crocker, a bearded young UCLA graduate student, agreed to write up notes from the meetings. Crocker framed his notes to emphasize that “anyone could say anything and that nothing was official.” He labeled them “Request for Comments” and this ongoing series of “RFCs” (distributed ultimately through the medium of the network) became the way that Internet standards have evolved to this day.⁴⁹

The Haubens, not surprisingly, celebrate the philosophy behind the RFCs as representing “unprecedented openness” that fostered the “amazing and democratic” achievement of the Net and its “cooperative culture.” They also remind us that the decision to evolve technical standards in such an open-handed way came at a particular moment in time—the 1960s. “The open environment needed to develop new technologies,” they write, “is consistent with the cry for more democracy that students and others raised throughout the world during the 1960s.” Not surprisingly, the builders of the APRANET were well aware of this context. Writing in

⁴⁷ Hafner and Lyon, *Where Wizards*, 187–218.

⁴⁸ Hauben and Hauben, *Netizens*, 48–49, x. The second quote comes from a preface signed separately by Michael Hauben. The other chapters appear to have been individually written by Rhoda and Michael (who are mother and son), and Michael’s chapters tend to take a more aggressively populist stance.

⁴⁹ Hauben and Hauben, *Netizens*, 102–05.

1987 on “The Origins of RFCs,” Crocker recalls that “the procurement of the ARPANET was initiated in the summer of 1968—Remember Vietnam, flower children, etc.?”⁵⁰ By placing the rise of the Internet within the 1960s-as-counter-culture and the 1960s of the antiwar movement, Crocker and the Haubens suggest an alternative contextual frame to that emphasized by Edwards, who puts the rise of digital computing (and implicitly the Internet) solely within the Establishment 1960s of the Vietnam War and the Cold War.

Both contexts are, of course, important and suggest how we might revise Edwards’s analysis to see the Internet as shaped both by the “closed world” discourse of the Cold War and by the “open world” discourse of the antiwar movement and the counterculture. Such an analysis would also incorporate the entertaining and revealing story Steve Levy tells in *Hackers: Heroes of the Computer Revolution*. Levy discerns among the hackers of the 1960s and 1970s (who he defines as “those computer programmers and designers who regard computing as the most important thing in the world”) a “philosophy of sharing, openness, decentralization, and getting your hands on machines at any cost—to improve the machines, and to improve the world.” Although this “hacker ethic” was not simply the technological side of the counterculture and the antiwar movement, it drew from some of the same sources. “All over the Bay Area,” Levy writes of the early 1970s, “the engineers and programmers who loved computers and had become politicized during the anti-war movement were thinking of combining the two activities.” In 1972, for example, Bob Albrecht launched a tabloid called *People’s Computer Company* (inspired by Janis Joplin’s group, Big Brother and the Holding Company), which proclaimed on the cover of its first issue: “COMPUTERS ARE MOSTLY USED AGAINST PEOPLE INSTEAD OF FOR PEOPLE. USED TO CONTROL PEOPLE INSTEAD OF TO FREE THEM. TIME TO CHANGE ALL THAT—WE NEED A . . . PEOPLE’S COMPUTER COMPANY.” Among the frequent visitors to the paper’s potluck dinners was Ted Nelson, the author of the self-published manifesto of counterculture computing: *Computer Lib*.⁵¹

Berkeley’s Community Memory project similarly merged the impulses of the radical 1960s with the hacker ethic by setting up a time-shared mainframe computer on the second floor of a record store and opening it to free, public use as a kind of combined electronic version of a public library, coffeehouse, urban park, game arcade, and post office. Community Memory embodied, as Levy says, the effort to take “the Hacker Ethic to the streets” and to allow people to use computer technology “as guerrilla warfare for people *against* bureaucracies.” Not coincidentally, some aspects of Community Memory—the decentralization and the free sharing of information—sound like the Internet. And Levy argues that the ARPANET “was very much influenced by the Hacker Ethic, in that among its

⁵⁰ Stephen D. Crocker, “The Origins of RFCs,” in J. Reynolds and J. Postel, *RFC 1000: The Request for Comments Reference Guide*, August 1987, available on the World Wide Web at <http://info.internet.isi.edu:80/in-notes/rfc/files/rfc1000.txt>; Hauben and Hauben, *Netizens*, 103, 106–07. The most detailed discussion of the RFCs can be found in Salus’s more technically oriented history: *Casting the Net*. Many of the RFCs can be found on the web at pages maintained by the University of Southern California’s Information Sciences Institute: www.isi.edu/rfc-editor.org/rfc.html.

⁵¹ Levy, *Hackers*, 7, 168, 172. On Nelson, see Gary Wolf, “The Curse of Xanadu,” *Wired* 3 (June 1995): 137 and following.

values was the belief that systems should be decentralized, encourage exploration, and urge a free flow of information.”⁵²

Among the founders of Community Memory was Lee Felsenstein, a red diaper baby (son of a district organizer for the Philadelphia Communist Party) who had worked as an audio technician for the Free Speech Movement and spent the 1960s moving between seemingly contradictory existences as engineer and political activist. He embodied the two key groups that Martin Campbell-Kelly and William Aspray identify as the vanguard for the personal computer revolution of the early 1970s—first, computer hobbyists who emerged out of the world of radio and electronics aficionados and loved the idea of building their own equipment and, second, computer liberationists who emerged out of the New Left and the counterculture and loved the idea of bringing computers to the people. In the 1970s, Felsenstein became the moderator of the famous “Homebrew Computer Club,” where computer hobbyists and computer liberationists came together to create the first PCs. (When Felsenstein made a big score himself by designing the Osborne personal computer, he plowed the money into Community Memory.) Activist and counterculturist hackers like Felsenstein, in effect, tried to turn the closed-world discourse on its head and make the personal computer and community networks into “supports” (to use Edwards’s term) for a discourse of freedom, decentralization, democracy, and liberation.⁵³

Some of the computer developments of the late 1960s and the 1970s, while less directly shaped by radical politics or the counterculture, still bear the imprint of the period. Ken Thompson and Dennis M. Ritchie, the bearded and longhaired Bell Labs’ programmers who, in 1969, developed Unix, the operating system behind Usenet, later described themselves as seeking “a system around which a fellowship could form.” As Campbell-Kelly and Aspray point out, “Unix was well placed to take advantage of a mood swing in computer usage in the early 1970s caused by a growing exasperation with large, centralized mainframe computers.”⁵⁴ Protests in the 1960s had featured students wearing punch cards around their necks with the slogan “Do Not Fold, Bend, Mutilate or Spindle,” but the hostility to the large mainframe computers and centralized batch processing extended beyond radical students to computer scientists and computer users who increasingly favored decentralized smaller computers, often running Unix.⁵⁵ Not coincidentally, Unix-style operating systems, not dependent on proprietary hardware and software standards, have become known among computer scientists as “open systems.”

Still, it would be a mistake to collapse the story of computers and the Internet into the story of the radical 1960s, as the Haubens do sometimes. When MIT went on “strike” on March 4, 1969, most students and faculty spent the day, as usual, in

⁵² Levy, *Hackers*, 272, 156, 143. In a delightful irony that must have been evident to the people behind Community Memory, the computer used was an XDS-940, but it was also known by its original initials, which were very familiar to 1960s activists—SDS. (The change reflected the takeover of Scientific Data Systems by Xerox Corporation.) The online “Community Memory Discussion List on the History of Cyberspace” is named after the Berkeley project. See <http://memex.org/community-memory.html>.

⁵³ Levy, *Hackers*, 157–68, 181–87, 196–97, 205–06, 214–17, 237–42, 272–77.

⁵⁴ Campbell-Kelly and Aspray, *Computer*, 220–21.

⁵⁵ For the origins of the phrase, see “Free Speech Movement: Do Not Fold, Bend, Mutilate or Spindle,” anonymous statement from *FSM Newsletter*, reproduced by *Sixties Project* web site at http://lists.village.virginia.edu/sixties/HTML_docs/Resources/Primary/Manifestos/FSM_fold_bend.html.

their labs and classes.⁵⁶ Moreover, many radicals wanted to smash technology rather than liberate it. In 1962, the Port Huron statement had lyrically celebrated the potential of science to “constructively transform the conditions of life throughout the United States and the world,” but in 1964 Mario Savio, the son of a machinist, had spoken eloquently of the need to “put your bodies upon the gears and upon the wheels” to stop “the machine.” And by the late 1960s, many counterculture adherents headed for rural communes.⁵⁷ To make the case for the impact of 1960s radicalism on the rise of networking requires a more precise social and political history. We need to know more about the graduate students who crafted the first “Requests for Comments.” Some of them may have had beards, but most were also willing to take Defense Department funding, which their more radical counterparts would have eschewed. Such a wider social history would also probably help us see that the Internet and Usenet originated in a “community” but also a very specific kind of community—young graduate students and faculty in Computer Science and related fields. When those young engineers and scientists turned ARPANET into a mail system rather than a medium for sharing computer resources and formulated Usenet, they were participating in a “quest for community”—but the most important component of that community was technical knowledge rather than sixties-style politics and culture.

To be sure, there were signs of the 1960s on the early networks: drug deals and antiwar messages, for example, flowed through the ARPANET.⁵⁸ But the largest amount of traffic was initially about technical matters; the very first e-mail discussion group (MsgGroup), launched in June 1975, was about e-mail itself—participants argued heatedly about such fascinating topics as the proper format for e-mail headers. The first invitation to participate in Usenet promised discussions of “bug fixes, trouble reports, and general cries for help.”⁵⁹

As late as 1982, most ARPANET and Usenet discussion groups still focused on technical matters. Most other group discourse reflected the leisure pursuits of young male engineers and computer scientists—science fiction, football, ham radios, cars, chess, and bridge.⁶⁰ Only a few groups considered more broadly political topics like alternate energy production. While the Haubens romanticize

⁵⁶ Leslie, *Cold War and American Science*, 233–34.

⁵⁷ The Port Huron statement is available at http://lists.village.virginia.edu/sixties/HTML_docs/Resources/Primary/Manifestos/SDS_Port_Huron.html. (The most remarkable statement from a subsequent perspective is its warm embrace of nuclear energy.) For Savio’s famous statement, see W. J. Rorabaugh, *Berkeley at War: The 1960s* (New York, 1989), 31. The alternative neo-Luddite strain in New Left and counterculture thought remains potent today. See, for example, Kirkpatrick Sale, *Rebels against the Future: The Luddites and Their War on the Industrial Revolution: Lessons for the Computer Age* (Reading, Mass., 1995).

⁵⁸ Severo Ornstein, one of the key BBN engineers, once wore an antiwar button to a briefing on ARPANET with Pentagon officials. Hafner and Lyon, *Where Wizards*, 113. Ornstein went on to become the chair of Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility. See Severo M. Ornstein, “Computers in Battle: A Human Overview,” in David Bellin and Gary Chapman, eds., *Computers in Battle—Will They Work?* (Boston, 1987), 1–43.

⁵⁹ Hauben and Hauben, *Netizens*, 40.

⁶⁰ These works devote surprisingly little attention to analyzing the obvious role of gendered concepts and practices in a development in which the key figures were almost entirely men. Edwards does offer an interesting analysis of the gendered language of “hard” and “soft” sciences and approaches. Edwards, *Closed World*, 167–73. See also his essay, “The Army and the Microworld: Computers and the Militarized Politics of Gender,” *Signs* 16, no. 1 (1990): 102–27.

the early days of Usenet and ARPANET as the nesting ground for a broad democratic community, it was the creation of a rather more specific form of community. The "MsgGroup," explained a Carnegie Mellon graduate student in 1977, "is the closest that we have to a nationwide computer science community forum." And for computer science students who were at schools not privileged to have an APRANET connection, Usenet was, as one of them explained, "our way of joining the Computer Science community and we made a deliberate attempt to extend it to other not-well-endowed members of the community."⁶¹

Indeed, the rapid growth of Computer Science as an academic discipline in the 1960s and 1970s paralleled and fostered the rapid growth of the Net. In 1962, Purdue and Stanford universities set up the country's first two computer science departments; by 1979, there were about 120. That only fifteen of these universities had ARPANET connections fostered the sense of exclusion that led Truscott and Ellis and other graduate students to create Usenet. Back in 1974, the National Science Foundation had proposed a network for academic computer scientists that would "offer advanced communication, collaboration, and the sharing of resources among geographically separated or isolated researchers."⁶² In the early 1980s, that network emerged as CSNET, and, by the mid-1980s, it connected almost all U.S. universities' computer science departments. CSNET had connections into APRANET, and it became one of several different networks (for example, BITNET) that would later be combined into the Internet.

While this quest for professional (and male) community may have lacked the political edge of 1960s radicalism, it drew on some of the remnants of a sixties-style ethos, which was still very much alive at universities in the 1970s. Even something as seemingly self-evident as e-mail was propelled by winds of change blowing from the 1960s. As Ian Hardy points out in his study of the emergence of e-mail, the medium's "disdain for false formality, its distrust of traditional hierarchy, its time-selfishness, speed, and certainly its ironic juxtaposition of impersonality and emotional directness" represented a "new culture of interaction" that might not have been so readily possible without what Kenneth Cmiel calls the "informalization" of culture that the 1960s brought.⁶³ In general, then, many of the "open" qualities of the Internet can be seen as rooted, at least in part, in impulses that came from the 1960s—the open process of creating standards through RFCs drew on challenges to hierarchy and commitments to candor; the rise of e-mail and newsgroups was influenced by a powerful quest for community as well as a growing informality in communication (both in habits of speech and in the rise of alternative newspapers); the interest in decentralized networks gained support from a distrust of large centralized structures, including centralized batch-processing computing

⁶¹ Hafner and Lyon, *Where Wizards*, 210; Hauben and Hauben, *Netizens*, 41. See also Campbell-Kelly and Aspray, *Computer*, 292.

⁶² Hafner and Lyon, *Where Wizards*, 240. On NSF and the Internet, see David Roessner, *et al.*, "The Role of NSF's Support of Engineering in Enabling Technological Innovation," First Year Final Report, January 1997, prepared for the National Science Foundation, available on the World Wide Web at www.sri.com/policy/stp/techin/.

⁶³ Ian Hardy, "The Evolution of ARPANET Email," unpublished Senior Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1996, available at <http://ifla.inist.fr/documents/internet/hari1.txt>. On the "informalization" of American society in the 1960s, see Kenneth Cmiel, "The Politics of Civility," in David Farber, ed., *The Sixties: From Memory to History* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1994), 263–90.

and the desire to share information freely; and the rise of alternative networks like Usenet was supported by an effort to break down modes of exclusion. Ironically, while the Department of Defense had very different goals in mind—and often tried to implement them by, for example, restricting access to the APRANET or to what it could be used for—its willingness to embrace the open technical standards embodied in TCP/IP inadvertently sparked the creation of a remarkably open system.

The apparent failure of the Cold War discourse to police its own boundaries suggests that what we think of as “sixties” hostility to conformity and hierarchy had much broader and deeper sources than just the counterculture, as Thomas Frank shows in his recent book on business and the counterculture, *The Conquest of Cool*. “The meaning of ‘the sixties,’” he writes, “cannot be considered apart from the enthusiasm of ordinary, suburban Americans for cultural revolution.”⁶⁴ A broader picture of the 1960s would, then, include computer science graduate students rejecting proprietary, hierarchically organized, batch-processing computer systems running on IBM mainframes as well as longhaired hippies smoking dope at Woodstock. Or maybe the closed world of the military and the open world of the hippies were not as separate as we sometimes think—at the heart of the military-industrial complex we might find beatnik Maynard G. Krebs with a math degree.⁶⁵

In different ways, both Levy and the Haubens help us to see that the more profound challenge to this “open” vision of the Internet that was rooted (at least in part) in the 1960s came not from its heritage in the Defense Department but rather from an alternative, closed system—corporate capitalism. In 1975, after the first personal computer, the Altair, appeared on the cover of *Popular Electronics*, two teenagers, working from the plans, wrote a BASIC program for the new machine. But even before MITS, the Altair’s manufacturer, officially released the program, bootleg copies circulated rapidly among computer enthusiasts imbued with the hacker ethic that “information wants to be free.”⁶⁶ One of the teenagers, whose name was Bill Gates (the other was Paul Allen), wrote an angry “Open Letter to Hobbyists” arguing that people who wrote software ought to get paid. Gates’s letter augured a new world in which, Levy writes, “money was the means by which computer power was beginning to spread.”⁶⁷ Information could not remain free when people were paying large sums in cash.

For the Net, the transition from public or open to private and proprietary started around the same time and also quickly got entangled in questions of “ownership.” In 1972, ARPA announced that it wanted to sell the network, but the major

⁶⁴ Thomas Frank, *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture, and the Rise of Hip Consumerism* (Chicago, 1997), 13.

⁶⁵ For a detailed discussion of the links between the drug culture and the contemporary computer industry, see Douglas Rushkoff, *Cyberia: Life in the Trenches of Hyperspace* (San Francisco, 1994). According to Rushkoff, programmers regularly circulate lists of which companies are “friendly” to drug users and don’t do drug testing (p. 30).

⁶⁶ This widely repeated phrase was first used (in print) by Stewart Brand, *The Media Lab: Inventing the Future at M.I.T.* (New York, 1987), 202. Less widely used is his corollary that “information also wants to be expensive”—“free” because “it has become so cheap to distribute, copy, and recombine” and “expensive” because “it can be immeasurably valuable to the recipient.”

⁶⁷ Levy, *Hackers*, 229, 268.

telecommunications corporations (including AT&T) showed little interest. Others more closely associated with the development of the new networks, however, saw money to be made. BBN, for example, set up its own subsidiary Telenet to provide commercial services and brought in none other than ARPA official Larry Roberts as the president of the new business. A dispute quickly ensued over whether BBN had to share the “source code” for the Interface Message Processors with their emerging competitors. In this case, government muscle forced BBN to make the code openly available, but it heralded a new era in which corporations would make huge sums off computer software initially developed at government expense.⁶⁸

Telenet and some competitors drew directly on the open technologies developed by ARPANET. But some commercial firms took an opposite strategy. Large computer firms such as IBM and Digital Equipment developed proprietary networks—SNA and DECNET, for example—with the goal of keeping customers tied to their own hardware and software.⁶⁹ But ironically, the Defense Department’s embrace of the “open standards” of the Internet doomed these efforts to failure. That failure did not, however, keep the Net from moving from a subsidized public good to an arena for profit making. In the 1980s, the National Science Foundation, which had taken control of the Internet from ARPA, moved to privatize it. Populists like the Haubens have bemoaned the transformation from public to private control and ownership, yet the change evoked remarkably little protest. In the 1980s, when most forms of publicly owned goods and services—from public schools and public housing to public parks—were in decline and an ideology of privatization and deregulation was in ascendance, it seemed like conventional wisdom to turn this public utility over to private ownership.

By the 1980s (and especially by the 1990s), moreover, many of the people who had celebrated the freedom and openness of networks and personal computers had also undergone a transformation that made them inclined to accept this privatization. The affection of many “Netizens” for free speech and freedom from control had also come to embrace a love for free markets. The liberationism of the many early computer and network enthusiasts had been transformed into libertarianism. “Technolibertarianism” became one of the central ideologies of the Internet. Many computer liberationists of the 1960s and 1970s now find themselves aligned with conservative free market prophets such as George Gilder and Alvin Toffler.⁷⁰ This may be less contradictory than it seems on the surface. As Mark Lilla has recently argued, “the cultural and Reagan revolutions took place within a single generation, and have proved to be complementary, not contradictory events.” Americans, he writes, “see no contradiction in holding down day jobs in the unfettered global

⁶⁸ BBN’s entry into commercial networking was spurred by competition from three of their own engineers, who created Packet Communications Incorporated (and demanded the IMP source code). Some companies that were in the time-sharing business, like Tymshare, became network providers; large communications companies like Western Union and MCI also started to offer e-mail. Hafner and Lyon, *Where Wizards*, 232–34; Campbell-Kelly and Aspray, *Computer*, 295.

⁶⁹ IBM charged as much as \$300,000 for processors to link its mainframes using its proprietary Systems Network Architecture (SNA). In the 1990s, routers using TCP/IP, which cost a fraction of the price, displaced SNA.

⁷⁰ On technolibertarianism, see, for example, Paulina Borsook, “Cyberselfish,” *Mother Jones* (July/August 1996): 56, and at www.motherjones.com/mother_jones/JA96/borsook.html; Hudson, *Rewired*, 173–259.

marketplace—the Reaganite dream, the left nightmare—and spending weekends immersed in a cultural universe shaped by the sixties.”⁷¹ In that sense, the Internet of the 1990s may be the perfect synthesis of the anti-hierarchical cultural revolution of the 1960s and the anti-statist political revolution of the 1980s.

Yet this synthesis retains its own internal tensions and contradictions. While free marketeers today celebrate the Internet as the home of “people’s capitalism,” it also seems headed down the road to oligopoly. Three companies—the newly merged MCI WorldCom, Sprint, and Cable & Wireless—probably control three-quarters of the Internet backbone.⁷² Web search companies, which are seen as the portals to the Internet, are busily gobbling each other up or being acquired by larger media conglomerates. Bill Gates’s Microsoft Corporation has a pretty good chance of controlling not only all of the personal computers from which people access the Internet but also the browsers through which they read pages on the World Wide Web. And Intel Corporation is poised to be the manufacturer of choice for the chips at the heart of those computers.

Yet the road toward monopolization and centralized control is not preordained. The current antitrust cases against Microsoft and Intel—or, less plausibly, the revival of popular anti-monopoly sentiments—might alter the corporate landscape. In general, the tendencies toward both open and closed systems that have shaped the Internet from its origins remain with us today. On the World Wide Web, we can find web pages from every major corporation, but ordinary people still post their own pages with the same do-it-yourself enthusiasm as the members of the Homebrew Computer Club. (An astonishing 46 percent of web users have created their own pages, according to one recent survey.⁷³) Most Internet servers run Unix or Windows NT, but a surprising number (and 3 to 5 million people overall) use a freely distributed operating system called “Linux,” which itself incorporates crucial components developed by the Free Software Foundation headed by Richard Stallman, the MIT hacker who violated ARPA security. And the most popular web server software (Apache) and the most widely used programming language for web sites (Perl) are also “freeware.” (Finnish programmer Linus Torvalds first put together Linux in order to get access to Usenet, where he chronicled his progress

⁷¹ Mark Lilla, “A Tale of Two Reactions,” *New York Review of Books* 45 (May 14, 1998): 7.

⁷² On WorldCom, see Thomas E. Weber and Rebecca Quick, “Would WorldCom-MCI Deal Turn the Net into a Toll-road?” *San Diego Union-Tribune* (October 7, 1997): 11 (originally published in *Wall Street Journal*); Michelle V. Rafter, “WorldCom Bids for No. 1 Status,” *Internet World* (October 6, 1997); and Barbara Grady, “Opposition Mounts to WorldCom-MCI Merger,” *Internet World* (March 23, 1998), both available at www.iw.com/print/current/index.html. A major subsidiary of WorldCom and the world’s largest Internet Service Provider is UUNET, which was founded in 1987 by the academic Unix user’s group, Usenix, to sell access to Usenet; it later became a for-profit corporation and was bought by WorldCom in 1996. On the creation of UUNET, see Salus, *Casting the Net*, 177–78. The counterargument against monopolization of the Internet backbone is the rapid construction of new fiber-optic cables by companies like Qwest. In response to European and American regulatory pressures, MCI sold off its Internet backbone to the British company Cable & Wireless. But some Internet Service Providers still believe that MCI WorldCom will “wield too much power.” Arik Hesseldahl, *Internet World* (June 15, 1998). For estimates of control of Internet backbone, see “Top Internet Backbone Companies,” *Business Week* (July 20, 1998), available at www.businessweek.com/1998/29/b3587/123.htm.

⁷³ See Graphic, Visualization, and Usability Center of Georgia Tech, “8th WWW User Survey” (December 1997), reported at www.gvu.gatech.edu/user_surveys/survey-1997-10/#highsum.

in developing the software and sought help from other programmers.⁷⁴) Commerce and advertising have infiltrated every corner of the Internet, but millions of people use the Internet to debate ideas or search for love in Usenet discussion groups, America Online chat rooms, and listservs. E-mail remains the single most popular application on the Internet. The degree to which a populist and democratic Internet survives and flourishes depends on larger social and political contexts. A revival of grass-roots democracy in other arenas of American (or international) life—as happened in the 1960s—will reinforce grass-roots democracy on the Internet (and not accidentally will make use of this medium to advance its causes).

The future remains uncertain. But it is clear that any history of the Internet will have to locate this story within its multiple social, political, and cultural contexts. This is particularly true since the Internet (in part because of its origins in the common language of binary digits and TCP/IP) seems to be emerging as a “meta-medium” that combines aspects of the telephone, post office, movie theater, television set, newspaper, shopping mall, street corner, and a great deal more.⁷⁵ Such a profound and complex development cannot be divorced from the idiosyncratic and personal visions of some scientists and bureaucrats whose sweat and dedication got the project up and running, from the social history of the field of computer science, from the Cold Warriors who provided massive government funding of computers and networking as tools for fighting nuclear and conventional war, and from the countercultural radicalism that sought to redirect technology toward a more decentralized and non-hierarchical vision of society.

⁷⁴ On Linux, see Glyn Moody, “The Greatest OS That (N)ever Was,” *Wired* 5.08 (August 1997): 122 and following; and www.li.org/. On the Free Software Foundation and Stallman, see its web pages at www.gnu.org/fsf/fsf.html; and Richard Stallman, “Why Software Should Not Have Owners,” available at www.gnu.org/philosophy/why-free.html. Andrew Leonard, “Apache’s Free-Software Warriors!” *Salon* (November 20, 1997), available at www.salonmagazine.com/21st/feature/1997/11/cov_20feature.html. Torvald’s Usenet postings are archived at [http://x5.dejanews.com/profile.xp?author=torvalds@cs.helsinki.fi%20\(Linus%20Torvalds\)](http://x5.dejanews.com/profile.xp?author=torvalds@cs.helsinki.fi%20(Linus%20Torvalds)).

⁷⁵ Phil Agre, “The Internet and Public Discourse,” *First Monday* 3 (March 2, 1998), at www.firstmonday.dk/issues/issue3_3/agre/index.html.

Roy Rosenzweig is CAS Distinguished Scholar in History and the director of the Center for History and New Media at George Mason University, where he has taught since 1981. His publications include *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870–1920* (1983); *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park* (1992), co-authored with Elizabeth Blackmar; *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life* (1998), co-authored with David Thelen; and the multimedia CD-ROM, *Who Built America? From the Centennial Celebration of 1876 to the Great War of 1914* (1993), co-authored with Steve Brier and Josh Brown. This essay grows out of Rosenzweig’s current work on the history of the Internet.

Reviews of Books

GENERAL

ANTHONY GRAFTON. *The Footnote: A Curious History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1997. Pp. xi, 241. \$22.95.

This book traces the story of the footnote from the 1400s through the 1800s, with selected comments on the classical and the recent periods. The reader is offered a richly faceted story that interweaves the changes in the regard for and uses of the footnote with general developments in history writing. Anthony Grafton draws on his extensive studies in the relevant historical scholarship, *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450–1800* (1991) and *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (1992). For comparison and corroboration, he uses the rather lean literature on the footnote, but, in the main, Grafton relies on original texts and documents. After general reflections on the uses and abuses of the footnote, he uses as the starting point for his critical inquiry the widely accepted view that Leopold von Ranke as the originator of *Geschichtswissenschaft* also was the first user of the footnote in its modern incarnation. As Grafton traces his steps backward to the Renaissance, with its admiration and imitation of ancient models, the world of the footnote emerges as one far more complex than expected. Edward Gibbon used the footnote as the locus of supplements to the text, dialogue with other scholars, and sharp barbs directed at the scholarship of other authors. Yet he would have preferred endnotes so as not to disturb the elegant appearance of the page and not to interrupt the flow of reading. Here, Grafton's account connects with the perennial competition between the demands made of history as the bearer of truth (erudition) and those of history as narrative with persuasive power (composition). The uncluttered page had found its advocates in the classical period where in-text recourse to past authorities sufficed for gaining credibility. Grafton offers Francesco Guicciardini as one example of classical imitators, agreeing on that point with Ranke's sharp critique. Yet the French legist and historian Jacques-Auguste de Thou also abjured footnotes, preferring to include commentaries and documentary evidence into the narrative and to create a body of

annotations in letters. During long periods of historiography, however, rhetorical considerations lost out to erudition in many historical accounts. That fact was not always witnessed to by footnotes since endnotes also had their advocates. Grafton's examples are numerous: erudites (some of whom let the footnotes overwhelm the text in order to prove history's reliability); antiquarians; ecclesiastical historians and editors of document collections; and the scholars who became combatants in the intellectual wars over the correct religious tradition in the Reformation period. Two scholars enhanced the appreciation for the footnote, each in his own way. In Pierre Bayle's *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (1697), the footnotes were prominent because they offered opportunities for attacks on traditional knowledge. Jean Le Clerc gave the footnote greater theoretical weight as testimony to rationality and accuracy. The inquiry returns to Ranke, who now is seen as a major shaper and advocate but not as the sole originator of the footnote in its modern form.

A brief remark in the text and the different titles that Grafton's work bears in the English, French, and German versions make explicit an important theme of his book. The slightly whimsical subtitle of the present version hints at surprises in store for the reader. However, the German title speaks of *Die tragischen Ursprünge der deutschen Fussnote* (1995) and the forthcoming French translation carries the title *Les origines tragiques de l'érudition: Une histoire de la note en bas de page*. The word "tragic" likens the tension between text and footnote in historical accounts to that between the action in a Greek tragedy and the comments on it by the chorus. In the face of the seeming solidity of the text, the footnote serves as a reminder of the contingency of life as well as the precariousness of the text's construction. Not surprisingly, Grafton regrets the diminution of the footnote to a technical item for archival documentation. Even worse, the footnote too often becomes a mere legitimization of professionalism, show of learning, and source of drudgery. One wishes that Grafton had commented on the most recent winding in the course of the footnote, making it part of the scholarly apparatus serving not as testimony to past reality but to the production of the "reality effect." This is a minor regret about a book that shares with its readers elegantly and often wittily the author's learn-

ing about an element of historical accounts all too often mistakenly considered to be technical and minor.

ERNST A. BREISACH
Western Michigan University

SHELDON WATTS. *Epidemics and History: Disease, Power and Imperialism*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1997. Pp. xvi, 400.

In this book, Sheldon Watts tackles the challenging task of assembling a comparative history of the relationship between disease and power from the European Middle Ages to the present. The scope of this work is truly impressive, as is Watt's familiarity with the vast literature, both medical and historical, that informs this study. The book's first five chapters are organized around particular diseases—plague, leprosy, smallpox, syphilis, and cholera—while the sixth chapter focuses on yellow fever and malaria. In each case, Watts compares the impact of a particular disease in Europe to its impact in a region experiencing European colonization such as India, Africa, or the Americas. Ultimately these comparisons are extremely useful in revealing the nature and extent of power relations between imperial nations and those they colonize.

At the core of each chapter are what Watts terms the "constructs" of a particular disease: that is, the misconceptions and delusions that a society creates surrounding a specific illness, always with harmful consequences for persons considered outsiders or "other." For example, in the chapter on leprosy in medieval Europe and in the nineteenth-century tropics, Watts argues convincingly, as have others before him, that in addition to being a physical disease, medieval elites and later European colonialists successfully employed the construct of leprosy as a dehumanizing form of social control. In Europe between 1090 and 1363, the search for and persecution of individuals labeled as "lepers" was a way to punish and ostracize troublesome persons. Five centuries later, the stigma of leprosy reappeared in conjunction with European colonization of the Pacific Islands, India, the Middle East, and Africa. Given the economics of imperialism, Europeans, and later North Americans, were not interested in investing capital on public health measures designed to benefit the native population, so individuals diagnosed with leprosy were hidden away in detention camps, such as the one on the island of Molokai in the Hawaiian Islands. In a similar way, European and American elites propagated the erroneous notion that Africans were immune to yellow fever and malaria in order to justify their continued economic exploitation, especially in regions that proved unhealthy for European and Asian laborers. And because whites believed that Africans were the primary carriers of these infections—yet another erroneous assumption—blacks were blamed for major outbreaks.

One of the chief achievements of this book is that its

analysis integrates much of the most recent literature, and a lot of the not-so-recent literature, on the history of disease, epidemics, public health, the medical profession, and imperialism. The bibliography and notes are excellent and should prove useful to historians working in any of these fields. In addition, Watts writes clearly and succinctly, even when laying out complex, abstract ideas about the social constructs of various diseases. In a work such as this that builds its argument around the centrality of one agent—in this case disease as it relates to power and imperialism—it is difficult to avoid a tone of determinism, and Watts sometimes succumbs to this pitfall. Occasionally he gets carried away with his own rhetoric, producing perplexing, unsubstantiated statements such as this description of the newly independent population of Haiti: "Content with what they had, Haitians [after 1804] felt there was no need for foreign trade" (p. 239).

In spite of such minor flaws, Watts does an admirable job of integrating vast amounts of disparate social, political, and economic data into the story he tells. This book is an important contribution to our understanding of the history of disease, public health, and imperialism, and as such it should be read by historians, students, and the general public. In addition, I would recommend this book as required reading to medical and public health professionals, who all too often operate in an ahistorical vacuum.

SUZANNE AUSTIN ALCHON
University of Delaware

JAN GOLINSKI. *Making Natural Knowledge: Constructivism and the History of Science*. (Cambridge History of Science.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xiv, 236. Cloth \$54.95, paper \$16.95.

The place of the history of science in the academy (in the United States as well as elsewhere, save perhaps for Holland) is appalling. Only a few universities have free-standing departments; where these are lacking, history departments may employ one or two professors in this area. Historians, by trade, know "nothing about science." Thus, although we have learned quite a lot about women and workers, wars, political movements, and other important aspects of ordinary life, science—the muscle of twentieth-century North America—has been understudied and poorly understood.

And for a number of reasons. Chief among them is a prevailing epistemology that has lent privileged status to science as pure and objective, largely unsullied by the mess of human subjectivities. Jan Golinski explains how constructivism, which he defines as a methodology that "directs attention to the role of human beings, as social actors, in the making of scientific knowledge" (p. 6), has exploded this foundational belief. Constructivism has historicized science and in so doing has called for analysis of all its associated categories: discovery, evidence, argument, experiment, expert, laboratory, instrument, image,

replication, and law. The heat of the current "science wars"—those unproductive tussles between scientists and their critics—reflects perhaps the success of the last thirty years of science studies.

In exploring the implications of constructivism for historical studies, Golinski critically analyzes some of the main currents in science studies within thematic chapters. He begins with the self-fashioning of early modern natural philosophers, looking at how these early scientists carved out for themselves identities that allowed for a range of action within particular social configurations. The astronomer Galileo Galilei, for example, became the ultimate courtier, with one eye trained on the heavens and the other on his powerful patron, Cosimo II de' Medici. Robert Boyle, by contrast, a gentleman of means in seventeenth-century Britain, billed himself as nature's "modest witness," a faithful and unobtrusive scribe whose truthfulness was guaranteed by his standing within a particular economy of civility.

Golinski also highlights the importance of "place" to the production of science. He describes how the quiet chambers isolating men like Isaac Newton and Charles Darwin gave shape to their science and how modern laboratories structure elaborate negotiations of knowledge and power among research scientists, technicians, administrators, secretaries, and ancillary staff. Golinski also traces the very influential studies in the rhetoric of science (describing how rhetorical devices can have both hypothesis-creating and proof-making functions), the role of images and representations in science, and how the choice and peculiarities of scientific equipment mediate human knowledge of nature.

In a work of this magnitude, there is much room for objection. One might shudder at the wooden portrayal of gender studies of science and gasp at the absence of any mention of global science. Environmental history à la Alfred Crosby and the rich stories of negotiation between European science traditions and those of the peoples they encountered, first during the voyages of discovery and later during the more sustained decades of colonialization, call out for discussion. More important, however, than gaps or misportrayals (of which there are relatively few) is the methodology that Golinski uses in "constructing" his own account. He often calls his method a "filiality" or a "genealogy," and it is just that: a disembodied history of ideas of the old school. One would have reveled in a constructivist history of constructivism. Rather than portraying the cultural roots of the 1960s ferment in knowledge—the Vietnam War, the advent of social history, the stirrings of the civil rights movement and feminism—Golinski locates the origins of constructivism canonically in the work of Thomas Kuhn. The scholars whose work he reviews, from David Bloor to Sharon Traweek, remain disembodied actors, detached minds passively contemplating the historical world. We learn nothing about their work spaces, political commitments, systems of patronage, rhetorical tools, or notions of disciplinarity; in this history, Golinski rarely employs those fabulous

points of view that he celebrates as the successes of constructivism.

This book is nonetheless a timely and cogent portrayal of methods in the history and sociology of science. Golinski puts on display the multifaceted scholarship that has comprised science studies over the past three decades. Unlike some of the scholarship in this area that is laden with unnecessary jargon serving only to deepen the divide between C. P. Snow's two cultures, Golinski employs straightforward, readable prose appropriate to his intended audiences of advanced undergraduate and graduate students (I have already recommended it to several) and scholars from other disciplines.

LONDA SCHIEBINGER
Pennsylvania State University

YAACOV SHAVIT. *Athens in Jerusalem: Classical Antiquity and Hellenism in the Making of the Modern Secular Jew*. Translated by CHAYA MAOR and NIKI WERNER. (Littman Library of Jewish Civilization.) London: Valentine Mitchell; distributed by ISBS, Portland, Oreg. 1997. Pp. xv, 560. \$59.50.

In this well-translated book, Yaacov Shavit extends to secular Jews the commonplace proposition that classical antiquity nourished the Enlightenment. To present as monumental and new what is an entirely familiar notion—everybody knows about Hebrew poet S. G. Tchernichowsky's Hellenism, for example—Shavit gussies up his hypothesis with massive exercises of irrelevant research. On the racist premise that "Athens and Jerusalem, Greeks and Jews, represent two distinct and different human entities," he asks: "Did Athens have any impact on the shaping of modern Jewish culture?" To pursue the problem he has fabricated for himself, Shavit has to frame an account of "the Greek soul" and "the Jewish soul," yielding such constructs as "the modern Jewish historical consciousness" (p. 375).

Silly talk of souls and collective consciousness should not obscure that Shavit pursues a serious program: "the purpose of this survey is to present the structural similarity between the complex intercultural relations that existed between Judaism and the Hellenistic civilization in the ancient world and those that exist between Jews and Western culture in the modern age" (p. 299). He argues that, "from the late eighteenth century onwards two modes of historical comprehension and insight were created. The first was an idealistic mode, the fruit of a confrontation between two abstract entities—Judaism versus classical Greece . . . the second was an empirical historical mode, in which Hellenism was perceived as a historical cultural reality, syncretistic and diversified. Historical research addressed the complex relationship and cultural interferences between the cultural . . . reality in the Hellenistic era . . . This led to a new understanding of Jewish history and Judaism: Judaism was perceived as a pluralistic, dynamic, even syncretistic entity" (p. 11). Shavit intends this book to shed light on "intellectual

history and the history of Jewish culture in modern times" (p. 12).

The problem is that Shavit loses his way in a morass of irrelevant topics. He divides the book into three "mirrors." The first part contains discussions of Greece as, among other things, an ideal and an exemplar; Hellenism and Hebraism as the two poles of the world; "Greek Wisdom" as secular knowledge and science; the reception of the classical heritage in modern Hebrew culture; and Jews and the creative arts. Part two treats the nature of the Hellenistic mirror, examining Judaism and Hellenism in Palestine and Alexandria and Homeric books and Hellenistic culture in the world of the sages. Part three goes back to history, and topics include the secularization of the ancient Jewish past; race and innate nationalism; country, landscape, and culture; the Jewish state and the new Jewish culture. Much of the book proves tedious and irrelevant to the quite provocative thesis announced at the outset.

While Shavit explicitly disclaims the intent to provide "even a brief description of the relationships between Judaism and paganism in ancient times or between Judaism and Western civilization in modern times" (p. 4), in fact the bulk of the book does exactly that. In nearly the whole of part two and much of the rest, Shavit finds himself attempting to characterize a world he has said he would not discuss. He surveys a small sample of secondary scholarship on a variety of topics, and only limited portions of his text—the sole persuasive ones—address topics that Shavit knows firsthand. Alas, the book amazes by its superficiality. Shavit ignores a variety of works that contradict points he wishes to make. For example, he states that "no philosophical concepts permeated the Talmud under the Greek influence" (p. 39), a proposition systematically criticized in books that (fortuitously) do not appear in Shavit's bibliography. I may state flatly that, when it comes to Rabbinic Judaism, Shavit is simply an amateur.

So Shavit has turned the familiar notion that Hellenism influenced some secular thinkers of Jewishness into an excuse for a tiresome and mechanical exercise in pseudo-scholarship. Shavit wanders far afield to fill up his scorecard. He even lists the untreated topics that he thought of using as "mirrors and inverted mirrors" to "reflect additional aspects of" what he calls "modern Jewish history" (p. 473). The list encompasses such stupefying irrelevancies as the continuity between Hellenistic anti-Semitism and modern secular anti-Semitism, Jewish and Greek attitudes toward women, Greek and Jewish diasporas and homelands, religion and state in Judaism and the state of Israel and in Greece, whether the Jewish and Greek cultures both can be considered Mediterranean, and parallels between the development of modern Greek and modern Hebrew. How these subjects pertain to the making of the modern secular Jew Shavit does not say.

The upshot is that Shavit has found for himself an excuse for collecting and arranging a great deal of

information and passing his opinion on it. But if the book is tedious, diffuse, and for long stretches simply pointless, within the nearly 600 pages readers will find about 200 pages that really do investigate how modern ideologists of Jewishness drew on, or responded to, ancient Greek culture. Here, not surprisingly, the bibliography shows that Shavit has turned out original scholarship. This book could have used an editor, and its author a measure of humility.

JACOB NEUSNER

University of South Florida and Bard College

DAVID NICHOLLS. *God and Government in an "Age of Reason."* New York: Routledge. 1995. Pp. xi, 278. \$65.00.

David Nicholls's study analyzes the analogy between human government and divine government in the writings of eighteenth-century European and North American authors. It is the second volume of a triptych: *Deity and Domination: Images of God and the State in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* was published in 1989 and, in his conclusion to the present volume, the author promises a third study that will explore the same question in writings from the seventeenth century.

In this volume, Nicholls examines the thinking of several dozen authors whom he considers representative of the clerical and secular elites of the times. Most are British, and their writings on government and on God as governor of the universe and of all beings are set in the political context of eighteenth-century England, but a chapter is also devoted to colonial and early republican writers in North America and to the civil religion of Maximilian Robespierre and Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

"Much of the language used about God in the history of religion . . . has, in fact, been political in its primary reference" (p. 1). From this proposition, Nicholls goes on to show how the opposite axiom is sometimes equally valid: that the language used about the state often has been religious. Continuing the method used in the first volume, he works backwards from early nineteenth-century writing about religion, politics, and political economy through a wide variety of speculation from theologians and political thinkers writing in the eighteenth century to the theological debates between followers of Isaac Newton and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz in the early years of the century. For Nicholls, this organization makes it possible to show some of the roots of the earlier movements in the later ones. For the reader whose training has been geared to a chronological approach to the study of the past, this method is disturbing, but students of political science or of theology may find it acceptable.

In the first chapter, the political economists Adam Smith and Thomas Malthus are shown to be sturdy heirs of the eighteenth-century belief in a mechanical universe governed by immutable laws, but Nicholls

also demonstrates that Malthus believed in a benevolent God and that Adam Smith also posited a God both creator and director of the universe. Government should behave as a benevolent but distant agent for universal good. A chapter is devoted to the positions of radical Unitarians such as Richard Price and Joseph Priestley and the Anglicans William Paley and Joseph Butler. Butler was widely read throughout the nineteenth century, and his *Analogy of Religion* (1736) fits neatly into Nicholls's bipolar analogy of divine and earthly government. In Butler's defense of orthodox Christianity, he claims that God's government, his sacred constitution, consists in making laws and sanctions to restrain unruly passions. Subordination to authority is as essential to civil government as to the divine. In a chapter on the framers of the American Constitution, Nicholls emphasizes the sacred character that was bestowed on the document and the divine authenticity that many Protestant ministers attempted to give to American republicanism in the 1790s. Two final chapters discuss British writing on divine and human government of the first half of the eighteenth century: Bolingbroke receives particular attention, as do the latitudinarians of the Church of England. The seventeenth-century images of God's kingship and of absolute monarchy give way to those of an ordered universe and a constitution limiting the king's power.

Nicholls is both theologian and pastor. His work is written for students of theology and for readers with a particular interest in the development of Christian thought and action in the Western world. The encyclopedic character of this volume is doubtless one of its virtues. The student will find a rapid overview of the thinking of many well-known clerical and lay writers between 1710 and 1830.

The fractured character of the study is troublesome. The search for analogy is the only problematic here. Nicholls's general lack of interest in historical background makes his authors' concepts float in a limbo even more abstract than in the works of the good old-fashioned history of ideas. No justifications help the reader to accept the choice of the authors studied. Nicholls concludes a twenty-page "theological epilogue" on politics and faith by stating that there is no necessary connection between "correct theology and good politics" (p. 222). He seems eager to move on to the study of the mid-seventeenth century, which offers examples of a clean break between the concept of the sovereignty of God and that of the state.

ELIZABETH TUTTLE
University of Paris X,
Nanterre

RICHARD HELMSTADTER, editor, *Freedom and Religion in the Nineteenth Century*. (The Making of Modern Freedom.) Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997. Pp. viii, 446. \$55.00.

The contributors to this volume in the Making of Modern Freedom series—produced under the aus-

pices of the Center for the History of Freedom at Washington University—offer a scholarly perspective on the so-called "master narrative" of religious freedom: that is, the liberal interpretation of the Reformation and its legacy, which gives special status to the nineteenth century in the advancement of the individual's liberty of faith and conscience. From this still-influential Whig-liberal perspective, which owes much to John Stuart Mill, Thomas Babington Macaulay, and other nineteenth-century writers, religious and civil liberty are nurtured by progressive, ultimately democratic nation-states in the face of Catholicism, aristocracy, superstition, and the reactionary countryside; voluntarist Protestantism, synonymous with free individual enquiry, appears as the handmaid of science and the midwife of secularism and free thought. Collectively these essays aim to modify this master narrative, exposing its inadequacies and providing a more layered definition of religious liberty. Their main focus is the English-speaking Atlantic world and Catholic Europe, but there are essays, too, on science, European Jewry, church and state struggles in Chile, and missionaries in the British Empire.

The Protestant triumphalism of the nineteenth century no longer has a place in historical scholarship, but it is still commonly assumed that Protestants' motivation lay chiefly in a principled attachment to liberty. Nathan Hatch, however, finds the source of North American religious freedom less in Protestants' heroic and self-conscious "following the cloud and pillar of high principle" (p. 30) than in the unique mix of demography, politics, and physical geography that characterized colonial and early republican America: the remoteness of a metropolitan power, Britain, whose authorities lacked the appetite for and means of exerting control; the weakness of high culture and post-Revolutionary eastern elites in the face of improvising, enthusiastic, lay-powered, and democratic religious movements "from below"; and the formidable religious and ethnic diversity of North America, which ruled out any policy other than government tolerance of pluralism. If there *are* heroes in Hatch's compelling account, they are the Methodists, with their genius for organization and their enterprising salesmanship in the free market of religion.

Hatch also notes, rightly, the limits to American Protestants' understanding of liberty, even in a society where the sharp edge of voluntarism had visibly cut away the dead wood of religious privilege and state support. Mormons' authoritarian discipline choked off internal dissent and suppressed intellectual inquiry; the tyranny of the Protestant majority found expression in the oppression of these same Latter-day Saints and in the persecution of Catholics. R. K. Webb, analyzing three separate theological conflicts in England in the 1860s, makes plain similar limits to Protestant tolerance on the other side of the Atlantic. Although one of these instances (the prosecution of the Anglican Rowland Williams in the ecclesiastical courts of the established church) had to do with the

defense of the individual's liberty of conscience against the interference of the state, the other two involved internal theological battles within two denominations, the Unitarians and the Society of Friends, historically identified with the struggle for freedom. The cases involved those (James Martineau and David Duncan) whose embrace of scientific biblical criticism and expanded understanding of freedom of expression "made inherited conventions of toleration obsolete" (p. 123). The restraints of conscience, majority denominational opinion, and religious fellowship within Protestantism could raise "barriers to religious liberty that were just as formidable as the law" (p. 17). Tensions over competing definitions of liberty within early Victorian Protestantism are also the focus of J. P. Ellens's essay. Over the course of the protracted church rate controversy, the traditionalist Anglican ideal of individual freedom through submission to God and corporate discipline succumbed to the assaults of Dissenters who used Enlightenment liberalism to champion the natural rights of the autonomous individual.

The other side of the revisionist coin of unheroic and cross-grained Protestantism is a more nuanced Catholicism. Raymond Grew offers a fine analysis of how, ironically and despite itself, a vital, flexible, engaged, and even modernizing Roman Catholic Church contributed to the development of European political liberty by warning against the expansive tendencies of the state, helping to mobilize the masses into political activity, providing a moral critique of capitalism, and developing the means of mass communication. A corresponding emphasis on Catholic pluralism distinguishes C. T. McIntire's extended discussion of the meaning and reality of the long nineteenth century's uncoupling of the French state from the Catholic church. The enormous religious revival that followed the Napoleonic wars (with its unremarked parallels with contemporary American and British Protestant vitality) did much to intensify divisions between Gallicans and Romans, energize the church's existing subgroups, and create new ones. "Liberal Catholics, Catholic democrats, social Catholics, Catholic socialists all appeared from the 1830s onward" (p. 240). Through Ronald J. Ross's consideration of Germany's *Kulturkampf* of the 1870s and 1880s, we are reminded of the role of Catholics as victims not tyrants, targets of a politico-legal crusade that imprisoned clergy and laity, closed monastic houses, and drove many religious abroad. In similarly subtle contributions, David C. Itzkowitz shows how, over the century, greater freedom posed new problems for Jews, as integration with the gentile community beckoned; Frank M. Turner explores less the congruities than the tensions between scientific and religious freedom; and Jeffrey Cox defines in an imperial context the limits to the voluntarist religion that sits at the heart of the Anglo-American master narrative. Cox argues that, in India, despite their technical neutrality, British missionaries remained agents of imperial rule,

entangled with state power in their voluntarist pursuit of social reform and education.

Whatever the volume's intelligent efforts to rework the legacy of the triumphalist Protestant version of events, however, the essential framework of the master narrative remains largely undisturbed. No contributor expresses any doubt that the freedom to practice the religion of one's choice, without legal impediment, was more widely established by the end of the century and was part of British and North American political agendas well before it seriously exercised continental Europe or Central and South America. Catholic perspectives and reactions may have been varied and complex, but Grew reminds us that the church in Europe "never accepted religious pluralism as desirable" (p. 197). Ross is clear that the German state in the *Kulturkampf* was not trying to stamp out Catholicism and that the church's definitions of liberty did not include freedom of conscience or religious expression. Simon Collier, in an authoritative study of church-state relations in overwhelmingly Catholic Chile, describes a distinctive Spanish-American version of the struggle between proponents of religious-political freedom and the forces of social stability and political conservatism, to which the church was naturally if not always comfortably allied.

Editor Richard Helmstadter's intelligent introduction helps give the volume its coherence. He sees that the story of religious freedom must extend beyond the political separation of church and state to embrace issues of personal religious experience, including the constraints and opportunities linked to membership of voluntary societies, not least for women. That being so, it is a shame the book provides no comparative analysis of women's generally expanding role in the era's churches. Stranger still is the absence of any discussion of religion, race, and slavery. In what was the century of emancipation, millions of black slaves in Latin America, the Caribbean, and the United States escaped from a servitude that had denied or limited their opportunities for religious self-expression. In North America alone, four million of them emerged into a world of free religious choice, but their voices go unheard in this volume.

RICHARD J. CARWARDINE
University of Sheffield

PATRICK ALLITT. *Catholic Converts: British and American Intellectuals Turn to Rome*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 343. \$35.00.

From the 1830s to the 1960s, Catholic intellectual life in Britain and the United States was dominated by people who had converted from various Protestant denominations. Patrick Allitt tells their story in this volume.

The book is based on secondary sources, but Allitt's reading is comprehensive and the tale he narrates is complex. He starts in the sixteenth century with the European religious history that left English Romanists

and their American cousins so much at odds with reigning Protestants in both countries. Allitt also treats some non-convert intellectuals in each country who were often involved with the apostates. In addition, the author supplies a rich account of the social and cultural history that makes it possible to grasp the movements of ideas in Catholicism. And the book really studies people in both cultures; Allitt is genuinely concerned with the interaction of thinkers on both sides of the Atlantic. In addition to those men peculiarly interested in the religious conflict between Roman and corporate hierarchy and Protestant ideas of conscience and individuality, Allitt includes women, novelists, historians, social critics, and political radicals in his study.

The author writes well and pursues his topic by composing extended and linked biographies of his interlocutors. These biographies are interwoven with his interpretation of the institutional church history of the time. There are some important figures here: Orestes Brownson, John Henry Newman, G. K. Chesterton, Christopher Dawson, Thomas Merton, Dorothy Day, and Graham Greene, to name only a few.

The main, and serious, problem with this volume is Allitt's disinclination for analysis and interpretation. Were there psychological similarities among these converts, a spiritual hunger that only Catholicism could satisfy? Allitt does not say. Were these transatlantic intellectuals socially the same; were they the products of the same sort of environments; did their social positions change over 150 years? Allitt does not engage in sociological investigation. What role did the different English and American cultures play in determining how converts became converts? Although Allitt has laid out all the evidence, he does not try to answer this crucial question for comparative history.

Most lacking in a book on intellectual history is an engagement with the ideas of these thinkers. One wonders what drove these people from a respectable intellectual life to a despised one on the margins. One is suspicious of the worth of an intellectual culture that needed the vitality of Protestants generation after generation but never seemed to reach its own take-off period. Yet the converts are obviously individuals to conjure with. What did Rome give to these people of mind? What were the philosophical stakes? Where did the converts start mentally and where did they land? These problems do not grip Allitt. His biographies are vignettes that inevitably mention the idiosyncrasies and amusing incidents in the life of a thinker. But the summaries devote only a few sentences to a capsule view of a judicious, clear-headed, profound, or ill-tempered life's work. The book cries out for wide-ranging syntheses that it does not provide.

BRUCE KUKLICK
University of Pennsylvania

JOHN K. NOYES. *The Mastery of Submission: Inventions of Masochism*. (Cornell Studies in the History of

Psychiatry.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1997. Pp. viii, 265. \$29.95.

Masochism is a much-explored aspect of modern sexuality. It has been discussed in detail in literature, beginning with Leopold von Sacher-Masoch's novel, *Venus in Furs* (1870); there is a voluminous twentieth-century psychoanalytical and clinical literature on the phenomenon that attempts to explain it and, recently, a growing interest in masochism on the part of literary critics, postmodern theorists, and students of popular culture. In this interesting book, John K. Noyes argues that masochism is a recent development in Western culture. He situates its origins in late eighteenth and nineteenth-century Europe and follows its development in theory through the twentieth century. Noyes argues that masochism, like the other so-called perversions, was invented in a particular historical time and place and continues to bear the marks of its construction.

This is no longer a controversial claim. The history of sexuality has advanced sufficiently as a field that no one now doubts that sexual behavior, sexual technologies, or sexual identities have changed with the passage of time. It is one thing to assert that behavior has changed (or in the case of masochism, newly emerged), however, and quite another to document it and explain why. Noyes certainly takes a stab at the latter task. He argues that masochism came into being as an identifiable practice at a time when liberalism as a philosophy of rights and a justification of rational individualism had peaked and begun to undergo attack within and beyond Europe. Masochism, Noyes claims, was a symptom of the failure of confidence and will of the European upper classes, who had clear evidence, by the end of the nineteenth century, that liberal principles were not readily exportable to women, the European lower classes, ethnic minorities on the margins of the European heartland, or the peoples of the European empires. Masochist fantasies (and presumably practices) were a "subjective performance" in the masculine ruling class that allowed identification with the victims of their power, without, in the end, changing the realities of the way that power was exercised. Women, blacks, and Slavs were thus the favorite brandishers of the whip in the various literary statements of the theme that Noyes has located.

The man who coined the term masochism—modeling it on the literary portrait of the condition already articulated by Sacher-Masoch—was Richard von Krafft-Ebing, the Austrian sexologist whose *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1886) was the first and for years the most complete catalogue of the newly invented sexual perversions. Krafft-Ebing was responsible for medicalizing and biologizing masochism, making it into an aspect of a degenerate humanity that had fallen away from the rationality and self-discipline of progressive civil life. Noyes very insightfully finds the contradictions and slippages in his sexological theory that show both a reliance on traditional gendered notions of

power (masochists were “effeminate” in their preference for submission) and an unwillingness to judge or condemn masochistic behavior.

Noyes then proceeds to show the complexity of the Freudian account of masochism, which both extended and criticized the views of Krafft-Ebing's generation, as well as how the following generation of Freudian theorists—Helene Deutsch, Karen Horney, Theodore Reik, and Wilhelm Reich—understood masochism as a supremely modernist strategy for parodying, resisting, and politicizing unequal relations of power in an increasingly violent and dangerous world. He concludes his book with a review of postmodern theorizing, which treats masochism as a kind of theatricalization of power relations that turns pain into pleasure, discipline into joyful acquiescence, and rituals of punishment into liberating strategies of parodic subversion. Although Noyes discusses postmodern theories and practices of masochism respectfully, he concludes by wondering whether the donning of the gear and insignia of torturers, even in the name of pleasure, does not perpetuate unnecessarily the role of the torturer.

Historians will find this book full of interesting historical speculations about the origin and evolution of masochism, but these are not followed up in great detail. The book is chiefly concerned with literary representations, particularly in texts of a minor nature, and psychoanalysis, on which ground Noyes is imaginative and secure. But this does not suffice to pin down the changing behavior of masochists, the popularity of masochistic practices, or micro-historical explanations for them. Everything is passed through the sieve of psychoanalytic or literary theory. Noyes's book is nonetheless a very carefully argued and imaginative piece of work that will be indispensable to anyone working in the history of sexuality.

ROBERT A. NYE
Oregon State University

DAVID FELIX. *Biography of an Idea: John Maynard Keynes and the General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction, 1995. Pp. ix, 285. \$39.95.

In 1935, John Maynard Keynes wrote to George Bernard Shaw that he was working on a book that would revolutionize economic thought. Published the next year, Keynes's *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* did just that, virtually inventing the field of macroeconomics in its modern sense. Keynes's ideas spread quickly and influenced the economic policy of much of the West in the immediate postwar decades, helping to usher in an era of unusually rapid and widespread economic growth. In the 1970s, Keynesianism came under increasing challenge. On the theoretical side, the monetarists, the rational expectations school, the champions of the new public finance, and the notorious supply-siders all called into question important aspects of Keynesian analysis; as a practical

matter, policy makers found the Keynesian prescription ineffective against the stagflation afflicting the U.S. economy, and some critics claimed that Keynesian doctrine had itself contributed to the woes of the day by imparting a systematic inflationary bias to government policy. The decline of Keynesianism as both theory and policy has continued, and at present the doctrine limps along chiefly in an attenuated, chastened form. David Felix's superb intellectual history of *The General Theory* delivers still another blow to the diminished Keynesian edifice.

Felix provides a vivid portrait of the economist himself. Keynes's formal training in economics was surprisingly slight, but his brilliance enabled him to rise swiftly to the top of his profession. Throughout his career, Felix emphasizes, Keynes sought not only professional success but political influence as well. As an earlier economic theorist, Karl Marx, had put it, the point was not merely to interpret the world but to change it.

Felix devotes the bulk of his attention to tracing Keynes's development of the ideas expressed in *The General Theory* (including the concepts of effective demand, the multiplier, and liquidity preference) and to critically assessing the resultant theoretical model. He concludes that the two major theoretical underpinnings of Keynes's masterwork were defective. Keynes erred when he held weak consumption to be a fundamental and intrinsic problem of modern capitalism. “The slackening in demand Keynes observed in the 1930s,” writes Felix, “was a back eddy resulting from a minor external anomaly in a broad Amazonian flow forward” (p. 156). Keynes also erred in formulating an interest theory that effectively omitted from consideration both the borrower and his demand for money. Weakened in these and a host of lesser regards, *The General Theory* was a “total failure . . . as pure theory” (p. 183).

How and why did Keynes go so wrong? Felix contends that Keynes went awry because he subordinated his theoretical analysis to his policy preferences. His entire career had been an essay in persuasion, and in *The General Theory* Keynes was attempting to construct a theoretical rationale for the inflationary policy he correctly perceived to be a cure for the Great Depression. In this case, however, a good policy preference for a particular historical situation made for bad general theory, and the subsequent application of that theory in other circumstances did indeed have precisely the harmful inflationary effects that Keynes's most prescient contemporary critics had foreseen.

Felix makes good on his promises to “rescue Keynes from the economists for everyman” (p. vii) and to embed economic theorizing in a rich historical context. His critique of *The General Theory* is not wholly original, but no one else has made the argument in so complete and compelling a fashion. Although handling subject matter that even experts consider abstruse, Felix makes his case clearly and in occasionally rollicking prose. Thus Keynes emerges as “the greatest

confidence man in economic science since Marx" (p. 246). Perhaps. But how did he dupe so many smart economists? I wish Felix had been just a tad more generous in examining what Keynes's followers thought *The General Theory* had given them that was new and illuminating. Even in the mid-1990s, the astute and iconoclastic economist Paul Krugman maintains that Keynes's explanation of recession and recovery constitutes one of the great intellectual achievements in the history of economic analysis. Are some insights and contributions so broad in their capacity to reorient subsequent thinking that they fail to register appropriately under the sort of microscopic historical scrutiny Felix brings so devastatingly to bear in this study? Notwithstanding that nagging question, Felix has given us a first-rate work of scholarship.

ROBERT M. COLLINS
University of Missouri

S. P. MacKENZIE. *Revolutionary Armies in the Modern Era: A Revisionist Approach*. (The New International History Series.) New York: Routledge, 1997. Pp. viii, 243. \$75.00.

The essence of this book lies in what the author means by "a revisionist approach" to "revolutionary armies." S. P. MacKenzie has an unorthodox understanding of both terms. Apart from a variety of polemical excesses, his approach bears little resemblance to the type of revisionism professional historians usually undertake. The revisionist literature on the Cold War that reshaped United States historiography in the late 1970s and the tidal wave of revisionism in French Revolution studies that peaked with the bicentennial in 1989 attacked historical interpretations that had taken firm hold in academic circles. In contrast, MacKenzie tilts at the windmills he finds dotting an ancient scholarly landscape and now preserved mainly in popular culture. In other words, he points his revisionist lance at myths (already known as such by historians) about ten armed forces scattered across four centuries, five continents, and the entire political spectrum. These forces are grouped under the rubric of "revolutionary armies" because they all supposedly gained fighting advantage from ideological inspiration among the rank and file. Such a definition excludes revolutionary forms of mobilization or ideologically driven leaders, however.

This book covers a lot of ground. Its chronology ranges from Oliver Cromwell's New Model Army to the Viet Cong; its geographical scope takes in independence movements in South America (Simón Bolívar) and South Asia (the Sepoys). The gamut of motives behind these various forces extends, in the international arena, from the first French Republic's revolutionary war on monarchs to the Third Reich's reactionary crusade against communism and, in the domestic arena, from the Taipings' attempt to bring down the Manchus and their Confucian-based social order to the International Brigades' defense of the

Spanish Republic against Francisco Franco's nationalists. This is an interesting and even laudable heterogeneity, but it lacks an analytical rationale other than diversity. MacKenzie omits a chapter on the People's Liberation Army of China because the orthodox account of Maoist success only survives inside the People's Republic (p. 4), and yet he includes a chapter demolishing the myth of the Voortrekkers as "revolutionary in an almost biblical sense" (p. 77) on the grounds that, before the collapse of the apartheid regime, Afrikaners were taught that they owed their triumph over Zulus to a covenant with God. At the same time, the Red Army during the Russian civil war is excluded because its myth had long been questioned in the West and had collapsed with the Soviet Union itself. Nonetheless, this sort of logic makes room for a chapter bursting the bubble that real revisionists such as Ernst Nolte and amateur military buffs have created for the Waffen-SS. Furthermore, MacKenzie goes to great lengths to undermine the very feature that caused him to choose each of his ten cases: the distinctive role that ideological motivation played.

MacKenzie eschews comparative treatment. Instead, each chapter of his book begins by tracing the emergence of a "foundation myth" connected to one of these armed forces. References to examples of popular culture, such as the guidebook on the Voortrekker Monument or the movie *Apocalypse Now* (1979), usually serve to clinch the case that these myths are alive and well. Such a strategy has great potential. Despite a passing reference to Maurice Halbwachs and Michel Foucault in the introduction, however, the book does not explore the role of collective memory or the complex ways in which history serves the present. There is no attempt to understand how these myths work. Their essential plausibility and their power to transcend mere history are left unexamined. Rather, once each myth is proved alive, it is subjected to a murderous attack using new historical evidence compiled from an impressive array of secondary sources in four languages. Much of this evidentiary firepower is used at a tactical level without regard for a larger strategy. For example, trying to undermine the idea of the Waffen-SS as an especially effective fighting force by citing the fact that it had, even in training, higher casualty rates than the regular Wehrmacht actually strengthens the "myth" that the Waffen-SS was a highly motivated elite force (p. 153). For MacKenzie, revisionism means an indiscriminate attack on far-reaching claims made by admirers more than a careful critique of existing scholarship. Each armed force is described primarily in terms of what it was not, and no effort is made to weigh the extent of troop loyalty or officer commitment. Therefore, what could have been a valuable contribution to the burgeoning field of global and comparative studies is too flawed to be recommended as an undergraduate text.

HOWARD G. BROWN
State University of New York,
Binghamton

CAROLINE BROTHERS. *War and Photography: A Cultural History*. New York: Routledge. 1997. Pp. xvi, 277. \$55.00.

Five years ago, grim pictures came back to the United States from the dusty refugee camps near Baidoa and the mean streets of Mogadishu. Many saw the images as catalysts, first for the entry of American troops into Somalia and then for their evacuation from the country. After the photograph of the jeering crowd dragging the near-naked corpse of a U.S. serviceman came back home, President Bill Clinton was moved to address the nation. "This past weekend," he said, "we all reacted with anger and horror as an armed Somali gang desecrated the bodies of our American soldiers."

The photographs, both of the captured Americans and of the starving Somalis, were understood to be self-explanatory documents. Pictures of the injured and dead Americans yelled quagmire; pictures of the wide-eyed, big-bellied children screamed famine. "Words can't describe the children seen on the newscasts," wrote columnist Tom Dorsey. "Somalia is a complex story . . . But the pictures of thousands of pathetic people are easy to understand."

Caroline Brothers, who is a correspondent for Reuters, argues in her well-researched book that far from determining public opinion (as is often assumed), images of war have no independent voice. The evidence a photograph—even one which is understood to be seminal—provides "has little to do with its particular content, or with any notion of photographic truth; it bears witness instead to the ideological currents which produced it and the collective imagination it inflected and to which it contributed" (p. 185). Like many scholars in the related field of communication studies, Brothers believes that photographs published in mass-market periodicals suggest less about the events they purport to depict than about the cultural and political "preoccupations of the countries which produced and consumed them" (p. 190).

To explore the notion of "photographic truth," Brothers concentrates her analysis on those images from the Spanish Civil War that were published in British and French newspapers and magazines. She compellingly details how these two nations chose to document the conflict differently, not because the publications had different resources, but because of each country's internal cultural distinctiveness. Photo captions framed the images, reinforcing specific attitudes and perspectives. Brothers says, for example, with regard to how the British and French press represented the Republican militiamen: "While the French were quick to mine their own revolutionary tradition, the British were on the whole reluctant to acknowledge the fact that the people of Spain were taking up arms in the Republic's defence. They preferred to describe the Republic's defenders as a separate group—'volunteers and loyal government troops'—whose actions were authorized by the government and were therefore legitimate" (p. 41).

In her examination of the nature of photographic evidence, Brothers concludes that the British and French presses were essentially disinterested in transmitting what we today might denote as "objective facts." Their concern, instead, was to anticipate their public's sensibility and adjust their coverage of the Spanish Civil War to serve nationalist ends. In a persuasive exploration of the famous photograph taken by Robert Capa, entitled "Death of a Republican Soldier," Brothers concludes that the willful acceptance of the image as an accurate representation of a moment of death suggests that those who published it wanted to believe that death in war had significance. Especially in the French press, which gave the picture wide currency, Brothers argues that it represented a "denial of the uglier aspect of war fatality in preference to an archetype of individual heroism" (p. 185).

Parts one, two, and three of this book solidly, if somewhat stolidly, canvass the British and French periodicals for their photographic reportage on the combatants, the civilians, and the victims of the Spanish Civil War. But the most cogent and forceful section of the book is the last chapter, which takes the conclusions made about photojournalism in 1930s Europe and assesses them in the context of recent wars in Vietnam, the Falkland Islands, and the Persian Gulf. Brothers starts by making a false assumption: that the Spanish Civil War "established the visual vocabulary of war photography as a genre" (p. 201). She then plunges into a brief but masterful chronology of how these three recent wars have changed photographic meaning for their audiences. The breakdown of photographs as indices for "reality," she states, leaves them with their only remaining function: that of icons, "perfectly suiting [them] to the late twentieth century's ultimate cultural expression—advertising" (p. 215). It is a stunningly simple yet overlooked assessment of the consequences of media censorship, technological innovations, and editorial control. Unfortunately, it is also an assessment with which the author does nothing.

This book began as a doctoral thesis, and its genesis shows. The first chapter is a fairly turgid, once-over-lightly of the literature of imagery. The prose substantially improves once Brothers begins to analyze the images of war, and it dramatically improves again in her last chapter on the recent conflicts. If one can judge by the caliber of her writing and the innovativeness of her observations, she is most absorbed by modern war. Given that she is identified as a journalist, that is understandable. For all its sharp observations, the bulk of the book on the Spanish Civil War could have been distilled into a single section, allowing Brothers to explore in greater depth the translation of "photographic truth" into the present day.

SUSAN D. MOELLER
Brandeis University

LAWRENCE S. WITTNER. *The Struggle against the Bomb*. Volume 2, *Resisting the Bomb: A History of the World*

Disarmament Movement, 1954–1970. (Stanford Nuclear Age Series.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 641. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

Nuclear disarmament movements do not lend themselves easily to sustained scholarly study. They are, by their very nature, loosely organized, extremely heterogeneous, and in many cases spontaneous or episodic phenomena that tend to flash onto the streets during times of international tension, only to disappear within a few years like river water quietly ebbing from a flooded city. It is hard to get a handle on such unruly objects of historical analysis. What is more, the goals and actions of such movements, centering as they do on hotly contested concepts such as “peace,” “justice,” or “security,” inevitably pose a challenge to even the most rigorously even-handed observers. How to thread one’s way among the myriad perspectives of journalists, military officials, heads of state, political theorists and historians, hawks and doves, moralists and technophobes, scientists and movie stars, famous philosophers with speeches in hand and grinning middle-class families toting picnics?

Lawrence S. Wittner has completed two parts of a remarkable trilogy on these nuclear disarmers and their impact on the Cold War era. This book, the second in the series, covers the 1950s and 1960s, the years when it was considered essential to one’s status as a Great Power to vaporize remote Pacific atolls in multi-megaton thermonuclear blasts. Wittner’s book is a tour de force of scholarship, ranging expertly over two decades and three dozen nations, moving deftly between micro-detail and birds-eye view, weaving together in an eloquent narrative the fruits of gargantuan archival research. His central thesis, moreover, is both original and persuasive—an unusual quality in a work of such extraordinary geographical sweep and rich density of particulars.

Wittner steers between Scylla and Charybdis in crafting his argument. He challenges the ever-recurring orthodoxy among hawkish establishment types that nuclear deterrence, and *only* nuclear deterrence, kept the superpowers from drifting into World War III during the decades after 1945. Wittner does not reject this orthodoxy out of hand and allows that nuclear deterrence may well, on specific occasions, have played a key role in averting conflict, but he makes a strong case that the nuclear disarmers played a vitally important part in the process. He also tackles another recurring theme in the literature: namely, the notion that the continued existence of nuclear weapons means that all those Ban-the-Bomb movements amounted to little more than a failure, a noble, well-intentioned waste of time.

For Wittner, these two extreme judgments seem less than persuasive because they fail to take into account the very real and highly consequential efforts made by the nuclear nations to regulate or mitigate their rivalries. If national security is guaranteed by possession of nuclear weapons, he asks, how to explain the Partial

Test Ban Treaty, the Antiballistic Missile Treaty, the Strategic Arms Limitation talks, and the fact that “numerous nations quite capable of developing nuclear weapons have not done so” (p. ix)? A crucial part of the answer, Wittner argues, lies in the leavening of public awareness brought about by the persistent clamoring and badgering of the nuclear disarmers. Although they failed to ban the bomb, they did succeed in influencing the thinking of millions of citizens, who in turn demonstrably influenced the rhetoric and actions of statesmen even in the USSR and other non-democratic nations. Indeed, one of the greatest strengths of this book is the way it ties together the disparate experiences of disarmers operating in nations rich and poor, free and unfree, aligned and nonaligned, systematically comparing the activists’ setbacks and achievements in a synthetic and truly global narrative.

But the nuclear disarmament movements also made another contribution, according to Wittner: an accomplishment arguably as important as their impact on military and diplomatic policy. They acted as potent agencies of social change, fostering the growth over several decades of a critically alert and effectively mobilized citizenry at the grass roots. In this way, their efforts contributed indirectly but substantially to the furtherance of other causes ranging from environmental protection to women’s rights.

In this hybrid scholarly field lying at the crossroads of military, political, and social history, where new documentary sources (such as the Soviet archives) are continually opening up, there can be no such thing as a “definitive” history text. But Wittner’s magisterial study of the disarmers comes as close to that ideal as can be expected: it will undoubtedly constitute, for decades to come, *the* primary place to turn for reference, orientation, and insight into this protean upwelling of popular will.

MICHAEL BESS
Vanderbilt University

ANTHONY W. MARX. *Making Race and Nation: A Comparison of South Africa, the United States, and Brazil.* (Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xviii, 390. \$29.95.

A comparative study of race and its broader social context in Brazil, the United States, and South Africa has been long overdue. This book by Anthony W. Marx makes an impressive initial contribution, combining comparative history and sociological interpretation in a readable text that sticks to the main point: the role of state and society in forming distinct ways of dealing with race as a central aspect of politics and social behavior in racially divided nations. Seventy-one pages of endnotes document the study and provide a starting point for readers who wish to pursue the subject further.

Because the three countries have substantially dif-

ferent racial histories, they have experienced varied results in dealing with racial inequality in the recent past. South Africa's rejection of apartheid and achievement of majority rule came virtually overnight, and the ramifications of this dramatic set of changes are not fully played out. In any case, race became the *sine qua non* of South African life and society. In the United States, black agency (in the form of the migration of five million blacks to the North between 1940 and 1970) predated mass protest, unlike either South Africa or Brazil. Racial gains came through legal challenges to inequality, with the result that patterns of segregation remain in housing, education, and employment. Brazil lacked any legal tradition after the abolition of segregation, and given that country's adherence to a fanciful myth of racial democracy and national unity, Marx found it puzzling that surviving racial inequalities, which remain vast, have not been more fully challenged. He set out to explore these divergences in national experience. Over the course of six years of research, Marx found varied forms of racial dynamics and white supremacy rooted in the legacies of slavery, colonialism, culture, and economic development. State actions and codification, he contends, irrevocably shaped the template of modern race relations.

This study uses exhaustive secondary literature as well as some archival materials from Brazil, South Africa, and the United States and interviews with leading scholars of race. It is organized in three parts: "Historical and Cultural Legacies," "Racial Domination and the Nation-State," and "Race Making from Below." Marx offers an unusual (and effective) set of conclusions: a comparative overview, a short final chapter, and a short discussion of "general implications." "Official policies of exclusion according to race," Marx finds, "have drawn boundaries solidifying subordinated racial identity, which then forms a basis for collective action in response to shifting state policies" (p. 264). In all three countries, Marx finds a link between levels of racial domination and of identity consolidation and protest responses. In South Africa, opposing racial identities and protests emerged out of apartheid itself, whereas in the United States segregation took hold locally in the face of a withdrawal of government interest in the matter. In Brazil, protest remained muted because of the amorphous and unwritten nature of racism. In all three countries, activists focused on racial identity to build momentum for potential mobilization, evoking images of past solidarity (even when these were inaccurate) and building on networks to overcome divisions. Racial identity, the author argues, must always be consolidated before that identity can be turned to action.

Race, Marx concludes, heavily influenced the institutional character of the three modern nation-states of his study. Fears of the black majority in South Africa encouraged the construction of a strong central state and led whites to close ranks in what they considered to be self-defense. In the United States, the relatively

weak federal government permitted individual states to do as they wished and "preserved the polity by allowing for differences among whites" (p. 268). Brazilian elites, fearful of physical revolts by non-whites, elaborated a myth of racial democracy to create the appearance of an inclusive nation-state, which, in practice, was not inclusive. In all three cases, Marx finds convincingly that democracy is not necessarily inclusive, nor does it protect the interests of all.

ROBERT M. LEVINE
University of Miami,
Coral Gables

JOHN R. HALL, editor. *Reworking Class*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 408. Cloth \$52.50, paper \$19.95.

This diverse collection of essays by sociologists and historians maps out new directions for class analysis. Its contributors share a common concern to avoid the determinist and reductionist tendencies associated with totalized approaches to class, especially of a Marxian variety. In an ambitious introduction, editor John R. Hall criticizes what he calls the "foundational metaphors" (p. 11) of much modern class analysis, namely the notion of classes as bounded groups with bases in the objective features of capitalism and the notion of the division of labor as an organic totality. As an alternative, he proposes a "neo-Weberian" and "institutionalist" way of construing class analysis in relation to political economy.

The inconsistencies of Max Weber's theory of classes are well known. In seeking to reconcile methodological individualism to an understanding of class as a structural principle that shapes the distribution of life chances, Weber moved away from a conception of class as shared economic interest in relation to different markets toward a more "objective" taxonomy of "property," "commercial," and "social" classes. Recent writers have suggested that the concept of "social classes," understood as the sum of class situations that determine social mobility, is not so different from that of Karl Marx. Hall, however, prefers Weber's earlier economic conception of classes—modified to take account of the fact that markets are partially constituted by non-economic factors—since it is less "structuralist" than his conception of "social classes," allowing for the possibility of multiple "objects of exchange" (labor, credit, commodities) and multiple markets around which class interests can arise. Hall argues that class interests are structured by institutional and cultural patterns of market formations, by extra-market processes that directly affect how markets operate, and by broader organizational and interorganizational political-economic formations. His rejection of an approach that "reads off" class formation from objective structures is likely to find favor with many historians, but it is not clear that the approach he recommends is practicable for those seeking to reconstitute class formation in the past. One problem with Weber's

concept of economic classes is that it produces as many classes as there are market positions. Another is that it can lead precisely to the kind of economic determinism that Hall deplors. William Brustein's analysis of the social origins of the Nazi Party in Germany is the only essay in the book to follow the approach recommended by the editor. It shows that skilled workers were more likely than unskilled or semi-skilled workers to join the Nazis because they perceived social advancement as an achievable goal. Interesting though this finding is, it is doubtful that the author's claim that individuals' relationships to the market were the principal determinant of political behavior captures the complexity of motivations of those who joined the Nazi Party.

During the past decade, social historians, especially those working in the fields of gender and labor history, have rediscovered Weber's insight that class situation does not of itself generate class action, recognizing that economic interests are always socially constructed and historically contingent, shaped by individual and collective action within and beyond the orientations of class. The theoretical impulse behind this recognition has tended to come from Michel Foucault rather than Weber. The absence of Foucault from the volume is remarked on by Patrick Joyce in his foreword, and it is a pity that there is no example of a "discursive" approach to class formation. It must be admitted, however, that the discursive approach is perhaps weakest precisely in the area in which the editor is most interested, namely, in thinking about the determinacy of the economic in relation to class formation. Nevertheless, in my view, the three strongest essays of the collection are all historical in nature. They seek, from different theoretical perspectives, to grapple with the contingency and complexity of relations between economic processes, such as industrialization, proletarianization, and market development, and class as a social and political phenomenon.

The most radical break with conventional class analysis is made by Margaret Somers, who offers an account of class formation in England in terms not of economic change but of the "long-term consequences of the legal revolutions of medieval England" (p. 93). Her essay is largely a theoretical defense of the superiority of the concept of "narrative identity" over that of "interest" and of "relational setting"—a "pattern of relationships among institutions, public narratives, and social practices" (p.89)—over that of "society." The virtue of Somers's approach is that it offers the possibility of a more disaggregated and differentiated form of historical analysis, with greater space for the specification of political and cultural factors in the processes of class formation, than approaches that anchor class formation in the universal features of capitalist production. Nevertheless, although fruitful for relatively localized analysis, the concept of relational setting may prove too narrow to grasp larger-scale processes of socio-economic transformation, es-

pecially at an international level, such as those treated in Dale Tomich's suggestive essay.

Sonya Rose also sketches a theoretical perspective that enlarges the sphere of historical enquiry. In asking how we might rethink the relationship between economic inequality and the way that people respond to it, she suggests the value of the concept of "seriality," pioneered by Jean-Paul Sartre. In Iris Young's definition, seriality is a structure "arising from people's historically congealed institutionalized actions and expectations that position and limit individuals in determinate ways that they must deal with" (p. 150). This retains the idea that people share economic constraints and opportunities that have the potential of becoming sites of political mobilization, without assuming that they define identities or dictate forms of resistance. Although owing nothing to Rose's concept of "seriality," John Walton's fine essay on the cannery workers and fishermen of Monterey exemplifies the merits of this kind of approach in so far as it conceives of class in terms of its effects, as something intrinsically mutable. Walton shows how Monterey workers, although sharply differentiated by gender, nationality, language, and heritage, came to form a working-class community in the particular economic and political conditions of the interwar years. He focuses on the role of socially organized memory in constructing (and erasing) class as a meaningful interpretation of history. I am less convinced by Rose's argument that the deficiencies of class analysis arise from the fact that it is rooted in a gendered distinction between public and private, since this assumes that there was one hegemonic conceptualization of that distinction. Yet the rendition of that division in liberal political theory—so powerfully dissected by Carole Pateman—was matched by other renditions in rival bodies of political thought, such as socialism, and in specific ethnic, national, class, or religious cultures. Rose herself, for instance, observes that the economy was understood in liberal political theory as part of the private sphere, whereas in the Victorian ideology of separate spheres it was constituted as part of the public sphere, which suggests that the public/private distinction was more subject to its own logic of seriality than Rose's rather abstract account suggests.

In the third of the impressive contributions by historians, Richard Biernacki shows how the concept of "labor," foundational to class analysis, was inseparable from its cultural manifestations, demonstrating that in Britain wool weavers saw themselves as vendors of labor in a free market, who disposed of their labor only as it was concretized in products, while in Germany wool weavers saw labor power as embodied, as a real substance that employers "consumed." Biernacki thus touches on the issue of exploitation, which is marginalized in the volume as a whole. Although his essay is not concerned explicitly with exploitation—indeed one might infer that it was difficult for British workers to conceive of "exploitation" at all, except perhaps in relation to the terms of sale of their

product—it opens up the question of culturally and historically specific understandings of exploitation. This subject is worthy of further historical investigation, as is the relative issue of whether or not universal norms of justice infected particularist understandings of exploitation. In his essay, Eric Olin Wright refuses the “Weberian temptation” precisely because he feels that it does not place exploitation at the center of class analysis. He constructs a structuralist typology that differentiates class positions according to ownership of the means of production, possession of “organizational assets” (the individual’s authority over a span of organized production), and possession of “skill” or “credential” assets. In fact, this theorization owes as much to Weber as to Marx, not least in its recognition of the market-determined value of skills and credentials as a determinant of class position. This essay, like the volume as a whole, suggests that there are many elements of Weber’s work worthy of utilization by historians seeking to emphasize agency in their accounts of class formation. But for me, at least, the volume also suggests that there are still aspects of the Marxian paradigm that are worth keeping.

S. A. SMITH

University of Essex

SCOTT BRAVMANN. *Queer Fictions of the Past: History, Culture, and Difference*. (Cambridge Cultural Social Studies.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 174. Cloth \$54.95, paper \$16.95.

This volume is a dense, concise, theoretically sophisticated take on the current state of lesbian and gay studies, particularly representations of the past. More than an engagement with the first generation of American lesbian and gay historiography, Scott Bravmann’s perceptive critiques address an inclusive, cross-disciplinary, sometimes genre-defying set of works, putting non-traditional accounts, popular mythologies, public observances, and pride celebrations on equal footing with academic history writing—all gathered under the title’s rubric. In profound ways, Bravmann convincingly argues, these contested and conflicting narratives of prior times exist in dialectical relationship with today’s queer identities, communities, and politics, mutually shaping and informing one another.

Understood as fictions, these cultural texts are readily available to literary analysis and close readings, Bravmann asserts. He begins with the pathbreaking social constructionist histories from the late 1970s and 1980s, which outline the late nineteenth-century emergence of the modern homosexual and articulate processes of industrialization and urbanization that fostered the development of gay identity and community in cities. Bravmann sees these early, influential articles and monographs as linear, modernist trajectories. By ignoring or minimizing differences within and across disparate groups, they act as a metanarrative, a totalizing discourse that invents, as it attempts to historicize, a stable, gay subjectivity. As such, the metanar-

rative inadequately accounts for the experiences of women, rural Americans, and people of color.

Relying on feminist and queer theory, Bravmann points up the precarious marriage of female and male homosexualities in the academic framing of lesbian and gay studies, while he urges a “queer heterosociality” (p. xii)—in present-day institutions, in historical renderings—encompassing differences not only of gender. Such stories, he insists, must acknowledge the divisions and tensions of race and ethnicity without attempting to smooth over conflicts in the name of political coalition and progress. His analysis is perhaps most compelling as he exposes the insistent retrospective gaze toward a racially unmarked ancient Greece that is apparent in various investigations of queer ancestry. Although Bravmann concedes his postmodern skepticism toward official discourses and practices, notably history as currently crafted in the academy, he nonetheless relies on notions of historical accuracy to critique depictions of Stonewall, which Martin Duberman has referred to in his book by the same name (1993) as “the emblematic event in modern lesbian and gay history.” The 1969 riots in Greenwich Village, Bravmann demonstrates through analysis of an overlooked photograph, involved many queers of color. Yet, in this particular picture, he notes, they were all men. The histories that would posit a diverse collective of lesbians, gays, bisexuals, and transgendered persons must account for such absences; the existence of racial diversity must not be assumed as the existence of racial harmony and alliance.

To communicate queer pasts effectively, especially as they intersect with racial and gender crossings, Bravmann proposes more experimental forms of writing. He looks favorably on Samuel Delany’s work of creative non-fiction, *The Motion of Light in Water* (1988); Jewelle Gomez’s historical novel, *The Gilda Stories* (1991); and Audre Lorde’s *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name* (1982), which its author billed as a biomythography. Bravmann’s egalitarian sensibilities around genre, however, are occasionally undercut by the elite vocabulary of his own prose style.

Yet, the rewards of this book are significant. For broad academic audiences, it will serve as a useful critical overview of American lesbian and gay history as presently practiced in universities, explored in alternative media, and played out on the streets. For specialists, Bravmann’s work is of import less as a model for constructing heretofore untold histories—he would point you to the above-cited texts and to postcolonial film—than as a set of tools for rewriting and refining existing assumptions about the past. Bravmann’s bold call for “queer cultural studies of history” (p. x) is exceeded only by his impressive demonstration of what such a project might look like. This book will persuade many that “the varieties and specificities of lesbian and gay experiences . . . demand a mode of writing history that is contingent, mutable, and ultimately partial—or, rather, one that is self-conscious of its partiality” (p. 127). Readers may hope

that, as his next contribution, Bravmann might apply his considerable talents and his self-reflective theoretical insights to the fashioning of this new history.

JOHN HOWARD
Duke University

DAVID LOWENTHAL. *Possessed by the Past: The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*. New York: Free Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 338. \$25.00.

Admirers of *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1985) will be disappointed and dismayed by David Lowenthal's follow-up volume. They will be disappointed that for all its wide-ranging intelligence and encyclopedic research, the book reduces to a cranky and muddled polemic. They will be dismayed by the striking contrast between Lowenthal's two books, sad testimony to the cumulative effects of a decade of heritage abuses and sour history wars.

The difference is signaled in the new book's in-your-face title: in just twelve words, Lowenthal evokes diabolism, insanity, religious fanaticism, and pillage, with history the supine victim. Indeed, hostility to religion provides the book's organizing motif. Heritage, to Lowenthal, is an aggressive religious cult profoundly at odds with the domain of history: the two are mutually exclusive, antipodes in a conflict between "faith and fact" (p. 250).

To sustain his story of despoilation, Lowenthal rounds up the usual heritage-mongering suspects—from balkanization genocidally literal to multiculturally figurative, from vulgar commercializers to desperate popularizers to inventors of transparently instrumental essentialist fantasies of past glories and innocence. All are appropriate targets and well skewered. But Lowenthal is too intellectually curious to be constrained by anticlericalism, and the result is a book divided against itself, marked by a tension between erudition and attitude.

Erudition propels a catholic conception of heritage that leads Lowenthal to fascinating discussions of wills and inheritance law and attitudes to birth, adoption, blood, and DNA. There is illuminating attention to words revealing the cultural ground of heritage over time: for example, the relation of amnesty to amnesia, forgiving to forgetting; the anything but parallel meanings of patrimony and matrimony; and the nice observation that heirloom means a device for weaving generations together.

But this playful curiosity—which served so well in *The Past is a Foreign Country*—is ill suited to anticlerical attitude. The result is a series of sweeping pronouncements illustrated through a kind of search-engine anecdotia, in which little distinction is drawn between ethnic cleansing, advertisements for stone-washed jeans and video games, staffing and scripts at Colonial Williamsburg, and Native American struggles over casino gambling. "Heritage today all but defies definition," Lowenthal notes. "Overuse reduces the term to cant" (p. 94). This applies all too well to his

own argument: imagine a book presuming to analyze religion that is uninterested in distinguishing David Koresh from Martin Luther King, Jr., the Ayatollah Khomeini from Mother Teresa, or Desmond Tutu from Jerry Falwell.

The ensuing confusion is especially pronounced in Lowenthal's discussion of history and heritage. He acknowledges that "historical accounts are riddled with most of the same defects that critics think peculiar to heritage" (p. 106). He argues against residual Rankean notions that history recovers a past more "real" than heritage shadow-shows projected for presentist ends. He calls history and heritage "not so much disparate species as opposite sexes, ever contesting roles and domains, yet mutually dependent and with more in common than they like to realize . . . Their ways of seeing and using the past fructify one another" (pp. 167–68).

But there is not much fructifying here. In a flourish of sophistry, Lowenthal acquits heritage of responsibility for bad history "not because heritage is guiltless of deforming history, but because its function is to do just that" (p. 106). A Manichean barrage follows: "Heritage is not a . . . reasonably plausible account of some past, but a *declaration of faith* in that past . . . Heritage is not history even when it mimics history . . . Heritage and history rely on antithetical modes of persuasion. Heritage is immune to critical reappraisal because it is not erudition but catechism" (pp. 121–22). All this leads Lowenthal into a cul-de-sac, wherein he concludes that "to bolster heritage faith with historical scholarship, as is now the fashion, smudges the line between fact and faith . . . to embrace heritage as history cedes it a credence it neither asks for nor deserves" (p. 250). This counsel of withdrawal leaves history self-righteously aloof not only from Disneyland but also from the entire spectrum of cultural engagements that Lowenthal's books have marked with such depth and breadth.

What a sad end point—and how unnecessary, in that the most exciting developments in recent public history scholarship and practice have explored the troubled borders Lowenthal describes by creatively engaging, not abandoning, the very distinction he draws between history and heritage. But Lowenthal shows little understanding of these efforts and draws no encouragement from them. In his previous book, Lowenthal took a very different stance. There he placed himself, and history, squarely inside the cultural circle the book maps: the word "we" was used more than twenty-five times in the concluding three pages, and the final sentences turned his title upside down to make the same point: "We must concede the ancients their place . . . But their place is not simply back there, in a separate and foreign country; it is assimilated in ourselves, and resurrected into an ever-changing present" (p. 412). Historians concerned with the important issues his new book raises will find Lowenthal's

earlier volume a far more generous, sensitive, and instructive guide to understanding and action.

MICHAEL FRISCH

State University of New York,
Buffalo

ANCIENT

N. J. HIGHAM. *The English Conquest: Gildas and Britain in the Fifth Century*. New York: Manchester University Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 220. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$29.95.

N. J. HIGHAM. *An English Empire: Bede and the Early Anglo-Saxon Kings*. New York: Manchester University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 269. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$19.95.

Many scholars consider fifth-century Britain and the origins of England to be a protohistorical problem requiring primarily an archaeological method of investigation. In N. J. Higham's judgment, however, the archaeological approach has yielded a variety of contradictory models more or less equally incapable of either proof or refutation. In *The English Conquest: Gildas and Britain in the Fifth Century*, Higham accordingly adopts a deliberately historical approach and concentrates his analysis on Gildas's *De Excidio Britanniae* ("The Ruin of Britain"). This enigmatic and exasperating work is a crucial text, the sole extant, sequential, near contemporary British literary work for the period. Higham presents a series of topical chapters to argue "a fundamentally different interpretation" of Gildas's locality, date, purpose in writing, and the political and social context of his work (p. 4). Higham aims to establish "within comparatively narrow limits" the chronological and geographical contexts for the beginnings of Anglo-Saxon England (p. 5).

Both the geographical and chronological context of Gildas and *De Excidio Britanniae* (*DEB*) are notoriously elusive. Gildas's geographical perspective included all of Roman Britain and defies decisive localization (p. 94). *DEB* is evidently chronologically ordered, but Gildas presented no dates calculated according to any system of calendaring then in use (p. 118). Nevertheless, using ambiguous textual clues, Higham makes a reasonable case for locating Gildas in the south of central England, perhaps in Wiltshire or Dorset (p. 111) and dating his composition to the period 479–484 (p. 137). The traditional date of composition is the second or third quarter of the sixth century. An influential earlier theory located Gildas in northern Britain.

The most original and problematic of Higham's revisionist theories concern Gildas's political context and his purpose in writing. According to conventional interpretations, Gildas wrote in the aftermath of British victory over the Saxons, won a generation or more before his time. In Gildas's eyes, his contemporary Britons had lost their ancestors' victorious qualities and had reverted to older destructive habits of immorality, injustice, and civil wars. Acting as a self-ap-

pointed prophet, Gildas wrote a moral diatribe. His purpose was to warn his countrymen that God would eventually punish their misdeeds, as in times past, with famine, pestilence, and invasion. By implication, his warning conveyed the possibility of renewed Saxon depredations.

In contrast to this conventional assessment of Gildas's context and purpose, Higham argues that the principal problem besetting Gildas and the Britons was not civil war, their own immorality, or the possibility of a future Saxon revival but outright Saxon dominion in the present (p. 57). This is the crucial point at issue in Higham's reinterpretation of Gildas. Higham assumes that the Saxons rather than the Britons eventually won a crushing final victory in the "War of the Saxon Federates" fought ca. 430–441 (p. 206). In control of most of southern Britain (pp. 165, 209), the Saxons imposed a catastrophic peace on the Britons. The resulting treaty (*foedus*) left the Britons humbled and impoverished, enslaved or tributary (pp. 191, 203). Higham believes these circumstances stung Gildas to become an anti-Saxon crusader who urged the moral reform of his countrymen as a necessary step to gain God's assistance for renewed warfare to reverse the Saxon conquest and "blast away the Saxon oppression of the present" (p. 148).

The attempt to transform Gildas from an old style prophet into a new-style liberation theologian, and Higham's proposal to reverse the outcome of the "War of the Saxon Federates" from a British recovery into a Saxon victory, are both provocative theories. Neither theory, however, is supported by Gildas's writing. Gildas explicitly referred to the "unlooked for recovery" of the Britons in the war with the Saxons and described his own generation as "an age . . . ignorant of that storm and has experience only of the calm of the present." He did not mention the Saxons as a contemporary threat. Consequently, to maintain a revisionist Saxon thesis, Higham must dismiss seemingly overt statements in *DEB* as allegory and find hidden, deliberately coded references to contemporary Saxons in Gildas's Old Testament analogies and imagery (pp. 53–56, 204). In fact, far from preaching an anti-Saxon call to overthrow the treaty with the Saxons (pp. 162, 177, 209), Gildas twice used the Old Testament story of the treaty with the Gibeonites to warn his Christian countrymen of the terrible consequences of breaking even unfair treaties with the enemy.

Higham's historical approach to fifth-century Britain is stimulating. His suggestions concerning the chronological and geographical context of Gildas's work are plausible but not decisive. His revisionist interpretation of Gildas's political context and purpose in writing is fundamentally contradicted by the text of *DEB* itself.

Higham's *An English Empire: Bede and the Early Anglo-Saxon Kings* is a revisionist study of the political systems operating in southern Britain between ca. 597–663. This volume is a companion piece for *The English Conquest* and together with *The Convert Kings: Power and Religious Affiliation in Early Anglo-Saxon*

England (1997), completes Higham's trilogy on the origins of England.

Higham's central thesis is an elaboration of his novel and highly controversial interpretation of Gildas: that by ca. 441, most of southern Britain lay under Saxon dominion, perhaps under a single Saxon warrior. Higham suggests that the treaty between Saxons and tributary Britons established a "Saxon Empire" in Britain (p. 3). Carrying forward the process of reinterpreting Gildas and the fifth-century relations between Saxons and Britons, Higham finds confirmation of an early Saxon empire through a detailed analysis of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and the *Tribal Hidage*, the next available major corpus of written evidence. Higham takes the *Tribal Hidage* to be a tribute list of payments or obligations owed to an "overking" by tributary kings, derived in its surviving form from Northumbria and the *imperium* of Edwin ca. 626 (p. 75).

Higham presents detailed and perceptive studies of Bede's notion of *imperium* (empire or "overkingship"), and the historical and contemporary contexts from which his vision derived. According to Higham, the concept of a Saxon empire was dear to Bede's heart and formed a central point in his ideology and rhetoric. Thus Bede strove to portray the English as legitimate and divinely chosen successors to Roman *imperium* inside Britain. As a necessary corollary, Bede damned the Britons as obstinate heretics who had forfeited all rights (pp. 11–15). For Bede, *imperium* meant rule over a variety of provinces and particularly rule over subject Britons (p. 22).

In contrast to recent minimalist reappraisals of the significance of "overkingship" in early England, Higham concludes that a set of four powerful "overkingships" or regional *imperia* were an integral and important part of the political and psychological fabric of early England (p. 116). Each of the regional empires—Northumbria, Mercia, southern England, and the British West—involved recurring clusters of peoples and interlocking groups of kingships (p. 130). Higham argues that these regional empires may be traced back to the earliest decades of English history and were quite possibly rooted in sub-Roman British kingdoms or *civitates* of late Roman Britain (p. 130).

In keeping with the idea of continuity of regional political units and an evolutionary rather than a catastrophic relation between Roman Britain and early England, Higham explores the literary evidence for a surviving British rural population. He concludes: "In general terms it seems clear that Anglo-Saxon society was constructed upon a raft made up of Britons and their economic output from the land" (p. 240).

Important elements of Higham's reinterpretation of the origins of England are intrinsically plausible. As the author himself sometimes concludes however, key theories remain "obviously beyond proof" and "beyond resolution" (pp. 156, 160). The gap between fifth and seventh-century Britain is not only chronological but political and cultural, and it is both wider and

deeper than the bridge of speculation Higham attempts to throw across it.

MICHAEL E. JONES
Bates College

PATRICK AMORY. *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489–554*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, number 33.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xxi, 522. \$95.00.

Patrick Amory has made a major contribution to the debate over identity and ethnicity that has dominated the historiography of late antiquity for at least two decades with the publication of this decidedly iconoclastic book. Potential readers should expect to bring to their task a thorough knowledge of Ostrogothic Italy and historiography. As in recent anthropological literature, ethnicity and identity are regarded as culturally defined choices. According to Amory, to the extent that a Gothic identity existed in Italy, it was a reflection of the degree to which literary traditions of ethnography as practiced in the fifth and sixth centuries (p. 13) were successfully communicated down the social spectrum from the royal court. Several alternatives challenged this identity, especially that offered by Justinian. Each person in Italy had to decide how and when to declare a personal identity, but more typically, multiple identities served best in this complex environment (p. 189), made even more difficult during the Justinianic war of reconquest. Naming practices came up for extensive treatment and with generally convincing results for the upper classes, whose names and careers are extant (pp. 88–99 and the prosopographical appendix). The mere handful of so-called common soldiers whose names are recorded does not offer much in the way of evidence for the lower orders.

To the limits of his evidence, Amory explores the intersections of two dimensions of this subject among "Goths" in Italy: the creation and dissemination of political ideologies, particularly *Civilitas* by Theodoric the Great (p. 71) and *Renovatio* by Emperor Justinian (p. 138); and how individual and group identities reacted to these ideologies. *Civilitas* for Theodoric meant the coexistence and interdependence of two societies under Roman law, the military and the civil, with "barbarian," here not restricted to Goths, as a synonym for soldier. Only late in his reign did Theodoric abandon this vision for one of a Gothic *gens* that is to say army, with an exclusive Gothic mission. *Civilitas* continued to attract both regal and scholarly attention after Theodoric's death but with decreasing success (p. 147). Justinianic *Renovatio* envisioned an empire torn asunder and in need of reunification and liberation from "others," specifically heretical "barbarians" threatening the universality of Christianity. Amory demonstrates conclusively that these were the ideas of king and emperor, not merely their literary circles. Amory is at his best when examining Justinian's contemporary, the chronicler and soldier Marcellinus

Comes, and the significance of the events of 476 (p. 139).

Surely among Amory's most controversial opinions are that all Goths in Italy were conversant in Latin, that written Gothic was but a sacred language restricted to the use of Arian churchmen (p. 247), that spoken Gothic had become nothing more than a Roman military pidgin (p. 106), and that Arianism was not an expression of Gothic identity but rather a continuation of the late Roman, non-barbarian, Trinitarian heresy consciously allied with the legacy of Ulfilas and the patronage of the Gothic court (p. 261). Spoken Gothic and Arianism are united conceptually by their relationship to the Balkans, the home of Theodoric's people for Amory, who rejects all attempts to link them to various Gothic groups who had been subjects to some degree of the Hunnic Empire (see Peter Heather, *The Goths* [1996]).

Inevitably, searching for individuals making choices in personal and collective identity leads to a discussion of the physical remains from the period, particularly matters of dress and fashion. Unfortunately, there is still only one book surveying the material and it is conceptually dated (Volker Bierbrauer, *Die ostgothischen Grab- und Schatzfunde in Italien* [1975]), but Amory's off-handed remark on eagle fibulae (p. 332) betrays a misunderstanding of how archaeology works. It is not the shape of fibulae and other grave goods but their manufacturing technique and geographic distribution that offer insights into relationships. The eagle fibulae are but examples of garnet cloisonné personal ornament; their construction links them to similar finds in the transdanubian areas, particularly in the Carpathian basin. The historical context of these finds are convincingly associated with the effects of Hunnic control of native elites from ca. 420. The burial of Theodoric himself once contained such an assemblage, but only fragments have escaped plundering. Items from the only common soldier burials from Ostrogothic Italy unearthed to date are outgrowths of Roman frontier culture in that they are late examples of chip-carving ornamentation. In support of Amory, neither the gold-garnet cloisonné nor the chip-carving is distinctly Ostrogothic, but they link their wearers to both sides of the Danube, not just the Roman, and thereby offer some support to the garbled accounts in Priscus and Jordanes.

There are many other noteworthy ideas in this book, such as the center losing contact with the periphery (note the discussion of Eugippius on pages 123–29). Similarly well-handled is Jordanes's attempt to reconcile traditional Roman ethnographic concepts of barbarians with the internal challenges to imperial ecumenical authority (p. 307). Ethnogenesis will continue to hold its grip upon scholars of late antiquity but, after this contribution by Amory, never in the same way. This book should be priority reading for all specialists working on Rome and the barbarians.

THOMAS S. BURNS
Emory University

P. S. BARNWELL. *Kings, Courtiers and Imperium: The Barbarian West, 565–725*. London: Duckworth. 1997. Pp. ix, 261. £40.

P. S. Barnwell has taken on an ambitious task, and much can be learned from his effort. He sets out to describe the nature of rulership and its administration between 565 and 725 in the major barbarian kingdoms that directly succeeded the Roman Empire in western Europe: the Merovingian in what is now western Germany and France, the Visigothic in Spain, the Lombardic in Italy, and the Anglo-Saxon in England. Barnwell does not intend to engage the great body of important, if now somewhat shopworn, literature concerning "early medieval kingship" but concentrates on the nature and function of the various royal officials, including the kings themselves. His method is two-pronged: first, he examines each genre of surviving contemporary sources so as to view the seventh and eighth centuries from their own evidence, thus avoiding the dangers of "looking backwards" from later accounts; and second, since he is examining four contemporary kingdoms, he finds elucidation by drawing comparisons among them. This last is a particular strength of the book.

A recurrent lamentation in each of the four investigations concerns the amount and nature of the sources. This is expected and standard fare in early medieval scholarship, but the surviving material does seem particularly meager for Barnwell's purposes. He is a careful critic and quite adept in explaining how each source has frustrated him. For instance, Paul the Deacon's *History of the Lombards* reveals a good deal about the nature of the dukes in Lombardic Italy, but Paul was primarily interested in highly visible political history and does not mention the structure and administration of the Lombardic kingdom. Bede, although often concerned with kings, is of little help because he uses kings as foils for his ecclesiastical interests. Julian of Toledo's *Historia Wambae* is not concerned with the actual workings of Visigothic monarchy but with the "symbols of power." The Visigothic and Frankish hagiographic sources, too, are of little help since in them "kings and especially courtiers usually only figure as incidentals" (p. 60). This is a rather puzzling conclusion, since Audoin, Desiderius, Leodegar, Arnulf, Eligius, Praejectus, and Queen Balthild were all court figures and all the subjects of a surviving contemporary saint's life. Visigothic church councils, the most important source we have for Visigothic history, are also frustrating, being "primarily propagandist" in purpose. And so it goes. Barnwell's ambitious undertaking is obviously a particularly difficult one.

Despite the gloom (we no longer say "dark"), Barnwell has managed to trope his litany with several important nuggets. For example, he presents an important discussion of the Frankish refendary, particularly valuable in showing the actual function he played in the legal and diplomatic procedure. Barnwell does the same for the Lombardic dukes and gastalds. Here

he argues for a more tightly organized Lombardic Italy, viewing both dukes and gastalds as royal officials and the southern duchies of Spoleto and Benevento as exercising far less autonomy than is usually assigned to them. His careful consideration of the position of queens is also a bright spot. He has many and varied examples of widowed queens "retiring" to nunneries because of the danger they presented in their ability to pass on royal legitimacy to a second husband or a son. Lombard queens were not as likely to act as regents as were the Merovingian ones because the dynastic principle in succession was weaker among the Lombards. A nice touch is Barnwell's translation of *major domus* as "the greater man of the household" (p. 23). He also presents a sensible summary of recent scholarship on Bede, showing the reasons why he wrote and the connection between Northumbrian politics and Bede's moral purposes.

But Barnwell's book also has its troubling aspects. Based largely (but not exclusively) on his reading of the evidence provided by surviving coins and legal sources, he is eager to present the barbarian kings and their administrations, even the more northern ones, as much more Roman in nature than the traditional literature would have it. The recent literature connecting the barbarian law codes and the Roman provincial law does indeed lend some weight to his thesis, but the function and use of those law codes is still debated. There are also important matters that Barnwell does not treat. He addresses coinage only for its propaganda value, ignoring its economic dimensions. Sutton Hoo is also skipped over. But most troubling of all is the sheer difficulty of forming a clear picture of what the author has set out to depict, and this, ironically, is emphasized by his own very thorough, professional, and careful critique of the written sources.

RICHARD A. GERBERDING
University of Alabama,
Huntsville

MEDIEVAL

CASSANDRA POTTS. *Monastic Revival and Regional Identity in Early Normandy*. (Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, number 11.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 1997. Pp. xi, 170.

This is a physically slender book with a broad argument. Although the materials Cassandra Potts uses are monastic charters and narratives chronicling monastic revival and expansion, her purpose is to explain how Normandy came to be a culturally coherent territory.

The argument runs as follows: as the rulers of Normandy built their province from a small territory around the city of Rouen to a large county sweeping from the Epte and Bresle to the Bay of Brittany, they revived existing monasteries and reconstructed some of those that had disappeared. The dukes protected these monasteries and gave them land, economic rights, legal jurisdiction, dependent priories, and authority over many local parishes in areas where ducal

power was expanding. The monasteries, in turn, provided a local face for ducal authority and instilled common traditions in a population that was a mixture of Franks, Scandinavians, and, in western Normandy, Bretons through religious services and instruction and legal and economic transactions. The monasteries evolved a uniformity of vision through frequent exchanges of personnel. The role played in this unifying work by the most important ducal monasteries—Fécamp, Jumièges, Saint-Ouen, Saint-Wandrille, Cerisy, Bernay, Saint-Taurin, and Montivilliers—is cast into relief by the actions of Mont Saint-Michel, which resisted being subordinated to the authority of the Norman dukes. Although non-ducal foundations have been seen as a potential threat to ducal authority, in practice they were founded by individuals related to or in close alliance with the dukes and were never a significant source of opposition. Eventually the dukes came to dominate these monasteries as well. The ducal use of monasteries in pre-conquest Normandy prefigured the way William the Conqueror was to employ the church in bolstering his royal authority in England.

Potts's overall argument about the part monasteries played in creating a regional identity (as opposed simply to a uniformity of practice) is novel. Her discussion of Mont Saint-Michel (chapter five), a continuation of her earlier work, reshapes our understanding of the role of that important monastery, and I wish I had read it earlier. Some of Potts's other findings reinforce and sometimes develop from the existing scholarship. Her discussion of the relationship between the dukes and their more cooperative monasteries is not new, but it is the most comprehensive treatment to date. Her description of relations between monasteries and their communities complements the findings of Stephen White (*Kinship, Custom, and Gifts to the Saints* [1988]) and Constance Bouchard (*Sword, Miter, and Cloister* [1987]). The Norman case is interesting in itself, however, and Potts's depiction of the relationships negotiated by the charters—between lords and their subordinates; within the families of those who sold, rented, mortgaged and gave property to the monasteries; and between lesser patrons and the great patron, the duke—is nicely nuanced.

Normanists, scholars of monastic institutions, regional historians, and those using charters and hagiographic materials as historical sources will find this cleanly presented and argued book valuable. As a description of how Norman monasteries were revived, how these religious institutions organized the regions they dominated, how they abetted ducal policy (or not), and how the dukes used both their own foundations and those of others to promote political stability and uniformity, the book is entirely convincing. Potts's argument that we should replace the currently held image of Vikings assimilating to Frankish norms with a picture of Vikings, Franks, and Bretons, as well as talented individuals from many other regions, becoming acculturated to each other and creating a new identity is worth looking at further.

As for the argument that monasteries specifically promoted a new and fused Norman identity, it is fascinating. The problem—and Potts acknowledges this—is that the available evidence does not explicitly show the monasteries teaching the ideology of regional identity; it only shows that they could have. Indeed, the monasteries themselves seem to have sent mixed messages about identity. Although the mostly monastic writers who wrote the earliest Norman dynastic history acknowledged that talented individuals came from many places to Normandy as teachers, officials, and religious leaders and that the population of Normandy was a mixture of Franks and Scandinavians, they tended to portray the Norman character as shaped largely by the Viking past. These writers created the “Norman myth,” which led to the years of modern scholarship delineating Norman exceptionalism that Potts’s work (among others) implicitly contradicts. It is certainly possible that monasteries gave their writings different spins according to the expected audience for each type and that sermons addressed to a mixed local population might have differed from histories composed for the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of Vikings, but the differences between various ideological statements and the gap between ideology and practice need to be explored. Perhaps in Potts’s next book?

LEAH SHOPKOW
Indiana University

LEAH SHOPKOW. *History and Community: Norman Historical Writing in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 327. \$39.95.

In this book, Leah Shopkow compares the work of six major Latin historians of Normandy—Dudo of Saint-Quentin, William of Jumièges, William of Poitiers, Orderic Vitalis, Robert of Torigny, and Stephen of Rouen—to discern how these eleventh and twelfth-century writers constructed and reconstructed Normandy’s past, from the Viking settlement on the Seine through the conquest of England and the Angevin Empire. This is the first time these historians have been studied together, and Shopkow makes a compelling case that they should be considered representatives of Norman tradition of historical writing. Shopkow’s command of her sources, primary and secondary, is admirable, and the book’s clear writing and organization make it accessible to a broad audience. Her full notes and bibliography provide a valuable resource for historians focused on medieval Normandy, as well as for those more generally interested in the role of historical writing in the creation of collective memories.

In the first chapter, Shopkow establishes the context for her analysis by providing an overview of the period and the historians whose works she is analyzing. The next two chapters, arguably her strongest, take a close look at the histories themselves. The fourth and fifth

chapters explore the assumptions behind the individual texts: specifically, the models of historical writing employed by these writers and their notions of historical truth. The sixth and seventh chapters turn to the question of audience and consider the functions of history in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The conclusion then briefly traces how those functions evolved during the later Middle Ages.

Early in the book, Shopkow states that she found “a generally consistent picture of what it meant to write history in eleventh- and twelfth-century Normandy.” Indeed, she adds, “In some ways writing history in Normandy was different from writing it anywhere else, if only because Normandy’s community was so coherent” (p. 31). One suspects, however, that this consistency derives largely from the fact that all six of the historians in question were members of the clerical elite, writing in Latin, in most cases at institutions that enjoyed ducal favor. It might be expected that this small sample of pro-ducal churchmen would reflect a coherent community, but their vision should not be taken as representative of the Norman community as a whole.

The similarities between these historians are less remarkable than the differences Shopkow brings to light. For example, her earliest and her latest historians, Dudo of Saint-Quentin and Stephen of Rouen, shared an allegorical approach to history, yet they contrasted sharply in tone: Dudo’s version of the Norman past was a success story divinely ordained, whereas Stephen was nostalgic for Normandy’s former glory. William of Poitiers and Orderic Vitalis, according to Shopkow, were moralists, but “William’s tale was one of moral ascendancy, [whereas] Orderic’s was one of moral failure” (p. 100). William of Jumièges and Robert of Torigny shared a literal perspective toward the past, but again, the eleventh-century William was optimistic in outlook, while his twelfth-century counterpart seemed more ambivalent about the future. There are good reasons to compare these six historians: their works are central to our view of Normandy during two critical centuries, and they borrowed openly from each other. Individual readers may disagree with specific points of Shopkow’s analysis, but it is nonetheless fascinating to watch each successive historian editing his predecessors and transforming the past according to personal predilections and political circumstances of his own day.

Shopkow places this study in the context of recent work on historical memory and social identity and opens the book with a discussion of history as a means for communities to “seek social order” (p. 5). But, as she admits in the conclusion, the impact of these specific historians on the broader Norman community was “marginal,” probably “because of an incompatibility between the audience that had the most use for history and the form in which history was presented—the Latin language” (p. 248). One imagines that the vernacular histories of Normandy would have added a deeper dimension to Shopkow’s discussion of “the

ways—particularly the socio-political ways—that history might be used” (p. 33). She excludes the Anglo-Norman texts on the grounds that they “need to be considered as a separate conversation within the discourse of medieval history” (p. 29). Yet that vernacular conversation was taking place in wider social circles than the Latin histories, and, consequently, if the goal is to see how historical writing shaped Normandy’s social identity, consideration of the Anglo-Norman texts would have broadened our perspective. Taken on its own terms, however, as an analysis of Normandy’s evolving history at the hands of its six main Latin historians in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Shopkow’s book stands as an important contribution to Anglo-Norman history.

CASSANDRA POTTS
Middlebury College

ROBERT CHAZAN. *Medieval Stereotypes and Modern Antisemitism*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1997. Pp. xiii. 189. \$35.00.

Robert Chazan offers his readers that rarest of academic experiences: a book that asks large questions in readable prose and whose main defect is being too brief. Even more remarkable in a field that regularly sets records for outraged polemic and splenetic outbursts, he maintains a calm and respectful tone in regard to those with whom he differs. Chazan’s central thesis is that a portentous and lasting transformation of the image of the Jew occurred in the Middle Ages, as Jews moved in significant numbers from the Mediterranean into France, England, and Germany. Jews had, of course, long been viewed by Christians with a peculiar blend of veneration and resentment, but in the twelfth century a more potently hostile imagery began to evolve. Jews were described as not only rejecting Christian belief but as harboring a violent hatred of Christians. In this period, the Blood Libel appeared; Jews were accused of murdering Christians and using their blood in Jewish rituals. More generally, the presence of Jews came to be seen as potentially harmful to Christians in a range of palpable, physical ways. Jews were no longer described simply as pathetic remnants of a people abandoned by God; they were capable of—and firmly intent on—doing harm to Christian society.

Chazan’s account of how and why this transformation occurred is not easily summarized. As newcomers to the area, alien in both obvious and more subtle ways, Jews were not surprisingly objects of suspicion. Their being protected and given privileges by the authorities added further reasons for the native population to resent them, especially in England, where those authorities were foreign and had brought Jews with them. Jews came initially as merchants but increasingly took up the role of money-lender, a number of them becoming extremely rich in the process. Outsiders such as merchants, money-lenders, and the extremely wealthy have been vulnerable to popular

resentments in nearly all periods and cultures: Jews would most likely have been resented even if their religion and associated culture had not contained those elements of anti-Christian hatred and xenophobia that were to become such issues in the following years.

Nonetheless, Chazan agrees with most scholars that “reality-based” causes for this new kind of hostility to Jews were unimportant, at least compared to the potent myths or fantasies about Jews that developed spontaneously from within the host culture. In evaluating this contentious issue, Chazan grants that “medieval Jews despised the faith of the Christian majority and expressed their animus in terms as vigorous as those used by Christians in denouncing Judaism” (p. 102). He also discusses the work of Yisrael Yuval, which stresses that there was a trend among the Jews at this time toward “vengeful messianism,” with violent implications for the enemies of Jews (p. 75). But Chazan concludes that “prejudice and persecution are ultimately grounded far more in the circumstances of the persecuting majority than in the behavior of the persecuted minority.” He does add that “this is not to say that minority circumstances can be neglected” (p. 77), and he emphasizes that the growth of Jewish money-lending is one such not-to-be-neglected issue. Disappointingly, he does not much explore the extent to which there may have been a vital interaction between Christian fantasy and Jewish reality, nor indeed does he provide much detail in regard to that Jewish anti-Christian reality.

What were, then, the self-propelling developments in Christian civilization at this time that encouraged these new or heightened forms of anti-Jewish prejudice and violent persecution? Chazan notes that medieval historians have long regarded the twelfth century as dynamic, open, and creative, but in those years was also to be seen a growing tendency toward persecution of “minorities,” among them lepers, homosexuals, heretics, and Jews. The exact inner logic of this tendency remains nebulous in Chazan’s account, although he does explore, mostly through the work of other scholars, the notion that Christian doctrine contained elements that somehow inexorably moved toward demonization and violent persecution of Jews—a notion that a number of twentieth-century scholars have been particularly concerned to refute.

Many tangled and sprawling issues arise here, and although Chazan’s treatment of them is in general admirable, he leaves a large number of loose ends or inadequately explored themes in a book that is too brief yet also quite repetitive. Can intolerance of lepers and homosexuals, on the one hand, be usefully grouped with hatred of Jews and heretics on the other? The images or fantasies associated with each are profoundly different, and at any rate, the Jews, in this period as in others, were truly a special case, as Chazan makes abundantly clear. He emphasizes how church spokesmen denounced violence against the Jews even while speaking in ways that scarcely worked to reduce

hatreds. In a related way, Christian intellectuals became increasingly aware of the contents of the Talmud and rabbinical commentary on it—and were outraged by what they learned.

How this ampler knowledge of anti-Christian motifs filtered down to the less educated, from peasants to Crusaders; how much that knowledge contributed to the belief that Jews were filled with violent hatred for Christians; and how, above all, the belief emerged that Jews needed the blood of non-Jews are far from clear, in part because of the paucity of primary sources, a familiar problem in medieval history. But undoubtedly the notion that the Jews practiced ritual murder began to spread, becoming a staple of popular belief throughout much of Europe by early modern times. More to the point of this volume, Christians embraced the notion that Jews were physically dangerous to the societies in which they settled.

Chazan's insistence that violence against Jews was a proclivity of the common people, largely against the wishes of the highest religious and secular elites, is one of several notable sub-themes of this volume. Another is his emphasis on historical change in the history of anti-Semitism; he opposes the notion of "eternal anti-Semitism," erupting in unexpected or even mysterious ways over the centuries. Hatred of Jews, in his account, has changed substantially from ancient to modern times. Similarly, he sees in all periods significant differences in attitudes to Jews; hostility to Jews has not been "essentially" the same throughout history. Time and again, he asks provocative and awkward questions, ones with obvious relevance to other periods. Are cultural creativity and intolerance in some way related? Why did Jews continue to move into areas that seemed to be developing such murderous hatred for them, and why did Jewish culture itself flourish under such ostensibly adverse conditions? Chazan's book deserves wide readership and serious discussion beyond those primarily interested in medieval Europe.

ALBERT S. LINDEMANN
University of California,
Santa Barbara

JOAN M. FERRANTE. *To the Glory of Her Sex: Women's Roles in the Composition of Medieval Texts*. (Women of Letters.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 295. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$19.95.

Joan M. Ferrante's book will be the work through which medieval women writers will become known to many non-medieval scholars. It was commissioned by Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar to be part of their *Women of Letters* series from Indiana University Press, and as such the book participates in the formation of a canon of women's writings over the centuries. Ferrante has moved beyond her own field of scholarly interest in courtly literature from the late eleventh through the thirteenth centuries to produce this inclusive study. She notes, for example, that she has found

over twelve hundred letters in published sources, "most of them from men to women but many from women to men and even some from women to women" (p. 1). These letters, religious texts, histories written by and for women, courtly literature, women's visions of women, and women representing other women in their writings represent her selections. Except for brief mention of saints' lives in her chapter on courtly literature, she has omitted this genre on the grounds that it is too vast to do it justice (p. 230, n. 4). Ferrante has chosen to include works written for women as well as women's own compositions on the grounds that they present women's intentions, and as such they contribute "to a sense of what medieval women could and did do, despite the patriarchal systems in which they lived." Ferrante does not deny "the hostility active women face[d]," but she states she is more concerned with positive practice than negative theory (p. 5).

Ferrante does not so much leave aside the theoretical debates of literary criticism as investigate women's participatory roles in medieval intellectual life. She employs two devices in this quest: she considers the entire corpus of surviving texts of a medieval woman writer, and she provides a "close read" of those texts. This results in a dense and complex analysis and should be praised if for no other reason than it brings to greater attention heretofore obscure or seldom considered works. As we might expect, Ferrante translates directly from the Latin or vernacular for her English-speaking audience, and she brings figures alive. Of the tenth-century *Hrotsvit* of Gandersheim Ferrante claims: "she knew enough to edit her own material: 'in secret, even furtively, I labored sometimes composing, sometimes destroying what was badly composed.' [Hrotsvit] has since found that some of her material is considered apocryphal, an error she excuses as ignorance rather than presumption, but she will not retract the material because what seems false might be true; that is, she does not accept learned opinion on its authenticity" (p. 178). From internal evidence—what a writer like *Hrotsvit* both states and what she omits—Ferrante builds up her interpretation of an authoritative role for women in the intellectual life of the Middle Ages.

Readers of this journal may be interested in what Ferrante has to say about women and the writing of history. Ferrante finds no small irony in the fact that the church, which produced such virulent misogyny, also produced very strong propaganda for women's claims through compositions by clerics: "another instance of theory giving way to political reality" (p. 69). The author is most interested in the cooperation between men and women in composing history because, she notes, the purposes of the histories of the age were to establish claims, offer models of behavior, and even entertain. Bad women like bad men were presented by both women and men as models to be avoided, while great women were presented by both as models of the effective exercise of power. Here and in the following chapter on courtly literature, women's

patronage is understood as a powerful force. In both genres, "motifs suggest a strong pattern of complimenting, even supporting, the lady by enhancing the powers and roles of women characters" (p. 108). Ferrante does find that histories written for women were more common than those written by women. Patrons, and often those who wrote for them, admired women who were active and forceful (p. 106).

In sum, Ferrante pays close attention to historical questions concerning women's authority and their capacity to influence events and people as seen through the lens of their texts or through what was written to or for them. She notes of histories and lives that she has examined texts in chronological order because she "has not been able to discern a clear difference in attitude or motivation" over time (p. 70). That is to say, while uses for histories and lives changed over the medieval centuries, their attitudes toward women did not. This claim will arouse some controversy, and, it should be noted, Ferrante's own dense coverage of many texts dwindles after the thirteenth century to only one highly eminent and exceptional woman writer of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries: Christine de Pizan. Perhaps the next work in the series picks up here, but there is still an intimation that the number of women exercising influence has dwindled.

SUSAN MOSHER STUARD
Haverford College

MARGARET ASTON and COLIN RICHMOND, editors. *Lollardy and the Gentry in the Later Middle Ages*. New York: St. Martin's. 1997. Pp. viii, 280. \$65.00.

Early in 1395, while Parliament was in session in Westminster Hall, unknown persons of Lollard persuasion posted on the door twelve "Conclusions," which, although there is no record of them in the Parliament Rolls, attracted enough attention for a Dominican prior, one Roger Dymmok, to expend a good deal of time and effort refuting them. The text gave some indication of being the work of theologically sophisticated laymen rather than of clergy. Furthermore, its use of the vernacular and its posting at Westminster Hall suggest that it was addressed to lay gentry such as those who sat in the Commons. Accordingly, the sexcentenary of the document was made the occasion for a conference at Newnham College, Cambridge, on the place of the gentry in the Lollard movement. This book edited by Margaret Aston and Colin Richmond, consists of papers presented there.

There is something mightily exhilarating about a gathering of scholars devoted to a subject that most of their colleagues deal with only peripherally. The exhilaration shows here. The contributors (five from Oxford; three from English redbrick universities; one each from an Irish, a Scottish, an American, and a Polish university; and one from the Public Record Office) enjoy their own and each other's work. They

write good, clear, comfortable prose and handle their sources with authority and imagination.

Unfortunately, the ethos of the occasion seems to have prevented conference participants from presenting their material in such a way as to be as useful as it might have been to scholars not fully privy to their enterprise. The "Conclusions" themselves are not printed here, and the footnote that tells the reader where to find them (p. 23 n. 1) includes one version that is incomplete and fails to warn against a number of bad versions on the market. Chapter three, by Fiona Somerset, on Dymmok's refutation, quotes an attack on Lollard doctrines that are not in the "Conclusions" (p. 66), and does not address the pacifist doctrine (Conclusion 11) that is, to me, the most surprising of the lot, as well as the most dangerous to the state. Chapters ten through twelve by Rob Lutton, Norman Tanner, and Andrew Hope, respectively, deal with the reign of Henry VIII, but we are offered no significant basis for evaluating events during the century and more that separates them from the "Conclusions."

Chapter eight, on lawyers by Maureen Svokowski, leaves me a little skeptical. It traces the careers of a half dozen legally trained men of affairs, not all of whom were full-time practitioners, and shows that they were connected in various ways with the Lollard movement. This seems to me not enough data to support the suggestion "that there might have been something which particularly attracted men in this profession to the heresy" (p. 166). This is a bit like demonstrating from a biography of William Kunstler that there was something that particularly attracted lawyers to the antiwar movement of the 1960s. Having spent my career among lawyers, I am aware that you can find all shades of opinion among them, but the conventional and the conservative will generally predominate.

I find that chapter two, by Anne Hudson, on secular occupations of the clergy, does not pay enough attention to the economic basis for such occupations. It was not merely because of "the clerical domination of education" (p. 47) that kings and magnates used clergy to fill their secular offices. If your administrative staff could be supported out of the revenues of ecclesiastical benefices in your gift—as clergy could and laymen could not—you could spend your disposable income on something else. I used to wonder why the Year Books were full of litigations over advowsons. This was, of course, the reason.

Chapter six, by A. K. McHardy, on the statute of 1400 providing for the writ *de heretico comburendo*, takes up the long-debated question of whether the king needed the statute to have people burned who were condemned for heresy by the church. The question is too complicated to take up here. The author sheds interesting light on it, but her treatment is impaired by two serious mistakes (p. 113). She assigns far too important a role to the controversial *Circumspecte Agatis* of 1285, and she fails to note that a statute of 1382 providing a streamlined procedure for arresting

heretics was annulled in the same year because the Commons had never assented to it.

None of these criticisms detracts from the core insight of the volume, which is that the various tenets of Lollardy appealed to many different members of the middle class, not all of whom were prepared to accept the whole package or go to the wall for any of it. Lollards and Catholics were far from being inflexible categories separated by a bright line distinction. Chapter nine, by Pawel Kras, with its comparison of the situation in Poland and Bohemia, where people were defined by whether they did or did not receive Communion in both kinds, is instructive in this regard. There was no such clear criterion in England.

It may be that the erosion of dogmatic stances in recent decades has left scholars open to a less sharply defined version of Lollardy. Avery Dulles, writing in *America* (June 20, 1998), points to an increasing number of Christians for whom "orthodoxy is not a high priority." This may not be the only period in which such Christians have figured significantly in church life.

ROBERT E. RODES, JR.
Notre Dame Law School

JOEL T. ROSENTHAL. *Old Age in Late Medieval England*. (Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 260. \$39.95.

According to Joel T. Rosenthal, this study takes a haphazard approach, expressed in a series of discourses, to understanding how medieval people viewed old age. It is not a work of serious demography, Rosenthal writes, but rather an attempt to illustrate the dissonance (pp. 5, 97, 183, 187) that existed between the medieval literary construct of the brevity of life, on the one hand, and the actual experiences of medieval men and women, on the other.

Part one, "Some Data and Data Sets," begins with a look at late medieval inquisitions post mortem. Rosenthal exposes interesting elements here, which present the appearance of precision. These inquests into the age of a new heir can, in spite of bureaucratic manipulation, be used to reveal social truths about perceptions of old age. Chapter two, "Proofs of Age," refers to testimony about the age of new heirs, part of the inquisitions. Here the author deals with the interrelationships of individual memory and the often fictive mnemonic devices individuals employed, social or collective memory, and the written record created in the midst of "ritualized public theater" (p. 34). Rosenthal scrutinizes the ages of the juror-witnesses, illustrating the ubiquity and active presence of the elderly, who regularly played a part in these processes. A dispute over the right to proclaim and display a heraldic device, which broke out during the 1380s between Sir Richard Scrope and the knight Sir Robert Grosvenor, forms the matter for chapter three. Rosenthal looks at the case, fought out in the Court of Chivalry and eventually won by Scrope in 1390, not so

much for the principals involved, but for the hundreds of witnesses called by both sides. Their depositions suggest how authority and age were correlated. (For 53 percent, text p. 46, read 55 percent, and for 37 percent, text p. 47, read 24 percent; corrections based on Table 3-1.)

Part two, on three-generation families, discourses on linkages between grandparents and grandchildren. This somewhat inconsequential chapter is followed by another that attempts to view the same linkages through hundreds of last wills and testaments between Henry IV and Henry VII. Rosenthal finds that these intractable materials shed little light on age and age spread (p. 77). Chapter six, using some aristocratic genealogies from late in the reign of Edward III to the end of the fifteenth century, completes this section.

Part three, "Full Lives and Careers: Some Case Studies," deals with retirement from public life of members of the lay and ecclesiastical upper crust, based on self-proclaimed illness and/or old age. "Retirement," Rosenthal points out, was also used when alterations in administrative staff were desired, for whatever reasons. At a lesser level, the Calendars of the Letter Books of the City of London reveal a public recognition that some aged men needed, or deserved, release from public duties. Another source that Rosenthal plumbs is retirement within the ranks of the church. Naturally, bishops, canons, abbots, and monks were better cared for within the context of their own institutions than were humble parish priests. The author concludes that there seems to have been little public perception of the need for the aged to step aside for younger men. Chapter eight, on careers and case studies among the peers, articulates further some of the matter of the preceding chapter, here dealing with members of parliament, secular peers, prelates, and knights. Chapters nine and ten continue this exploration among bishops and, finally, among men and women of letters, a chapter replete with interesting anecdotes.

Part four, "Searching for a Context," contains a single chapter on "Old Age Within and Across Cultures." After a dip into classical antiquity's literary views, Pope Innocent III's pessimistic views, and medieval schemes for dividing up the stages of life, Rosenthal concludes—despite his comment that "There is no precise conclusion to these essays" (p. 171)—that ubiquity of the aged was a marked aspect of late medieval English society, and that there was no social consensus that the aged should be marginalized. One line from chapter eight could have been included here: "We estimate that the average life span for men in late medieval Europe who reached at least age 20 or 21 ran into the early or mid-50s" (p. 124).

The book is charmingly written, sometimes meandering and repetitive, and loaded with disclaimers that become somewhat redundant. It is a useful corrective to an *obiter dictum*, emanating from Marc Bloch, that the medieval world was governed by young men. There

is an extensive, extremely useful collection of notes and a nineteen-page bibliography.

R. C. FINUCANE
Oakland University

JONATHAN HUGHES. *The Religious Life of Richard III: Piety and Prayer in the North of England*. Foreword by JEREMY CATTO. Stroud, U.K.: Sutton. 1997. Pp. xiv, 209. \$72.00.

Jonathan Hughes advances an intriguing thesis. His Richard III was indelibly marked by his long residence, as boy and man, in Yorkshire. As a result, he was an adherent of old-fashioned chivalric values and a man of deep personal piety, given to introspective prayer. In this he was at odds with what Hughes characterizes as the "secularist Stoicism" fashionable at the court of his brother, Edward IV. The next step, one might think, would be the standard whitewashing of Richard as the noble innocent traduced by Tudor propaganda. But Hughes accepts in full the traditional view of Richard's crimes; indeed, he seems to be prepared to accept uncritically Polydore Vergil's account of his nightmare on the eve of Bosworth. Hughes holds Richard responsible not only for the deaths of his nephews but also for those of Henry VI and of Henry's son Edward. Richard in prayer is seen as conscious of his own sins, deeply penitent, taking comfort through the psalms from the model of the flawed King David, but also as superstitious, using prayer instrumentally to invoke not merely God's protection but the scattering of his own enemies. There was also a degree of self-righteousness, not least in his castigation of others, including his mother, for sexual license.

Unfortunately, the hypothesis is not well anchored in evidence. Richard's piety is said to be an example of the "mixed life," that combination of introspection and involvement in the world that, as Hughes argued in *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire* (1988), had evolved in the north during the fourteenth century as a lay adaptation of the devotional teachings of Richard Rolle, Walter Hilton, and others. It is difficult to see why this should be understood, by the late fifteenth century, as a particularly "northern" characteristic. Showing that descendants of Rolle's aristocratic patrons were among Richard's supporters a century or so later stretches rather far the argument of guilt (or credit) by association. More important, Hughes bases much of his argument on the contents of a book of hours that once belonged to Richard. A study of this by Anne Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs was published as *The Hours of Richard III* in 1991. As Hughes acknowledges, the book of hours was written about 1420 and acquired much later by Richard. During his reign, there was added a long prayer citing God's aid to a host of scriptural sufferers, culminating in Christ himself, and including mention of *Ricardum regem*. This prayer caused some stir when it was first published in 1973 as a personal statement by Richard, but it has now been

shown, by Eamon Duffy as well as by Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, to have been an adaptation of a widely used prayer, customized by the insertion of Richard's name. Hughes's case is based on the belief that a prayer book can be used to explore the inner life of its user: a debatable point, even if the book were specially written for the user, and in this case, where that is manifestly not so, far from convincing. Close reading by the historian may not be paralleled by similar close reading by the user, however, tempting it may be to imagine that it was.

The book's premise is flawed. The reader's confidence is further undermined by an embarrassing number of sheer errors (for example, Cardinal Wolsey's visitation of religious houses in 1532), as well as by a highly defective index.

C. S. L. DAVIES
University of Oxford

ANNE WINSTON-ALLEN. *Stories of the Rose: The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 210. \$28.50.

This is a book that taught me things I did not know, untaught me things I thought I did know, entertained me, and frustrated me. I had always thought that the rosary was a twelfth and thirteenth-century phenomenon and that its popularity owed much to an early association with St. Dominic; even if that association were dubious, surely the Dominicans played a key role in the dissemination of this most familiar devotion. That is not the way it was.

Through research in unfamiliar and unpublished sources, Anne Winston-Allen shows how the rosary as we know it came to consist of fifteen groups of ten recitations of the "Hail Mary," with "Our Father" beginning and "Glory be to the Father" concluding each "decade." That format took shape fully only in the late fifteenth century. The rosary itself arose from a combination of the Marian psalter, serial meditations on the life of Jesus Christ, exegetical themes derived from the Song of Solomon, and prayer counters.

Prayer counters predate Christianity. During the Middle Ages, they were sometimes used by regular clergy to keep track of their devotions and sometimes by lay people so that they could engage in ritualized, repetitive prayer like the Divine Office celebrated daily by the regulars. So much for the beads. The name rosary comes from *Rosenkranz*, meaning "rose garland" or "rose garden." Here is where the Song of Solomon comes in. Christian lore had long associated undefiled virginity with a rose. Commentaries on the Song of Songs interpreted the chastity of an as yet undefiled bride as an enclosed garden. The bride in the Song came to be seen as Mary, so an enclosed garden came to be a symbol of Mary's perpetual virginity. By the time of the institution of the feast of the Immaculate Conception (ca. 1140), the enclosed garden had become more particularly a symbol of Mary's womb.

The rosary involves the recitation of 150 Hail Marys, or sometimes of three "chaplets" of fifty. The Hail Mary itself has a complicated history. The prayer has its source in Luke's account (1:42) of the greeting bestowed by Elizabeth on Mary: "Blessed are you among women and blessed is the fruit of your womb." The use of these words as a separate prayer may go back as far as the seventh century. Peter Damian helped to popularize the prayer in the eleventh century and the Cistercians did so in the twelfth. As a prayer, Luke's words got "Hail Mary" appended to them at some point, and "Jesus" was added in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The concluding verse of the familiar form of the prayer—"Holy Mary, mother of God, pray for us sinners now and at the hour of our death"—was added in the sixteenth century.

Between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries, clerics and sometimes laity combined a "Marian Psalter" of 150 "Hail Marys" with meditations on the life of Christ. It is an open question, resolved neither by Winston-Allen nor perhaps by her evidence, whether this form of devotion was understood primarily as Christ-centered or Mary-centered. What is clear is that in the late fifteenth century, confraternities arose that emphasized the rosary devotion in one or another of the forms that the rosary had by then assumed. One founded in 1475 attracted 100,000 members in seven years.

All of the innovators in rosary devotion had roots in the late medieval Observant Movement, a broad spiritual reform that called for a stricter observation of traditional spiritualities and a heightened personal devotion. Although the Dominicans were prominent in the early stages, it was in fact the Carthusians of Trier who led the way. The success of the rosary had, according to Winston-Allen, several causes: its popularity with women; its consonance with movements for moral and spiritual improvement; its guarantee of secular benefits such as good health, abundant crops, and protection from brigands; the opportunity to draw on the vast "treasury of merit" of the Dominican order; its acquisition of "supplemental insurance" against purgatory; its absence of class or economic boundaries; and its coherence with the contemporary emphasis on indulgences (the first significant indulgences dated from 1476). The rosary was popularized by testimonials (*exempla*) and popular songs.

Winston-Allen has performed a notable service in teasing out these threads of a long and complicated story. Still, her work fails to satisfy in some respects. The book is poorly organized and annoyingly repetitive. The author says that she will "study the relationship between externals of devotional practice and inward faith" (p. 6), but this she does not accomplish. More thought could have been given to the connection between the rosary and the Observants. Sources pertaining to the rosary are heavily German. Why? The devotion was, Winston-Allen says, especially popular with women (at Colmar, fifty-seven percent of confraternists were women), but she cites on this topic one

book dealing with Italy. There is a larger story to tell. Knowing that something was widely popularized is not the same as knowing that it was popular. To connect the rosary with indulgences and "mathematical" piety is to resort to clichés, not to explain. This is a good and valuable book, but it does not speak as fully as it might have done either to specialists in literature, the author's field, or to historians, the audience she seems to be addressing.

THOMAS F. X. NOBLE
University of Virginia

MODERN EUROPE

BERT S. HALL. *Weapons and Warfare in Renaissance Europe: Gunpowder, Technology, and Tactics*. (Johns Hopkins Studies in the History of Technology, number 22.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 300. \$29.95.

Francis Bacon's remark in 1620 that gunpowder, along with the magnetic compass and printing press, had "changed the appearance and state of the whole world" sums up a view that has since become commonplace: the idea of "progress" in military technology as a constant process of adaptation. Although the general picture of the adoption of firearms has long been clear, Bert S. Hall's study of the subject in the period 1300–1600, concentrating largely on Western Europe, brings some welcome insights from the discipline of the history of science to a subject that is too easily taken for granted. In doing this, Hall makes clear that the adoption of firearms in warfare was a very slow process, conditioned by existing military technology and the configurations of society. In the initial centuries of gunpowder warfare, firearms were often no great improvement on existing ballistic arms, and they took a very long time to become established as a decisive arm on the battlefield.

Hall combines a good grasp of military history with an understanding of the history of technology. He points out that the idea that medieval warfare was dominated by cavalry until swept away by firearms is largely a myth; few battles were decided by cavalry attacks and often knights dismounted for battle. In fact, the castle was a *point d'appui* for all sorts of military operations. As for infantry, their success either as pikemen or archers depended on the social and cultural milieu from which they came, and advantages in this respect were not universally available. The English during the Hundred Years War obviously had access to a supply of archers that gave them the advantage over the French despite often inferior numbers, but it was this, combined with the tactics used by English commanders, that tended to win the day. Archers themselves did not so much win battles as "shape" the enemy into a "killing field" in which the dismounted men-at-arms could get to work. As for pikemen, these could only succeed when combined in strong, mutually supportive groups, such as the Swiss.

The main question, of course, is why the initially unsatisfactory technology of firearms displaced reasonably workable existing armaments. In fourteenth-century battles, guns were, of course, used as novel adjuncts with which it was hoped to alarm the enemy. It was John Ziska's Hussites who used wagon-loaded guns to greater effect in the wars of the 1420s. Gunpowder warfare emerged most saliently, though, in connection with siegecraft; the first great gun batteries were constructed by the French monarchy in the course of its determination to reduce English-held fortresses in the fifteenth century, while handguns, used widely from fortifications (especially in Germany), were inappropriate for open battle as they could not be protected or fire in sufficient concentration. Only gradually were they adopted during the sixteenth century in the defense of fieldwork parapets and then in conjunction with pikes.

All this is fairly familiar ground, although Hall's analysis of the fourteenth and fifteenth-century battlefield is always lucid. What gives great value to the work is its conjunction with a technical analysis of the development of "black powder" and its implications for firearms construction. It is of crucial importance that the price of gunpowder fell by a half between 1380 and 1420 as a result of the inception of new saltpeter manufacturing methods that also influenced the design of the firearms. Early makers were rather like bakers or brewers in experimenting with proportions of ingredients and the process of "corning," a key fifteenth-century development that was crucial to the speed of combustion. Europe was short of natural saltpeter and this had to be developed through trial and error by creating nitrate production beds through slow experimentation. Once mixed, the resultant black powder was, however, apt to be hygroscopic, and "corning" or granulation was the only answer to this—as well as an aid to the rapidity of combustion. This had difficult implications in that rapid combustion posed a serious threat of explosion for the early forged iron guns. There was, as in all new technologies, a bewildering variation of gun types in terms of shape, caliber, and length with concomitant baroque terminology, but by the late fifteenth century, a trend toward longer gun barrels and cast bronze bodies had become established.

In his analysis, Hall gives the reader unversed in technical language a useful entry into the processes at work and cautions against what he calls a "Darwinian" approach, emphasizing instead the contradictory and sometimes circular developments. As for handguns, "matchlock" arquebuses, as developed in the fifteenth century, benefited from rapid-acting corned powder in that it alone enabled such small-caliber guns to fire projectiles at supersonic velocities. The guns described were, of course, smoothbore rather than rifled. Modern tests and eighteenth-century reports indicate that, for smoothbore handguns, accuracy on target could seldom have exceeded twenty percent and was more usually five percent, although for artillery accuracy it

may have been greater as a result of the greater velocity. The handgun, although cheap and widely available by the sixteenth century, thus had certain insuperable problems in its effectiveness.

Hall concludes his work with a useful discussion of the place of these technological developments in the "military revolution" of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in particular the part played by gunpowder technology in army growth, which is often seen as a key feature of that phenomenon. He questions whether it was gunpowder that fueled the process, pointing out that late medieval armies were often much larger than is commonly assumed and that for most European armies, it was the seventeenth century that saw significant growth. Hall therefore posits a series of overlapping changes. In this, as in other fields of technological development, change came in highly uneven bursts rather than as a constant process. After the wheel-lock pistol in the sixteenth century, there were few further fundamental innovations rather than adaptations, and a technical stasis set in; most significant technological innovations had taken place by 1600 and between then and the early nineteenth century only marginal changes took place in the ballistic performance of firearms. Knock-out victories had become more difficult to achieve, and emphasis was placed on the defensive. It was this, he argues, more than any other feature, which directed the growth of army size. Hall manages to integrate his technical discussion into a refreshing reinterpretation of general military history in the period, and his book is an engrossing read.

DAVID POTTER

University of Kent

A. LYNN MARTIN. *Plague? Jesuit Accounts of Epidemic Disease in the Sixteenth Century*. (Sixteenth Century Studies, number 28.) Kirksville, Mo.: Sixteenth Century Journal. 1996. Pp. xiv, 268. \$35.00.

Since 1975–1976, when Jean-Noël Biraben produced his classic study of the disease in early modern France, our knowledge of the plague pandemic that hit Western Europe in 1347 and lasted until 1721 has been steadily enriched by a growing number of national and local studies, such as Paul Slack's *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (1985) and Ann Carmichael's *Plague and Power in Renaissance Florence* (1986). A. Lynn Martin finds space in an otherwise crowded field by studying the pandemic through a hitherto completely neglected source: the quarterly and later annual letters that the superiors of Jesuit missions and colleges wrote to the Society's General in Rome, detailing their activities. These letters, which until 1600 at least were carefully preserved in the order's Roman archives, have been used frequently by religious and educational historians as a source for studying the Counter Reformation. Martin, a distinguished historian of the Jesuit order in France, is the first to perceive their value as a source for the history of medicine. Not only do the letters provide details of

the epidemic diseases from which the Jesuits themselves suffered. More importantly, as the outbreak of a virulent epidemic could seriously compromise the Jesuits' ability to continue their religious and educational activities, they offer valuable testimony about the course, mortality, and methods of policing these diseases in the second half of the sixteenth century. The amount of information that Martin has uncovered in the Jesuit archives is impressive. In the course of research, he has found 1,500 letters mentioning epidemic diseases, the majority concerning cases of plague. Listed in the appendix by country are 572 outbreaks in the second half of the sixteenth century, covering 215 locations stretching from Portugal to the Ukraine.

The use of this new source, it must be said, does not really produce any novel information about the plague pandemic. Rather, it confirms what many historians have suspected: that the cycle that began with the Black Death was not the disease called plague studied by twentieth-century epidemiologists. There is a similarity certainly in the symptoms, especially the appearance of the characteristic bubo, but scant evidence that the disease was disseminated in a similar manner. Modern accounts of plague insist that an outbreak of the disease in the human population is preceded by a sudden rise in rat mortality and that the disease is not contagious: as the disease can only be contracted by a bite from the flea *X. cheopis*, it is uncommon for more than one individual per household to be infected. The Jesuit sources, on the other hand, confirm the pattern that has emerged from earlier studies of the early modern pandemic. There are no references in the letters to an unusually high rate of rat deaths in the months preceding the epidemic, while the ease with which those in contact with the sick themselves contracted the plague suggests that diseased fleas were not the only agent of transmission. For this reason Martin prefers to talk of the pest, a contemporary name for the disease, not the ambiguous "plague"—hence, too, the book's rather curious title.

The strength of the book comes not so much from its statistics but from its human side. The letters, however much they may be written according to a standard rhetorical format, offer graphic accounts of the virulence of the plague and the fear it engendered. As often as possible, Martin lets the Jesuits speak for themselves, devoting a whole chapter simply to Jesuit narratives of the affliction. What emerges is a relatively positive view of the order itself. In the course of the 1575–1577 plague epidemic in Italy, members of the society came under attack from Charles Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan, for preferring to flee the malady rather than succour the sick and dying. This accusation, Martin shows, was unfair. Admittedly the Jesuits did not throw away their lives with the same abandon as the Capuchins. Rather, they behaved sensibly, given that they were still a relatively small order with only 3,000 members but widespread spiritual and educational commitments. The majority of the members

therefore were sent out of harm's way, while individual Jesuits were sent into the war zone to confess the dying. In this way, the society ensured that it had its roll-call of martyrs but at the same time lived to fight another day. As it was, it lost 500 members to the plague in the course of the period, although only ninety-two were "victims of charity."

This is a book as much about reactions to the plague as about the plague as a disease entity, and it is the former that it is of most interest to the historian. Compared with the fatalism of many Protestants in the face of disease, or the seemingly suicidal behavior of the Capuchins, the Jesuits seem modern men. Although they never doubted the power of prayer or that the plague might be a divine sign, they also put their faith in prophylaxis, quarantine, and secular medicine. As in their normal day-to-day activities, they worked with local authorities rather than against them and thereby ensured that even in a time of plague, their foothold in the community was not undermined.

LAURENCE BROCKLISS
University of Oxford

JOHN F. MOFFITT and SANTIAGO SEBASTIÁN. *O Brave New People: The European Invention of the American Indian*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 399. \$55.00.

This book by John F. Moffitt and Santiago Sebastián appears, at first glance, to be a blast from the historiographical past. Readers of such standard works as Robert Berkhofer, Jr.'s *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (1979) and Olive Patricia Dickason's *The Myth of the Savage and the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas* (1984) will find much that is familiar. Early modern Europeans invented perniciously enduring stereotypes about Indians, images rooted almost entirely in their own fantasies and fears rather than in empirical data. Those familiar with such more recent, theoretically sophisticated studies as Stephen Greenblatt's *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (1991), Anthony Pagden's *European Encounters with the New World: From Renaissance to Romanticism* (1992), or Gordon M. Sayre's *Les Sauvages Américains: Representations of Native Americans in French and English Colonial Literature* (1997) will be disappointed in a book that openly disavows "the imposition of the kind of theoretical constructs that so bedevil current, postmodernist academic writing" (p. 3).

Nonetheless, this product of a long collaboration between Moffitt and the late Sebastián has at least three great strengths. First, as art historians, the authors bring to visual materials an attention to detail seldom available to more text-oriented scholars. Second, as specialists in Renaissance art, they take medieval and classical influences on those materials seriously as systems of belief rather than mere artistic conventions. These first two strengths especially come together in their analysis of the meaning of the term

India to fifteenth-century Europeans. When Christopher Columbus reported that he had found "Paradise-on-Earth" on "the Indian Islands, Located Beyond the Ganges River, Which Have Just Been Newly Rediscovered," Moffitt and Sebastián argue, he was not merely compounding a geographic error with rhetorical exaggeration. Instead, "as employed by Columbus, the term precisely meant a specific place described in the Book of Genesis as having been initially inhabited by Adam and Eve," a place Columbus and contemporary artists and mapmakers sincerely believed still existed at the extreme tip of the Indian subcontinent (p. 16). This framework of ideas about an Indian Eden provides a compelling context for the many descriptions of "Indians" as pre- or postlapsarian inhabitants of an early paradise. It also helps to explain why explorers, mapmakers, and illustrators peopled the Americas with every lurid humanoid type found in the pages of *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (1356–1357) and other Indian subcontinent travel fantasies.

The third strength of Moffitt and Sebastián is their effort to reconstruct the ways in which early modern viewers actually experienced images of alleged Native Americans. They are particularly effective in contextualizing dozens of woodcut and copperplate illustrations that previous historians have considered in isolation from the books in which they first appeared. When placed against the texts—and in light of the fact that European illustrators nearly always worked solely from written descriptions rather than illustrations from life—it becomes clear that the visual images were *entirely* products of European imaginations rather than American experience. Illustrators appear to have made almost no attempt to render details about Native American appearance and behavior contained in explorers's written accounts with any accuracy. Instead, they reproduced stock images of "savages," "wild men," "Amazons," and "cannibals" familiar from books written well before 1492. Few publications went as far as a 1554 edition of Francisco López de Gómara's *Historia General de las Indias y Nuevo Mundo mas la conquista del Perú y de México* that recycled a set of illustrations originally drawn for a 1520 edition of Livy's history of Rome. Yet most had little more relevance to the subjects they purported to illustrate.

The same disconnection from American reality apparent in negative stereotypes also applied in more positive, and presumably accurate, contexts. The famous illustrations of Theodore de Bry—most of which took as their originals the watercolors that Englishman John White painted at Roanoke in 1585—were, Moffitt and Sebastián argue, part of a concerted effort by Philip II's Dutch Protestant opponents to promulgate the "Black Legend" of Spanish cruelty to Native Americans. In this politicized context, de Bry's images, far from attempting to convey accurate information about Native Americans, added to "the Noble and Ignoble Indian tropes" a new, third stereotype: "the figure of the 'Doomed Indian'" (p. 303).

Despite its strengths and its several fine insights, this

book is frustrating to read. The fifty-nine illustrations that are the core of its evidence are mostly small, frequently blurred, and sometimes virtually indecipherable. One has to take it on faith, for example, that the poorly reproduced medieval and Renaissance *mappamundi* actually place Eden in India (pp. 22, 23, 28, 36, 39). Moreover, the text, composed of chapters mostly written separately rather than jointly by the two authors is frequently repetitive, not just in concepts but in specifics. Most notably, Amerigo Vespucci's overheated 1504 description of the alleged sexual and culinary appetites of Native Americans is quoted at great length in two separate chapters (pp. 144–151, 266–269), confusingly enough using slightly different translations. Throughout, details pile up and digressions are indulged, but connections are not always clearly drawn. Alas, this is not the focused, concise, and, especially, well-illustrated book it might have been—and that might have done its material more justice.

DANIEL K. RICHTER
Dickinson College

EMMANUEL LE ROY LADURIE. *The Beggar and the Professor: A Sixteenth-Century Family Saga*. Translated by ARTHUR GOLDHAMMER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1997. Pp. 407. \$29.95.

In 1975, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie published his now-classic study, *Montaillou, village occitan de 1294 à 1324*, and helped to invent micro-history. Nearly twenty-five years later, he returns to the genre with a portrait of the sixteenth century as refracted through the experiences of Thomas and Felix Platter, father and son. Although the earlier study resolutely limited itself to one generation of medieval village life in the Pyrenees, this book spans the entire sixteenth century and ranges across much of Switzerland, western Germany, and France. *Montaillou's* success lay in its ability to show peasants and shepherders, Cathars and Inquisitors, through the lens of historical reconstruction, with remarkable detail and intimacy. This book, too, brings the period to life but with less success. It may be that we have grown jaded with the virtues of micro-history, that the novelty has simply worn off. Unfortunately, it is also the case that the book in question tends to lack coherence and often leaves the reader adrift in a sea of details and digressions whose import is rarely made clear.

The book is divided into two parts. The first presents the life of Thomas Platter (1499–1582), a true autodidact whose grit and intelligence brought him from the mountains of the Valais to solid respectability as a printer and teacher in Basel; the second focuses on his son Felix (1536–1614), who ultimately found a measure of renown as a physician. Le Roy Ladurie has not rescued the Platters from obscurity. All three Platters (Thomas, his son Thomas Jr. from a second marriage, and Felix) had their portraits painted, and Felix's published medical writings and his successful career

made him prominent. All left behind autobiographical writings that have long been prized by historians as sources on daily life in the sixteenth century. But Le Roy Ladurie is the first to seize on the Platter memoirs as a means of reconstructing the life history of this family across the generations.

The story is a fascinating one that combines a tale of spectacular social advancement and professional formation with a long travelogue across Europe, casting a spotlight along the way on the realities and varieties of life behind those two big historical categories, "Renaissance and Reformation." Thomas Platter's life history is perhaps the more unusual of the two, although told within a narrower compass. Beginning with his virtual abandonment by his widowed mother, he spent his early years as a goatherd and vagabond: Thomas is the beggar in the book's title. Despite only intermittent schooling, he managed to learn to read and write. By the time he was twenty-three, only five years after Martin Luther burst on the scene, the young man who once aspired to become a priest had embraced the Reformation. He set out to learn, simultaneously, Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Soon, after a stint as a ropemaker, Thomas established himself as a teacher of Hebrew in Basel. Later he became a printer and indeed earned distinction as publisher of the first edition of John Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536). At thirty, he married the daughter of an impoverished branch of a once distinguished family and proceeded to produce children: two daughters died in early childhood and another at the age of sixteen. Felix, the last child and only son, was the only one to survive into adulthood.

His story is more straightforward, but given the range of his travels it serves to illuminate the cosmopolitan, urban world of the mid-sixteenth century. Felix had a privileged upbringing common among the "patrician bourgeoisie" to which his father's success had assured the family access, although, given his debts, these privileges were more cultural than material. Encouraged by his father and inspired by medical books he printed, which lay about the house, Felix decided at an early age to become a physician. Nearly half the book follows the course of his itinerant pursuit of his profession: his long journey from Basel to Montpellier, where he earned his bachelor and master's degrees in medicine; his Parisian years; his triumphant return home in 1557 after five years' absence; his success in attaining his doctoral degree at the age of twenty-one; and his betrothal and marriage to the daughter of a prosperous surgeon. Along the way, the reader is treated to a series of miniature monographs on the Swiss, German, and French cities in which Felix sojournd. To anyone interested in sixteenth-century urban life, these pages are both interesting and frustrating; they offer a range of detail on all aspects of city culture but lack any analytical or comparative approach that might have served to organize the material. Still, one can not help being struck by the variety, vitality, and cosmopolitanism of these

cities before the outbreak of the Wars of Religion, which would prove violently disruptive and polarizing for so many of them.

Indeed, one of the virtues of Le Roy Ladurie's book, as with all good micro-histories, is that it affords us a view of the past that breaks through ready-made, often constraining historical categories. Here we have a family that was steeped in the Reformation from the beginning, whose members never stopped thinking of themselves as opposed to the strange, "priestly" customs of the Roman Catholic Church. And yet they were "Renaissance men" as well: printers and scholars, cosmopolitan and well-travelled, self-made and innovative, polyglot and, in their social relations at least, confessionally rather tolerant. There was no contradiction between these two aspects of their identity, nor was there any sense that one was more important than the other. Rather, their confessional identity and cultural orientation melded into a single family ethos.

One of the criticisms of *Montaillou* was that it did not examine sufficiently the nature and formation of the single document on which it was based. That oversight is apparent here as well: Le Roy Ladurie has virtually nothing to say about the various memoirs the Platters left behind. He adds only a short note in the bibliography, which mentions that Thomas Sr. "was working in the Renaissance tradition of Petrarch's *Epistolae familiares*," while Felix was writing in the new tradition of the "modern travel account" (p. 381). These frustratingly cryptic comments suggest that a fuller discussion was clearly warranted. How and when these works were produced; what models, ancient and modern, their authors employed; whether some form of publication was envisioned: such question might have been addressed in order to convey a surer sense of what these learned men had in mind as they composed the memoirs upon which the book is largely based.

As usual, Arthur Goldhammer's translation is superb, capturing the sometimes breezy, always diverting style of this master historian who is always worth reading, even when the book in question is not his best.

ROBERT A. SCHNEIDER

Catholic University of America

LAURENCE FONTAINE. *History of Pedlars in Europe*. Translated by VICKI WHITTAKER. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1996. Pp. 280. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$17.95.

Laurence Fontaine's study abounds in color and surprises. She recounts family histories such as that of the Brentanos from the valleys around Lake Como, traveling with their oranges and spices to Basel and Frankfurt and developing their enterprises in succeeding generations from Amsterdam to Vienna. Well-chosen details raise apt questions. Is it not surprising, for example, that at least fourteen of the seventeen booksellers in Lisbon in the second half of the eighteenth century were from the Briançonnais? Or that a

merchant would provide in his will that he be buried, masses said, and alms distributed either in his mountain village of Auris or in Moulins, depending on where death caught up with him?

Fontaine systematically challenges the stereotype drawn first by contemporaries and then by historians that cast pedlars as economic flotsam from their home communities or as delinquent outsiders in the lowland communities they traversed. She explains how they made peddling into a viable strategy for subsistence and how success in their trade advanced their economic and social status in the mountain villages to which they periodically returned.

The core of Fontaine's primary research is focused on the Alpine region of the Briançonnais, where small villages produced generations of itinerant traders, ranging from the indebted peasant who strapped a pack to his back to the long-term emigrant merchant established in Lyon, Paris, or as far away as Rio de Janeiro. She combines this research with critical comparisons across Europe, using Margaret Spufford's pathbreaking work, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England: Petty Chapmen and their Wares in the Seventeenth Century* (1984) and other monographs on Italy, Germany, and Spain.

This work offers social historians a nuanced picture of the place of pedlars in early modern Europe, documenting their presence in each of the sites crucial to their vocation: their village homes, their centers of operation in major towns, and the back-road patterns of itinerancy they organized away from the main streams of commerce in town and market. Noting that archives from a single site of a pedlar's activities provide a truncated view, Fontaine takes pains to reconstitute from disparate sources the networks between mountains and lowlands, showing how merchants used their profits to enlarge landholdings around their villages for grazing of herds; how they drew on their compatriots' need for employment, cash, and credit to recruit packmen and other laborers; and how they apprenticed their own family members to a far-flung trade.

Fontaine also traces the evolution of the peddling trades, their clientele, and their wares, arguing that pedlars played significant cultural roles. True to William Shakespeare's portrayal of Autolycus in *A Winter's Tale*, they purveyed novelty, small luxuries, and glimpses of a larger world; the book trade mingled with the sale of songs, prints, ribbons, and pins. The elite merchants of the peddling trade were "the privileged intermediaries of an intellectual openness between the village and the social circles which they frequented in town for business, or perhaps even for pleasure" (p. 179).

Finally, we learn how pedlars responded to the economic changes of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, how they sought out new niches—the florists, for example, who brought back ornamental plants, bulbs, and seed from Latin America and the Middle East—and how finally they withdrew from

the trade in the face of expanded marketing networks that bypassed the itinerant entrepreneur.

Perhaps Fontaine's least secure claims are those that associate the demise of the trade with a change in cultural values. These remarks are suggestive, however, and based on a wide range of sources. The work as a whole will no doubt inspire research to provide further comparisons with Fontaine's richly elaborated local material. Although not attempting to provide equivalent documentation for every region, Fontaine has set out an exemplary comparative treatment that will be of use to a broad audience of social, economic, and cultural historians.

THOMAS M. ADAMS
Washington, D.C.

MICHAEL PRINZ. *Brot und Dividende: Konsumvereine in Deutschland und England vor 1914*. (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 112.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1996. Pp. 404. DM 78.

Consumer cooperatives are among the more interesting modern social movements, not only because of numerical size—in some times and places their membership exceeded that of trade union movements—but also because of the ambiguous significance of their activities. Consumer cooperatives are competitive enterprises and social institutions, attempting to reconcile market rationality with the needs and interests of distinct classes and member groups. They have been agents both for modern consumerism and for changing it. Perhaps most striking of all is the way in which they were made the objects of exaggerated hopes for the socialization of the entire economy by some, while others dismissed them. One could say that the academic historical profession, especially in Germany, has been among the groups that have paid them scant attention.

Michael Prinz provides the first book-length history of German consumer cooperatives in twenty-five years and the first critical, professional study in three generations—and he throws in a study of the English movement for comparison. In both countries, by small steps and with meager resources, the consumer cooperative was able to become "a local power" (p. 293) in working-class communities. But Prinz shows that German cooperatives were undervalued by their allies in the labor movement "in the same measure that they were overestimated by their enemies" (p. 305). Unlike its British counterpart, German consumer cooperation fell afoul of class and political antagonisms. Prinz's interest is in the organizational models and structures of consumer self-help. The history of food (of the lower classes' preoccupation with the necessities of life) and the history of retailing set the context. Prinz carefully connects consumer cooperation to the experience of other forms of self-help and to the labor movement in general. By thus situating his subject, he goes beyond previous institutional histories and demonstrates the merits of a fresh academic treatment.

This is comparative international history. The portion of the book on England, at seventy-five pages, is shorter and less original than the German portion, but it is well researched (with British sources) and perceptive. Prinz stresses the social heterogeneity, the self-confidence, and the apolitical nature of the English movement, and above all its acceptance by English society. The organizational importance of the Rochdale cooperative model comes to the fore: the existence of a proven, persuasive formula helped co-operators both in England and abroad to focus their efforts and to circumvent painful stages of argument and experimentation.

In analyzing the German movement, the weight of Prinz's research lies in the formative period from the 1840s to the 1880s. His analysis of different forms of self-help in the 1840s-1850s, illuminating direct connections between early workers' movements and later cooperatives, is a welcome corrective to histories that begin with and focus on the "great man," Hermann Schulze-Delitzsch, father (it is often said) of the German cooperative movement. After long experimentation, a coherent model for consumer cooperation was established and began to spread in the 1860s. It reached its full size only after the 1890s, with the influx of ever-larger numbers of urban workers. This paved the way for the 1910 alignment, by mutual consent, of most consumer cooperatives with Social Democracy.

Prinz believes this increasing politicization contrasted with English cooperatives' experience; so, too, did the increasing opposition. The key difference between the English and German experiences lay in the political strength, in Germany, of the lower-middle class. Artisans and shopkeepers, through agitational lobby groups and through their own cooperatives, led a backlash against consumer cooperation in the 1890s and early 1900s. Special taxes, disciplining of civil servants, and police harassment were obstacles faced by the German movement but not the English.

Though well researched and written, this book is not comprehensive. It is difficult to survey a mass social movement (much less two of them) in a single volume. One could wish for more of a sense of what local consumer cooperatives actually did, what went on in the minds of the leaders and the daily lives of the members. Movements are built not only of organizations—Prinz's main interest—but also of ideologies and praxis. It is symptomatic that a prominent leader and propagandist like Heinrich Kaufmann—part of the "Hamburger Richtung" that, as Prinz notes, dominated the movement in the 1890s—is not mentioned in the index or, as far as I could tell, in the text. The smaller Catholic consumer movement is mentioned, but its different and explicitly antisocialist leadership and ideology are not analyzed. Also not comprehensive is the general omission of the contribution of Christian Socialists in England, especially Edward Vansittart Neale. More analysis of middle-class reformers like these would have increased the similari-

ties and reduced the differences Prinz found between the two movements. It may be that cooperatives everywhere, not only German ones, are founded with outside facilitation and in reliance on key individuals.

Prinz particularly neglects the ideology of the movement when he ahistorically dismisses the terminology of paying "refunds" rather than "dividends" as mere "cosmetic language" (p. 189). There may be no difference to Prinz, but there was to contemporaries. In Germany (and in other countries), the development of alternative language was a principled attempt to articulate an alternative to a capital-driven economy and referred to doctrines of non-exploitation on which the labor movement was based.

In the end, the English-German comparison obscures as many questions as it answers. Any comparison of German consumer cooperatives to the original and (in this period) world-leading English movement is bound to make Germany look backward. Yet, on the eve of World War I, Germany had the world's second-best-organized consumer movement, a tremendous accomplishment for German working people and one that would appear as an almost unqualified success if the country of comparison were any other. It is perhaps too easy to idealize English developments—was the English movement really so autonomous, heterogeneous, apolitical, uncontested?—and to underemphasize progressive and leading elements in the German movement before the 1920s. It was not in the empire that German consumer cooperatives failed but rather in the face of Nazi repression in the 1930s and of West German capitalism in the 1980s.

BRETT FAIRBAIRN

*University of Saskatchewan and
Freie Universität Berlin*

JAKOB VOGEL. *Nationen im Gleichschritt: Der Kult der "Nation in Waffen" in Deutschland und Frankreich, 1871-1914.* (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 118.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1997. Pp. 404.

Everyone loves a parade, especially a military parade. So the talented young Berlin historian Jakob Vogel is at pains to demonstrate in this welcome addition to the growing literature on comparative European history. Specifically, Vogel reconstructs the development of the cult of a "nation in arms" in republican France and imperial Germany from 1870 to 1914. Marshaling an impressive array of sources from the newspaper press as well as from state and police archives in these countries, he is able to illustrate both the official presentation and (to a lesser extent) the popular enthusiasm surrounding public celebrations, notably the *quatorze juillet* in France and *Sedantag* in Germany. These and other martial spectacles, staged to encourage the integration of army and nation, created what Vogel aptly calls a "folkloric militarism" that helps to explain the willingness of Europeans to accept the

sacrifices suddenly imposed on them by the advent of World War I.

Throughout the book, Vogel leaves us in no doubt about his scholarly diligence. But the dank mantle of a doctoral thesis weighs down his enterprise. For nearly 280 pages of text, there are 1,670 endnotes, about six per page or an average of one note for every two sentences. One chapter has 610 notes (surely a world's record), another 406. Readers must contend, moreover, with that rigid structure favored by many a German dissertation in which they may have to refer from section II.A.1.c) to section III.B.2.a). These organizational peculiarities hamper without vitiating Vogel's sweeping research and lucid style, compensating virtues that lend his work an admirable solidity. He is at his best when describing military pageantry, displaying a keen eye for telling details that bring his subject to life.

In two respects, Vogel's choice of a title (which can fairly be translated as "Nations in Lockstep") is most unfortunate. First of all, it is contradicted by much of his own subtle and probing analysis. Repeatedly he stresses an intention to illuminate both similarities and differences, and the bulk of his evidence arguably supports the latter rather better than the former. In fact, the concluding chapter convincingly presents several fundamental divergences between the military cults in the French and German traditions, which inherited opposite legacies from the war of 1870 and often celebrated them in contrasting fashions. Such an emotional gap between victors and vanquished was scarcely to be bridged by a mutual affinity for some vague and always imperfectly realized conception of a nation in arms. Accordingly, the place of the military in the two societies was far from identical.

Second, and still more serious, is the author's failure to distinguish clearly between ritual and reality. Most of the Franco-German distinctions identified are the obvious political ones that derived from counterpoised forms of state: the Third Republic and the Kaiserreich. In the end, Vogel tends to wave these aside, however, and to contend that the two nations were but variations on a common theme. Yet he neglects to make any mention of other factors that also profoundly affected the daily lives of millions of French and German citizens, like the structure of enterprise, the rate of economic growth, the demographic curve, the production of industry, the nature of the work force, the system of railway transportation, or the organization of public health and welfare. In all of these matters and many more, France and Germany developed vast and real differences before 1914, thus consciously or unconsciously choosing various options that defined the actual world in which people lived and died. By attending an occasional popular festival, they were perhaps able temporarily to enter an imaginary sphere of folklore and fantasy unlike their daily existence. Vogel seems to confuse the two, recalling a protagonist in Plato's *Republic* who has spent his time watching

shadows cast on the wall of a cave, only to be blinded by the sunlight when he attempts to emerge from it.

ALLAN MITCHELL
University of California,
San Diego

DAVID N. MYERS. *Re-Inventing the Jewish Past: European Jewish Intellectuals and the Zionist Return to History*. (Studies in Jewish History.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. 278. \$49.95.

Scholars have asked to what extent Zionism, an ideology that gave rise to a national political movement and eventually to a Jewish state, shaped the Jewish historical studies undertaken by its proponents. Were the founders of Israeli historiography motivated by their Zionist views to favor the creation of a national consciousness rather than to lay the foundation for balanced, objective research? Answers to the question vary, with some extreme critics lumping Zionist historians into a single "Jerusalem school" guilty of blatant myth-making in the service of nationalist goals.

David N. Myers dismisses the simplistic charge of a monolithic Palestinocentric school based on a political agenda. He emphasizes instead the varied nature of the works of the first generation of "Jerusalem scholars." The historians he studies, principally Yitzhak Fritz Baer, Ben-Zion Dinaburg (later Dinur), and Gershom Scholem, were Zionists born and educated in Europe who immigrated to pre-state Jerusalem, where they worked at the Hebrew University's pioneering Institute for Jewish Studies in the years before Israeli independence. Myers contends that, although Zionism influenced "the intellectual and institutional contours of [their] Jewish historical scholarship" (p. 9), and even though Dinur admittedly became a "political myth-maker" (p. 183), the collective output of the early Jerusalem scholars reflected a commitment to the continuity of European "scientific" historical research.

Given the European origins of nationalist analyses of Jewish historical experience, the declaration by Dinur and Baer in the new Hebrew scholarly journal *Zion* (1935) that "Jewish history was the history of the Jewish nation" (p. 109) represents for Myers not rupture but continuity with themes of Diaspora scholarship. As is so often the case with aspiring innovators, however, the authors themselves concentrated on their differences rather than on their similarities with their predecessors. Dinur and Baer contrasted their own approach with that of European scientific study of the Jewish past and its essential texts (an enterprise known principally by its German name, *Wissenschaft des Judentums*), which had been driven by the goal of Emancipation and had, according to them, a "theological-literary character" (p. 109). They favored instead the nationalist response to the massacres of Jews during the 1881 Russian pogroms and to the devastations of World War I as a more useful way of thinking about Jewish identity. Dinur, in particular, linked

ideology and historiography, arguing that Zionism could draw on historical forces to help restore Jews' control of their national destiny while at the same time promoting an appreciation of historical continuity.

The advent of Nazi power weakened the link to European roots as it strengthened Zionist impact on scholarship. It convinced the Jerusalem scholars that it was their task to salvage, in Myers's words, "the human and cultural remnants of Jewish life from Europe . . . [and bring] the cultural treasures of European Jewry to Jerusalem" (p. 140). Not surprisingly, a Zionist agenda became more prominent in the work of the second generation of Jewish historians, whose philosophy was colored by their dual experiences of the Holocaust and the struggle for Israeli independence. By emphasizing Jewish life in the land of Israel, the younger scholars "sharpened the Palestinocentric tendencies of their predecessors . . . at the expense of diaspora history" (p. 184), which was described in increasingly negative terms. Myers states, but does not substantiate, the view that even this first group of Palestine-trained scholars (including Haim Beinart, Yosef Dan, Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson, Shmuel Ettinger, Joshua Prawer, and Isaiah Tishbee) remained balanced between the poles of continuity and change.

Had the scope of Myers's study extended further, to embrace the next two generations of Israeli scholars, we would have seen a significant resurgence of interest in European roots and a flourishing of research into topics such as the Jewish Enlightenment, the European origins of the scientific study of Judaism, and the continuity of ethnic cohesion within diaspora life. Subsequent research will undoubtedly place the early Zionist scholars even more fully in the context of "the crossroads between Europe and Palestine . . . and . . . between . . . critical history and collective memory" (p. 185).

PHYLLIS COHEN ALBERT
Harvard University

RICHARD PELLs. *Not Like Us: How Europeans Have Loved, Hated, and Transformed American Culture Since World War II*. New York: BasicBooks. 1997. Pp. xviii, 444. \$30.00.

Richard Pells argues in this sprightly book that American culture, despite its enormous presence in Europe after World War II, has not significantly altered the values or behavior of Europeans. The whole notion of "Americanization" is a myth; debates in Europe about the impact of American culture are mostly camouflaged arguments about the modernization process itself. America became the symbol of modernization because it adopted the hallmarks of the process first, from time-management studies to mass production to modern consumerism. Europeans who criticized these developments from afar did so largely because they feared their inevitable spread to Europe, where indeed the signs were visible early on. America thus became a scapegoat, a whipping boy, a plaything for internal

European political struggles and debates. All the while, modernization came to Europe, as it had to, but Europeans transformed and adapted it to their own purposes, cultures, and traditions. The Europeans are "not like us" after all, and Pells celebrates cultural diversity even as he frets about the shared concern in America and Europe over a global culture that has seemed to spawn a new and virulent form of nationalistic ethnic populism that is responsible for increasing violence worldwide.

Others have made this argument about the relative lightness of American influence, albeit for the most part in nationally focused, not continent-wide studies, and Pells's footnotes amply reveal his heavy debt to much of the existing scholarship. He has, however, missed the essential works of some authors and relied excessively on the work of others. Charles Maier's edited volume on productivity, (*The Cold War in Europe* [1992]), is not mentioned, nor is Gérard Bossuat's magisterial *La France, l'aide américaine, et la construction européenne, 1944-1952* (1992). Pells has skirted the important question of direct American intervention in European political affairs and the impact of the American Federation of Labor's International Free Trade Union Committee on the growth of non-communist labor unions in Italy and France. Nor does he appear generally acquainted with the rather extensive foreign-language literature on his subject. As a consequence, he makes some avoidable errors. For example, he has the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) intervening in French and Italian national elections in 1948, although the French did not hold national elections between 1946 and 1951. He asserts, following many others, that the Blum-Byrnes agreements between France and the United States in 1946 devastated the postwar French film industry and ignores the work of European and American scholars who have attempted to demolish this myth (see, for example, Jacques Portes, "Les Origines de la légende noir les accords Blu-Byrnes sur le cinéma," *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, 33, [1986]: 314-29, and my own *The United States and the Making of Postwar France, 1945-1954* [1991]).

Pells ranges far and wide, covering all of Europe and the entire postwar period. This book is, in some respects, as much about Europe's impact on America as the reverse: indeed, the reciprocal nature of "influence" is one of its central and salutary points. Europeans, whether pro or anti-American, inevitably were so selectively, and American culture is in many respects European, although diverse enough as to defy definition. French Stalinist intellectuals celebrated the novels of Theodore Dreiser, Jack London, Ernest Hemingway, John Dos Passos, and Howard Fast; Jean-Paul Sartre, for most of his career closer to Mao Zedong than to Joseph Stalin, championed American jazz and film. American popular culture, rock and roll, and the drug scene had a subversive impact on Europe in the 1960s, while, in a peculiar development, European students of American history and culture, who

were expected as a consequence of the Fulbright and other Cold War-inspired programs to develop into admirers of America, came of age in a period of widespread doubt about American values created by the civil rights movement and its backlash and the Vietnam War. European scholars of America also became America's critics. In this sense, perhaps, those who dreamed of what Pells terms a cultural Marshall Plan after the war should take solace from their relative failure, for their efforts yielded relatively few European scholars of America, and those who did turn out scholarly tomes about the United States, except for the British, saw their work largely ignored by American specialists.

Pells offers some useful insights, and those generally unfamiliar with the subject may still find his book a worthwhile general introduction. It is true, of course, that Hollywood established its dominance over the European film industry in the 1920s, a situation that was not much changed by the war and that did not prevent the most brilliant flowering of European cinema in its history in the 1950s and 1960s. There was also productive cross-fertilization of cultures: Europeans "discovered" American directors, and it was under European influence that American film makers like Francis Ford Coppola, Robert Altman, Martin Scorsese, and Woody Allen became household names to American movie fans. At the same time as they celebrated American culture, Europeans tended also to patronize it, and this is perhaps Pells's most valuable insight. The virtues Europeans found in America—journalistic muckraking in literature, spontaneity, freshness and a refreshing naïveté in film, even pragmatism in philosophy—were often contrasted with the more ponderous but "serious" tendency toward psychological introspection and avant-garde techniques in the arts which Europeans attributed to themselves. The consequence of all this was the emergence of a transatlantic culture, and while Charles de Gaulle searched in vain for ways to keep American investment out of France in the 1960s, he ignored the growing cross-cultural student movement, international in scope, which shook universities from Tokyo to Belgrade and brought near-revolution to France and Czechoslovakia in 1968. Both the New Left and the Beatles arose in Great Britain, and there was little to choose between Mark Rudd, the student leader at Columbia University, and Daniel Cohn-Bendit, whom the media baptized as the leader of the May 1968 events in France. Both read Herbert Marcuse.

The most controversial of Pells's conclusions relate to impressionistic comments about the minimal significance of the impact that fast food, American television programming, and even Disneyland have had on Europe. Pells reads their success as a tribute to the ingenuity of their creators rather than an example of American cultural imperialism or global hegemony, and he makes much of their necessary adaptation to European tastes. To those disturbed by what they perceive to be the declining quality of European life,

however, his observations that fast food fills a niche in modern society, that Europeans remain attached to their welfare states despite Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher, and that Disney may after all be descended from D'Isgny will offer little solace. In making these arguments, Pells often seems to be clutching at straws. It is true that Americans themselves, after going through a period when they feared Japanese hegemony in real estate and Hollywood, now are frequently frustrated by the power of Rupert Murdoch and others over their own media. But the evidence that American television serials like *Dallas* or Hollywood blockbusters like *Independence Day* are true examples of global culture is scant. Europeans and their sympathizers here are still likely to believe, after reading Pells, that the French, in arguing during the GATT negotiations that at least fifty percent of European television programming should be produced in Europe by Europeans, had a point.

IRWIN M. WALL
University of California,
Riverside

RONALD HUTTON. *The Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xx. 542. \$35.00.

This book is the third part of an ambitious interlocking trilogy. The huge chronological range of Ronald Hutton's interest in communal customs, reaching from prehistory to today, has already yielded *The Pagan Religions of the Ancient British Isles* (1991) and *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400–1700* (1994), whose interrelationship with the book under review is evident in the annotation (placed at the end, unaccompanied by any bibliography). This volume, which examines British seasonal rites chapter by chapter through the calendar from Christmas to Gunpowder Treason, draws heavily on its immediate predecessor. Although it can stand on its own, an occasional uncertainty may only be resolved by turning to the 1994 book, which Hutton assumes will be at hand.

Of the seasonal rites described, three (Royal Oak, Elizabeth's Accession Day, and Guy Fawkes Day) are strictly political celebrations. The round of the Christian calendar, which forms the main part of the annual circuit, is studied with close attention to possible pagan antecedents throughout Britain. Although Wales, Scotland, and Ireland contribute importantly to the picture, the sources place England very much in the forefront, and the author, who includes some helpful maps to show the geographical range of certain practices, is apologetic about this imbalance.

There is a great deal to be learned here about the beliefs and activities of living and defunct rites and their changing fortunes. Over the centuries, transformation and disappearance has resulted from deliberate suppression, social change, and sometimes misguided antiquarian revival. The purification that started in earnest under Edward VI was the beginning

of the end for various customs, although some abolished church ceremonies survived transmuted into private or domestic forms (such as candle-giving at Candlemas or decorating houses with palm willow on Palm Sunday). Christmas, abolished with Scottish help in 1644, proved exceptionally durable—unlike Lords of Misrule, killed off by the Civil War—although it was effectively reinvented in modern times. Socio-economic forces brought an end to various forms of eighteenth-century ritualized begging. Print, including chapbooks, helped to disseminate rhymes, songs, and plays, but deliberate reconstructions proved capable of overlaying genuine ritual survivals and misleading later folklorists.

Hutton is adept at unseaming spurious theories. His critical razor slices away many ill-founded beliefs, from Bede's "shadowy" goddess Eostre as evidence for a pre-Christian Easter festival to the idea that the Padstow hobby-horse dance descends from a pagan sacred marriage ceremony. Sir James Frazer comes in for plenty of knocks, and, at the end of this careful appraisal, only certain fire festivals (the Irish May Day Beltane, the fires of midsummer, and the Celtic November festival of Samhain) are allowed to be possible ancient precedents for later rites. Midsummer, the peak of the solar cycle, is illustrated by two examples of a flaming wheel, an image of the sun: one from the fourth century, the other from the nineteenth. The intervening period could have included the St. John's day bonfires in which "wheles ben lapped up," mentioned in the fifteenth-century *Speculum sacerdotale*.

Hutton's indefatigable pursuit of sources is manifest in his fieldwork and his thick networks of examples. He seems to have missed no chance to visit an existing ceremony and question participants. His studious "pooling" of findings constitutes much of the value of the book, although as he admits, density of description does not make for easy reading. Perhaps too, this single-mindedness has been at the expense of other material. The discussion of mistletoe would have benefited from Geoffrey Grigson's *Englishman's Flora* (1955), which shows why the custom of kissing under it (surely explicable by its likeness to male sexual organs) was absent from Ireland, since mistletoe did not grow there. R. W. Scribner's *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (1987) would have resolved doubts about the nature of the dove let down from the church roof at Whitsun. Easter Sepulchres are discussed with no reference to Pamela Sheingorn's *The Easter Sepulchre in England* (1987), and creeping to the cross is presented without allusion to Lollard objections or Reginald Pecock's defence of the practice. Dorothy Owen's discovery of the bishop of Lincoln's shock in 1396 at finding a parish in which bacon and eggs were customarily blessed in church and distributed to parishioners adds to "An Egg at Easter." The picture of the "Blood month" of November as the time of slaughter and feasting fails to take account of Christopher Dyer's finding that many larger households were able to pasture animals and eat fresh meat

through the winter. Nor is it true (witness William Prynne) that Protestant zealots found Christmas greenery "too trivial to be worth denunciation in print" (p. 35).

Despite some gaps, this book, with its rich combination of history and folklore, is a valuable work of interpretation and reference. If it effectively undermines much old and current wishful thinking about pagan origins, it is humane in accepting the biological need for seasonal rites that promotes such beliefs. It is comforting to find that even so rigorous a historian is ready to allow that midwinter carousing and midsummer fires and games may always have existed.

MARGARET ASTON

KEITH LINDLEY. *Popular Politics and Religion in Civil War London*. Brookfield, Vt.: Scolar. 1997. Pp. xiii, 442. \$84.95.

Keith Lindley begins his conclusion with the bald assertion: "Without London there would have been no Civil War and no eventual parliamentary victory" (p. 404). Although that statement is surely defensible, Lindley has not set out to prove it. He makes no attempt to estimate the percentage of parliamentary forces mobilized in the city or the percentage of parliamentary troops recruited in London and its suburbs, nor is he interested primarily in the influence exerted by the capital city on parliamentary policies between 1640–1647, although we do learn a good bit about the impact of the various petitioning campaigns and accompanying demonstrations by which various groups of Londoners attempted to sway the Long Parliament meeting a short distance away in Westminster.

In his preface, Lindley notes the formidable task posed by the massive surviving archives of London in the civil war period and suggests that a further problem is posed by the necessity of "charting a difficult path through a scholarly minefield" (p. vii), but by and large this is not a revisionist work. The larger narrative framework of those years differs only in small details from that laid out years ago by Valerie Pearl in *London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution* (1961); his analysis of the different effects that the crown's fiscal policies, particularly in the 1630s, had had on various groups of monied Londoners does not differ greatly from the conclusions reached by Robert Ashton in *The City and the Court, 1603–1643* (1979); and although he finds a small number of colonial merchants who sided with the king, his conclusion about the political alignment of the colonial interloping traders differs little from that reached by Robert Brenner in *Merchants and Revolution* (1993). This is not a revisionist work, attacking and correcting the work of others, but rather an original work that sets out to answer quite different questions.

As Lindley's title suggests, he is concerned with popular politics and religion, popular being used here

in its root meaning: of the people. This is not a bottom-up history of those revolutionary years, although Lindley supplies much of the information one would need to write such a history, but rather an attempt to follow the actions of the principal actors in the metropolis from the ruling elite down to apprentices and women (who for the first time appear on the public stage, much to the consternation of the male rulers from parish to Common Council and the Houses of Parliament). It is fundamentally a story of conflict, for neither in religion nor in politics did the varied supporters of the Parliamentary cause against King Charles find a united city behind them. Quite the contrary: the first two lord mayors of 1640–1641 were partisans of the king, and it was only when Sir Richard Gurney was impeached and replaced in 1642 by Isaac Penington that the city had a chief executive sympathetic to the parliamentary cause. Almost from the very beginning of the civil war in late 1642, there was what can fairly be called a peace party in the city—conservatives anxious to end the political innovations that saw Common Hall and Common Council seize the initiative from the Court of Aldermen, the traditional executive, as well as the high taxes and economic disruption that the war brought—and right through the war there were royalists in the city who contributed money and men to the armies of King Charles. At the end of the war, a new coalition of conservatives in the city rallied behind the so-called Presbyterian party, anxious for peace with the king and alienated by the so-called Independents, radicals such as the preacher Hugh Peter, who more or less openly called for the creation of a republic.

Religious reform was equally contested, as parishes with the backing of the House of Commons set about undoing the Laudian innovations and displacing those clergy who were Arminian or royalist sympathizers. Here one might enter a demurrer, for Lindley invariably refers to Puritans as “minority zealots,” although whether Puritans were a minority in all London parishes—St. Stephen’s Coleman Street, St. Anne Blackfriars?—is neither canvassed nor proven (it is also surprising to find Nehemiah Wallington, the London turner, described as a political activist and coupled with the likes of John Lilburne [pp. 31, 35]). However, the fear caused by the proliferation of gathered congregations, which Lindley argues helps to account for what popularity Presbyterianism had in 1645, seems beyond question.

These quibbles aside, Lindley’s book is an impressive achievement. We now know more about the signatories of the various petitions, the membership of the various committees, and their political and religious allegiances than one would have thought possible. All future studies of London opinion in those revolutionary years will have to start here.

PAUL S. SEAVER
Stanford University

C. JOHN SOMMERVILLE. *The News Revolution in England: Cultural Dynamics of Daily Information*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. viii, 197. \$49.95.

JOAD RAYMOND. *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks 1641–1649*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 379. \$82.00.

These two books consider the genesis and evolution of the newsbook, newspaper, and modern obsession with “the news” from very different perspectives. Joad Raymond attends to newsbooks as material objects produced, circulated, and consumed by a particular audience at a specific moment in history. His study therefore focuses on English politics and culture during the 1640s, providing a systematic outline of the relationship between the newsbook and the Civil War: “newsbooks made the history of the civil war, influenced society, and shaped the course of events” (p. 312). He concludes his study in 1649, when newsbooks as repositories of information became essential to the transmission of history, their voices the language of a modern historiography. C. John Sommerville employs a much broader canvas in order to treat newspapers as a cause of “the dysfunctional characteristics of modern societies” (p. viii). Attending primarily to the effects of periodicity, he insists that modern thinking and consciousness have been deformed by the commodification of information generated by the daily printing of news. Sommerville argues that, during the seventeenth century, daily news succeeded in replacing religion as the “master text” of English society.

In spite of their different disciplines and aims, both authors share a number of important assumptions. Neither, for example, affirms a Whig model of history in which the development of the newspaper charts a seamless and triumphant progress from repressive ancient regimes to the freedom of modern democracies. Both agree on the importance of periodicity, on the way in which “the news” inevitably focuses on conflict, and on the “constructedness” of news and news reporting. Nonetheless, these books are committed to very different stories.

Raymond’s story is a local one, involving close attention to the shifting politics and rhetoric of a crucial nine-year period in English history. Indeed, in order to provide a template for his inquiry, his first chapter presents a year-by-year survey of the newsbook from 1641 to 1649. The following five chapters deal with the origins of newsbooks, their style and rhetoric, their culture and form, their readers, and their role in modern historiography. The trajectory of Raymond’s argument is governed by his insistence that the newsbook was “soon transformed from a plain and non-controversial narration of parliamentary proceedings into a bitter and aggressive instrument of literary and political faction” (p. 13). According to Raymond, this was to a large extent the fault of Charles I, whose failure to use the press in his own interests during the

1630s, and whose active hostility to the press during the years of personal rule, determined that the newsbook would necessarily be perceived as subversive to the monarch. The precise moment when the first newsbook appeared is of great interest to Raymond, who insists that the true forebear of the newsbook is not the printed coranto (a conventional pairing) but manuscripts of "Diurnall Occurrences," which took on a specific and recognizable form during 1640 and 1641. But only pressure from the convergent effects of the Grand Remonstrance and the Irish Rebellion—which stimulated tremendous interest in politics and news—could make the printed newsbook politically and economically viable, its periodicity both valuable and necessary.

Sommerville's story, on the other hand, is much more of a polemic, designed to attend to the long-term consequences of periodical news and media. Although there are moments when Sommerville grudgingly admits the virtues of daily news, noting its "many liberating effects" and creation of a "communal mind," his book remains deeply unsympathetic to its subject. Daily news, according to Sommerville, has come to define "the stream of society's consciousness" (p. 5) in ways that have distorted, disoriented, and decontextualized social thinking. Periodical news and the industries it has spawned pay homage not to truth but to Mammon, their products and profits connected to mindless change, overpowering competition, clamorous debate, and synthesized excitement. Sommerville looks carefully at the evolution of the news during the seventeenth century in order to demonstrate how the culture of periodicity transformed politics, science, literature, and religion into news, an "Absolute Present which is the secular rival of the Eternal in absorbing everything into itself" (p. 9). Sommerville's attack on periodical news focuses not primarily on its content but on its structure, which has produced a revolution in consciousness that has undermined peoples' ability to apprehend their world in a healthy fashion.

Both of these are useful and exciting books: Raymond's work is particularly helpful to the Civil War and seventeenth-century specialist, while Sommerville's study will appeal to readers interested in the evolution of the "modern" as well as a deliberately provocative argument indicting contemporary society. Taken together, they represent a renewed interest in a form not always accorded great respect and suggest the value of the different methodologies that can be brought to bear on the news and its cultural significance. They represent as well the dynamic interdisciplinarity of contemporary academia, for in spite of the brevity of my descriptions, I hope they indicated that Raymond, the English scholar, has produced the book that we might normally have expected from a historian, while Sommerville, the historian, has written the type of study more associated with English departments. It is Raymond's book that bristles with appendixes and lists of manuscripts, Sommerville's that depends on

mass communications theory and citations from Jürgen Habermas and Marshall McLuhan, Wolfgang Iser and Roland Barthes. As an inhabitant of an English department writing a review for a history journal, I find this academic cross-dressing not only appropriate but exciting, an indication of the lively exchanges currently engaging and even transforming our two disciplines.

HAROLD WEBER
University of Alabama

JEFFREY S. CHAMBERLAIN. *Accommodating High Churchmen: The Clergy of Sussex, 1700–1745*. (Studies in Anglican History.) Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 192. \$32.50.

Jeffrey S. Chamberlain has written an insightful and well-researched book that is an important contribution to our understanding of English ecclesiastical history in the first half of the eighteenth century. The Glorious Revolution certainly shaped the political and social institutions of the country, and this tested the loyalties and allegiances of the clergy. High churchmen faced additional obstacles with the accession of George I in 1714, but it appeared to some contemporaries that these clergy eventually made peace with the new regime, and the Whigs, despite theological and political differences. "Frequently, they assumed that clergymen, despite their rhetoric of principle, were weathercocks whose values and allegiances were as fickle as the wind" (p. 1). Chamberlain's study of the clergy of Sussex argues that they did accommodate themselves to the Hanoverian regime, but not in the unprincipled fashion that their critics suggested.

A change in the allegiance of the high churchmen did occur. These clergymen, who had previously feared the Whigs because they supported toleration for Dissent and who were distrustful of the Hanoverian accession because it shattered the belief that the divine right of succession was hereditary, now supported their former enemies. After looking at the interpretations of Gerald Cragg, the followers of Lewis Namier, and the recent findings of J. C. D. Clark, Chamberlain argues that the shift took place because the threat from Dissent had declined, the Sussex clergy had grown content with the patronage of the Pelhams, and a new enemy—heterodoxy—had united two old enemies in a common cause. Before exploring the nature of high churchmanship in the Diocese of Chichester, the author describes the high church ethos and its development. Important elements such as the episcopacy, sacramental worship, and the divine right of hereditary succession had to be defended against Dissent and occasional conformity. Chamberlain's analysis of Sussex, however, shows that high churchmen could live in a Whig environment without sacrificing their traditional principles: "It is the story of accommodation rather than capitulation" (p. 31).

High churchmanship in the Diocese of Chichester was strong. Sussex high churchmen continued to support the Tories, but the old differences with the Whigs

were shrinking. Any discussion of eighteenth-century politics must include the patronage system, and in Sussex this meant the network established by the Duke of Newcastle. Some historians believe that patronage destroyed high churchmanship, but Chamberlain points out the weaknesses of this interpretation. He does not dismiss the strength of patronage and acknowledges that the Whigs used their political power to attract high churchmen, but the latter had not been bribed. The Whigs no longer appeared as enemies of the church. They could be trusted. The election of 1734 in Sussex confirmed the hegemony of the Whigs and weakened the power of high churchmen in this part of the country. The fears associated with the Jacobite invasion in 1745, however, secured the alliance between the Sussex clergymen and the Whigs.

Chamberlain's book effectively destroys the picture of eighteenth-century high churchmen as unscrupulous opportunists who shifted allegiances for personal gain. They made peace with the Whigs, but this did not involve a sacrifice of principles as the old threats to the church from the Whigs and the Latitudinarians had vanished. The author uses manuscripts and printed sources to describe how former enemies became allies in support of a common cause. The succinct and insightful chapter that describes the high church view of church and state provides the background, definitions, and beliefs and fears of the high churchmen that are necessary to understand this story of accommodation.

The book vividly recreates the politics and the theological views of these Sussex clergymen. Chamberlain examines clerical writings, disputes, and voting practices of the high churchmen, and one can see clearly their position on hereditary succession, Dissent, and Sussex politics. Chamberlain's study of ecclesiastical patronage on the local level emphasizes the personal and emotional aspects of the system. His analysis of Newcastle's patronage clearly demonstrates the importance of friendship in Sussex politics.

Chamberlain successfully challenges the stereotype that views eighteenth-century high churchmen as individuals whose values and beliefs shifted with the political wind. Change and accommodation took place, but these clergymen did not abandon their principles in coming to terms with the Whigs. This book describes the complex relationship between religion and politics in Sussex and establishes the political and religious integrity of eighteenth-century high churchmen.

RENE KOLLAR
St. Vincent Archabbey

CHRISTA JUNGnickel and RUSSELL McCORMMACH. *Cavendish*. (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, number 220.) Philadelphia, Pa.: American Philosophical Society, 1996. Pp. 414.

Christa Jungnickel and Russell McCormmach present a handsome dual biography of Lord Charles Cavendish (1704–1783) and his son Henry Cavendish (1731–

1810), the scientific branch of a powerful aristocratic family ascendant in the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution. Lord Charles Cavendish continued the family tradition of public service, first in the House of Commons and then in novel directions at the Royal Society of London and other English scientific councils. His reclusive son Henry graduated into the social and intellectual mainstream of post-Newtonian British science, winning the Copley Medal of the Royal Society in 1766 and making fundamental contributions in several scientific fields in the second half of the eighteenth century. The authors are probably right to call Henry Cavendish the most important English scientist between Isaac Newton and James Clerk Maxwell. They are certainly right to portray the careers of father and son together.

This biography focuses squarely on science. Indeed, we are treated to perhaps the most detailed view of the eighteenth-century English scientific scene currently available, in large measure because the Cavendishes were intellectually and institutionally so deeply involved in it. The result is a fine-grained evocation of the social and institutional context in which father and son exercised their scientific and administrative talents, notably the inner workings of the Royal Society but also the associated Royal Society Club, the Society of Antiquaries, the British Museum, and (from 1799) the Royal Institution. These learned societies and dining clubs are vividly portrayed as part of science and city life in contemporary London.

Henry Cavendish and his science dominate this study. Cavendish was a master experimentalist with an exquisite technique; his exactitude surprises us even today. Cavendish did groundbreaking work in pneumatic chemistry, discovering “inflammable air” (hydrogen). Although never a convert to the theories of Antoine Lavoisier and French chemistry, he was a major figure in the chemical revolution of the eighteenth century. He also published key works on electrical theory (1771) and the density of the earth (1798). His private, unpublished researches ranged more broadly still, covering heat theory, mathematics, astronomy, and the full spectrum of contemporary science and natural philosophy, all of which receive detailed treatment in this volume.

That most of Cavendish's work was private and unpublished poses a problem for his biographers. He may have been the greatest British scientist of his day, but what are we to make of him and his work, when most of it remained unknown until recovered by Maxwell late in the nineteenth century (and when even today most of his opus remains in manuscript)? How are we to evaluate his researches when he was so often forestalled by others who did publish or was only later discovered to have made the same discoveries independently? Jungnickel and McCormmach do not address these questions. Instead, they frame their story around their dual biography and the notions of Cavendish father and son as insiders working behind the scenes to fashion a new, more professional status for

English science. They are not wrong in taking this approach, and they show the Cavendishes to have been assiduous at meetings of the Royal Society and the many other committees and boards on which they served. These are worthy themes, but in the end they are insufficient to rationalize the encyclopedic treatment given to their subjects.

The biography of Henry Cavendish has needed updating, and the present volume will long stand as the definitive study of his life and work. Making extensive use of unpublished papers and archival resources, Jungnickel and McCormmach have produced a scholarly *tour-de-force*. The book contains over four hundred pages in a large format with double columns, substantive footnotes, and the full armamentarium of high scholarship, including an evocative set of illustrations. It is somewhat overwhelming, and one can question the need to note every dinner guest or every last signature on every last nomination to membership in the Royal Society.

Henry Cavendish was a strange person. In a family where portraits were the norm, only one sketch of Cavendish exists, and that was made covertly. At various points, the authors characterize their subject as depressed, shy, anxious, haughty, diffident, tenacious, secluded, private, reserved, taciturn, eccentric, awkward, cold, well-ordered, indifferent, pathologically afraid of strangers, and a confirmed bachelor with a slouching gait who shunned society and avoided familiarity or (virtually) even contact with women. A concluding section briefly attends to these eccentricities. Perhaps too much has been made of Cavendish's quirks in the past, but not to confront them more straightforwardly in a book of this character and quality unnecessarily dissociates Cavendish the scientist from Cavendish the man.

The authors tell us nothing about themselves or how they came to write this book. Unfortunately, we know that Jungnickel died in 1990, and with her death ended a great and productive scholarly partnership in the history of science. This work is no small testimony to their achievement.

JAMES E. MCCLELLAN III
Stevens Institute of Technology

MEG GOMERSALL. *Working-Class Girls in Nineteenth-Century England: Life, Work and Schooling*. New York: St. Martin's. 1997. Pp. ix, 187. \$55.00.

Neither the "established truths" (p. 123) of the history of education, according to which elementary schooling was undifferentiated by gender, nor feminists' revisionist histories of nineteenth-century education are fully adequate, Meg Gomersall argues. Of these two poles, her argument is far closer to the latter; she contends that working-class girls' access to schooling was indeed constrained both by class disadvantage and patriarchal oppression, that gender ideology did fundamentally shape girls' curricula, and that overall, girls received less and poorer education. What Gomersall

offers here is a nuanced study focusing on industrial Lancashire and agricultural Norfolk and Suffolk to demonstrate that the operation of gender in schooling was shaped by factors of regional variation, local labor patterns, and local cultural expectations. Educational theories and practices also varied in relation to these factors, as well as to the patchy provision of publicly and privately funded elementary schools, Sunday schools, industrial schools, and evening classes.

The differential operation of gender in elementary schooling between 1800 and 1870 (prior to compulsory elementary education) was such that in rural Norfolk and Suffolk, where by the nineteenth century women's participation in agricultural labor had been marginalized and little work was available to them in the countryside, girls enjoyed more opportunity than boys to go to school, as long as they were within reach of one. The most likely occupational destination for girls in this region was domestic service; it was considered that school would train them for service, while contact with the local "ladies" involved with the school was an obvious means of finding a place. In the larger towns of Norfolk and Suffolk, however, the picture shifted. Boys' labor was not in such demand as in agriculture, and the possibility of places or apprenticeships that required some education rendered it more attractive to boys and their parents. The effects of regional and historically contingent labor patterns were different again in industrial Lancashire in the same period. Here the moral panic over the depravity of the "factory girl" that caught the national imagination, particularly in the 1830s and 1840s, proved a major impetus toward schooling as moral reform. Yet the demand for women's work, particularly as weavers in the textile factories, meant that girls' wages or their unpaid domestic labor—which freed women to work—made their schooling less likely. One result of these factors of difference was that, in the middle of the century, literacy rates were higher among women than men in Norfolk and Suffolk. In contrast, literacy was substantially lower among women in Lancashire, where significantly fewer girls were enrolled at day schools than Lancashire boys, or girls nationwide, or girls in Norfolk and Suffolk. The gendering of school curricula was also historically contingent. Girls' education throughout this period was firmly centered on basic literacy and needlework; after 1840, boys' education developed around a more academic curriculum intended to train boys for possible occupational and social mobility. Thus gender divergence increased.

Gomersall's scholarly contribution lies largely in her interweaving of the history of education and labor history. She convincingly demonstrates the ways in which labor patterns and availability drove girls' and boys' access to education; how changes in industry and agriculture shaped local, familial, and educators' gendered expectations for children; and how schooling itself affected their employment destinies. Although her focus is on social, cultural, and economic structures and patterns, Gomersall foregrounds workers'

views, responses, and educational initiatives at several points in the book, nicely suggesting the importance of workers' and women's agency. As Gomersall herself points out in her introduction, the extensive original research on which the book is based is in the history of education. For the history of women's work, she has drawn on appropriate published scholarship.

Gomersall's feminism is apparent throughout the book in her recurrent attention to the ways in which patriarchy disadvantaged girls and women, despite the variational operation of gender that obstructed, for example, rural Norfolk and Suffolk boys' access to education. In her concluding chapter, the author brings her historically informed feminism to bear on issues of girls' education and women's employment at the end of the twentieth century. My one caveat is that I question her argument that nineteenth-century patriarchy was dominantly "private" and the twentieth-century version "public." How can a patriarchal system based on women's exclusion from citizenship, a vast array of legal and cultural rights, equal education, and equal employment be seen as mostly a private matter? Conversely, in the late twentieth century, when issues such as sexual harassment, reproductive rights, and violence against women are so pressing, is it useful to cast patriarchy as a dominantly public structure? Nonetheless, Gomersall rightly contends that gender ideology and sex discrimination continue to segregate women into lower ranks and lower-paying jobs, to limit their earnings compared to men's, and to burden them with more housework and care-giving. Her argument that, despite the absence of overt differentiation in current school curricula, and girls' improving educational scores, "the education of circumstance" (p. 146) continues to constrain working-class girls' options, and that boys' education fails to equip them to share familial responsibilities, is a compelling one.

ANGELA WOOLLACOTT

Case Western Reserve University

MICHAEL ANTON BUDD. *The Sculpture Machine: Physical Culture and Body Politics in the Age of Empire*. New York: New York University Press, 1997. Pp. xix, 218. \$40.00.

The title of this challenging book is derived from James Watt's efforts, during the Regency period, to develop a mechanical system for copying human sculpture. Although a sculpture machine was never built, Michael Anton Budd uses Watt's work as a metaphor for the activities, between 1829 and 1929, directed toward improving, rationalizing, and objectifying the male body, which he links imaginatively to the body politic. During this age of industry, empire, democratization, and revolution, Budd argues, tremendous changes and turmoil made reproduced images from the past, as characterized by physical culture's emphasis on the development of classical body types, both desirable and common as buffers against accelerating and disturbing political and social developments.

Budd sets out to present an evocative history of how bodies and lives were experienced, represented, and marketed; the sorts of people who benefited from particular forms of representation and physical activity; and how an investigation of the idea and experience of the body is crucial to an understanding of nationalism, imperialism, and industrialism. His analysis of physical culture practice, commerce, discourse, and iconography, central to which was the conviction that the human body could be shaped and repaired, demonstrates that "relationships between ideas about bodies and constructs such as nations and machines formed ideologies in which worldly and bodily knowledge reinforced one another" (p. x).

The introduction serves as a prologue to the physical culture and body politics of the Victorian era and spans the shift from early industrial and Enlightenment liberty and libertinism to the anti-industrial responses of Romanticism. The bodies of King George IV, the middle and working classes, and popular culture figures are presented as illuminating the political, economic, and symbolic changes that created what Budd calls the age of the sculpture machine.

The first three chapters summarize the popular culture predecessors of physical culture and discuss the spread of body-oriented spectacles and media in musical halls and popular literature. Budd analyzes the role of new image-oriented technologies such as the camera and printing press in the construction of heroic, controlled images, where the homoerotic was always near the surface. He explains how the heroic and erotic were both separated and combined in the physical culture press and how the overtly capitalist mass media simultaneously encouraged heterosexuality and resistance to it. Examined also are consumer-oriented approaches to the body that recognized the importance of individual desires, physical culture's connections with physical education in schools, and so-called respectable society's growing anxiety about labor unrest, social decay, and military preparedness.

Chapters four and five focus on imperial concerns in the physical culture media and practice before, during, and after World War I. Arguing that the late nineteenth-century rhetoric of empire, nation, and national defense acted as a mirror of and rationale for physical culture that helps to explain its popularity, he demonstrates how the utopian emphasis on bodily empowerment for all served to undermine class, imperial, and racial assumptions and itself was undermined by the destruction of millions of bodies on the battlefields of Western Europe. Finally, Budd links physical cultural and national body politics in the 1920s and 1930s with cinematic representation, improvements in plastic surgery, and the rise of totalitarianism. Transporting his readers to the present, Budd perceptively notes that the metaphoric sculpture machine's focus on making and possessing an ideal bodily self persists in the search by many members of modern society for representative and timeless bodies.

The poster boy (figuratively and literally) of the

physical culture movement was Eugen Sandow—performer, entertainer, publisher, and ultimately gentleman—the major and most successful proponent of physical culture at the turn of the century. In 1898, he founded *Sandow's Magazine of Physical Culture*, which, while cultivating a middle-class tone, was directed to non-elite readers aiming to transcend class and other distinctions in a “body universal.” Practicing what he preached, Sandow developed his own body into a finely sculpted wonder, frequently displaying it almost naked in public and in photographs, for fame and profit. Wise to the new ways of advertising and consumerism, he actively encouraged the use of his image as a marketing tool, endorsing everything from Bovril to Spalding Brothers sporting goods, ultimately being appointed as Professor of Scientific Physical Culture to His Majesty King George V in 1911.

This is a work of remarkably original scholarship, drawing on private papers, government publications and reports, newspapers and periodicals, and an array of books and articles whose publication dates span several centuries. It is only a minor criticism that documentation is excessive, with fifty-six pages of notes following 129 pages of text. Tackling complicated and difficult subject matter, Budd makes illuminating links between physical culture, with its goal of an ideal bodily self, and larger contextual events such as national, imperial, social, economic, and technological developments and efforts at social control. Budd succeeds brilliantly in his aim to make his readers examine the interaction of individual bodily experience, bodily representation, and the collective experience of the body politic.

KATHLEEN E. McCRONE
University of Windsor

KATHRYN CASTLE. *Britannia's Children: Reading Colonialism through Children's Books and Magazines*. (Studies in Imperialism.) New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's. 1996. Pp. viii, 198.

This relatively slim volume by Kathryn Castle is another well-produced addition to Manchester University Press's useful “Studies in Imperialism.” The series generally reflects the interests (domestic culture) and period (the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries) of its editor, John MacKenzie, and has often provided an outlet, as in this instance, for good recent scholarship from junior academics and new Ph.D.s.

The book is a study of imperial themes in history textbooks and magazines written for children between 1880 and 1918, with a brief concluding look at the interwar period. Its origin as a dissertation is apparent not in any awkwardness of writing—it is smoothly and clearly written with a nice absence of jargon—but in its perhaps overly restricted scope and in the somewhat mechanical method Castle follows in working through the two genres of children's literature. The book offers some fresh empirical evidence on a theme—the conditioning of school children by imperialist and racist

“propaganda”—that has attracted considerable attention in the past in the work of J. A. Mangan, Jeffrey Richards, Martin Green, and MacKenzie himself, among others. Inevitably, it confirms rather than alters the picture they have created; its observations and conclusions are sound but not often very surprising. Although Castle is certainly informed by postcolonial theory and approach, she does not attempt a rigorous deconstructionist analysis of her texts (some will, of course, see this as a good thing).

This said, the book tidily accomplishes the modest objectives of its author. It easily demonstrates the prevalence of racial stereotyping in literature aimed at young people—positive Anglo-Saxon images and their (usually negative) mirror images of Indians, Africans, and Chinese. More interestingly, Castle offers some observations on the relationship between the two expanding genres: history texts written for the growing number of students in public education and the expansion of history in the curriculum, and adventure-story magazines aimed at the youth market. Over 149 such magazines, Castle claims, were launched between 1880 and World War I. There was, as one would expect, a considerable crossover from textbook to fiction, with nationalist and heroic themes and racial stereotyping in the history texts forming the basis for a romantic and sensational elaboration in the pulp adventure stories (Castle does not address the interesting possibility of crossover in the other direction). This is most evident in the extensive literature on India and Indians. Where there was little history—Africa and China were both treated in the textbooks, for different reasons, as lands without much of a “national” past—the adventure stories helped entrench and perpetuate a sense of mystery and a construction of native peoples as alien, degraded, and ultimately insignificant in the mass, although often with a villainous elite. There was, as Castle observes, a “colonisation in the text” (p. 180) of these stories that offered the young reader an ability to range freely over the imperial landscape and achieve a kind of vicarious “mastery” over the lesser breeds that inhabited it. And yet, especially in the popular tales involving school friends of other races—principally Indians and Chinese, Africans were largely invisible—there was also an element of “good humour and tolerance” (p. 143) that worked against some of the cruder stereotyping.

The conclusions that Castle draws from the texts she selects for us seem well-considered and appropriate. She has the most to say on the image of India and Indians: for example, on the role of sport in the *fin de siècle* stories of a princely Muslim elite that shared upper-class values and pastimes with their English overlords (by contrast the African, usually a bearer or guide, hardly ever figures as a near equal). There are useful comparisons to be made in the contrasting treatment of the three different races Castle covers, but it needs to be emphasized that we are given, per force, a highly selective reading. Juvenile magazine literature offers a vast source, and a handful of stories

from *Pluck*, *Magnet*, or *Chums*, although interestingly analyzed, probably does not exhaust the range of telling themes. More importantly, one wonders whether the decision to exclude other peoples—South Pacific Islanders or “Red Indians,” for example, both of whom were popular subjects in adventure stories—might not have sacrificed a fuller, more nuanced reading in favor of brevity of text. This is a short study for its topic and might have profited by a larger scope. Such an extension would have exposed, however, the limitations of Castle’s method, which takes up its three areas seriatim, examining first the history texts and then the fiction for each of the three peoples; a larger field might have propelled her toward a thematic rather than regional organization. Perhaps something of the clarity of the contrasts she offers would have been lost, but there might have been some gain. One criticism that can be made of this study is that it does not go far enough in reading between the lines and under the surface of these texts. Rather a lot has been written recently about constructions of gender and class as well as race and national identity in the literature of imperialism. Although Castle does not ignore these aspects, a thematic approach would have allowed her to address them more directly.

There remain two further issues raised in the boundaries Castle has chosen. The first concerns the period, the turn of the century. No one would deny that this is the high noon of a self-consciously imperialist literature. But it was built on nationalist and racist foundations from much earlier, such as the popular early Victorian works of Captain Marryat, for example, and humor magazines and gothic tales. At least a nod in this direction would have helped better to situate the material that forms the basis for this study. Second, there may be a problem in too narrowly construing “children’s literature.” Just where the boundary between juvenile propaganda and “adult” imperial romance was at the turn of the century is not in fact obvious; the empire was, after all, an imagined place where “men could be boys and boys could be men.” To discuss the image of the wily Oriental only through these texts and not consider Sax Rohmer’s *Fu Manchu*, or to “read” India without Rudyard Kipling or Africa without H. Rider Haggard seems to ignore an important area of crossover. A wider consideration might also expose some difficulties generally in the idea of a specifically schoolboy and schoolgirl-targeted “propaganda.”

To address these issues would, of course, have meant a different and rather more extensive kind of investigation. Castle has found her niche. Others have written on the fiction of adventure, imperial romance, and gothic terror. Those interested, specifically, in getting a sound idea of just what imperial stereotypes the typical late Victorian and Edwardian school text or juvenile magazine offered its readers will find the answer in this short, well-informed study.

H. L. MALCHOW
Tufts University

KENNETH D. BROWN. *The British Toy Business: A History since 1700*. Rio Grande, Ohio: Hambledon Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 278. \$40.00.

Anyone who has witnessed Benny Hill’s finest hour as the Bavarian/Middle European toy-maker in the movie *Chitty Chitty Bang Bang* (1968) will know the implicitly sinister relationship of Germany with toys in the Anglocentric memory. It is standard for the existing, chiefly connoisseurial literature on toys to say that it took World War I for British manufacturers to wrest free of German dominance and establish their sway over the imagination of young Britons with such classics as *Meccano*, *Hornby* train sets, and *Britains* *Petite* soldiers. Kenneth D. Brown, however, furnishes ample statistics to show that much of the industry was in fact well established some fifty years earlier and that German imports had neither been as overwhelming, nor their postwar recovery so feeble, as such accounts suppose.

Not only did the old canard epitomize the fatuous chauvinism of the era and its parallels between commerce, play, and war. It may also have functioned as a kind of postdated creation myth for the industry, sustaining the bunker mentality that by the 1970s, Brown argues, proved as fatal to the toy-makers as it did to much of British manufacturing. Unwilling to change their attitudes once protectionism and compliant colonial markets were no more, and still regarding Europe as the enemy instead of an opportunity, such blue chip bastions as Lines Brothers collapsed under the combined forces of American, Japanese, and Hong Kong competitors with their sharp marketing and electronic sophistication. Neither did they respond successfully to the demands of progressive educationists for politically correct and safe playthings, of the unions for proper wages and conditions, or to asset-stripping corporate raiders who in any decent society would be jailed as thieves.

This book reaches beyond the normal bounds of the corporate chronicle and will absorb social, economic, and cultural historians in its enjoyable narrative, not least because it will prompt in the American or British reader occasional Proustian recollections about childhood brands. There is also some amusing bathos, for example the boycott of German goods “set up in 1919 by W. Maxwell Lyte, proprietor of the Perambulator and Doll Hospital Ltd.” (p. 112). Brown traces the long commercialization of toy manufacture from the dolls produced as sidelines by eighteenth-century woodturners to the plastic cyborg *Transformer* figures made by the American giant Hasbro in the 1980s. He handles this chronological range sensitively and knowledgeably, invoking and adding grist to two main theses: first, that industrialization followed the invention of consumerism by eighteenth-century England; and second, that the industrial revolution was too precocious to expunge the corrupting seeds of traditionalism, snobbery, and nostalgia from the minds of its managerial classes. (See Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and

J. H. Plumb, eds., *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* [1982] and Martin Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit 1850–1980* [1985].) The linking of these models intriguingly presents one as the outcome of the other and suggests that the debate might be profitably extended along the lines of reaction to *consumption* as much as production.

Such a managerialist and culturalist perspective on economic fortunes has its limitations, however. Although Brown's analysis of the business itself is relentless and trenchant, it sometimes begs more comparison with parallel industries, and a fuller exploration of the contextual chains of events, than it gets. The claims of trade unions, regulationists, and radical critics are given short shrift, while the experience of the workers, who were to suffer most, is barely evoked. And although it probably is valid to assess business practice in terms of national characteristics, by using the ethnic category of "British" business, rather than business *in* Britain, Brown biases the account toward manufacturing at the unfortunate expense of retail, wholesale, and imports. More seriously, perhaps, to be so dustily presented and thin on appreciation and meaningful illustration of the toys in hand is a problem for a book whose concluding charge is a lack of marketing and design-mindedness. To show the financial in the cultural is still challenging; to depict the business of material culture as a matter of facts and figures is not.

Nevertheless, this is a quality book, synthesizing substantial research among the trade press, ledgers, parliamentary papers, and contemporary commentators. It is the first of its kind but set to become a standard, and it is a welcome counterpoint to some of the dismally predictable cultural studies that toys invite. Although the Hambledon Press is right to take on projects that treat fashionably marginal micro-topics in unfashionable ways, this book is ripe for a makeover to help it reach the broad readership it deserves.

MARIUS KWINT

The Victoria and Albert Museum and the Royal College of Art

JAMES C. RILEY. *Sick, Not Dead: The Health of British Workingmen during the Mortality Decline*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1997. Pp. xvii, 349. \$58.00.

From the earliest days of social history, in the era of the Hammonds and the Webbs, there has been a consensus that the lot of the common people has been improved by the welfare state. Marxists might debate with liberals whether such meliorist reforms within the capitalist system were sufficient or even desirable, but no one seriously doubted that they had occurred. In the past two decades, however, historians have begun to raise fundamental new questions on this score. In the standard of living debate, a new and more radically optimist school has arisen. During the entire period of

industrialization, it is now argued, the condition of the English worker steadily improved, through the operation of market forces, without any need for intervention by the state. Popular literacy, once regarded as the direct consequence of compulsory education, is now widely seen as another arena in which private provision was the more significant agent, creating schools that were better adapted to workers' desires and needs.

In this bold, workmanlike book, James C. Riley seeks to extend this argument to the health of the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century English working class. Long before the advent of the National Health Service, workers had established their own system of private insurance, organized and managed by the Friendly Societies. Through Friendly Societies, working people pooled their resources to establish a fund on which members could draw when illness struck the family breadwinner. Most Friendly Societies negotiated contracts with local doctors to provide medical services for members, along lines similar to the current system of "managed care."

Drawing on extensive data culled from the directories of the Ancient Order of Forresters, Riley paints a picture of late Victorian and Edwardian public health quite different from the image of chronic illness, occupational debility, and premature mortality that most other historians of the subject have culled from parliamentary bluebooks and the vital statistics of the Registrar General. By contrast, the adult male Friendly Society members, whose health was tracked in Riley's sources, were living longer and enjoying better medical attention: hence the seeming paradox of the book's title.

By joining a group like the Forresters when he was young and healthy, and by continuing to pay dues of between four and sixpence per week, a man could insure himself against the costs of future disability and illness and protect his family from the humiliation of becoming dependent on poor relief. During the second half on the nineteenth century, all but the poorest and most marginal sectors of the male working class gained access to the benefits of a Friendly Society.

Riley finds that the quality of care received from the contracting surgeons (increasingly becoming general practitioners) was quite good. Complaints (at least in public) about treatment and services were rare. Due to a persistent glut of doctors, the societies were able to drive hard bargains. As a result, they obtained excellent value for money, at least until the advent of state medical insurance in 1911, which enabled the doctors to raise their fees. If there were any inner tensions or contradictions within the voluntary system, they stemmed from the fact that as working men lived longer, they became sick and went to the doctor more often. The result was an increasing financial burden on the system of collective self-insurance. To address this problem, the clubs established policies of vigilance and mutual scrutiny, which aimed to limit medical benefits to conditions sufficiently serious to occasion the breadwinners' absence from work.

In sum, Riley's regime of voluntary working-class self-insurance was "a singular, original, and intricate working class solution to a working class problem" (p. 129). It was a privatized solution, he contends, that was superior in some respects to the state insurance system that replaced it. Although certainly conscious of the implications for current policy debates, Riley is careful to acknowledge the problems that would complicate any effort to revive the Friendly Society system today. It relied, he persuasively argues, on a spirit of working-class community and mutual policing that would be difficult to recreate in the mobile, anomic society of our own day. Moreover, the Friendly Society worked by excluding women and children as well as the poorest, the oldest, and the sickest men. Perhaps the Webbs and the Hammonds were right after all. Still, this book provides a careful, thoroughly researched, and fascinating picture of the intersection of working-class self-help with public health and the professionalization of medicine in Britain during the century before the advent of the welfare state.

THEODORE KODITSCHKE
University of Missouri,
Columbia

JOHN M. EYLER. *Sir Arthur Newsholme and State Medicine, 1885–1935*. (Cambridge History of Medicine.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xviii, 422. \$64.95.

Arthur Newsholme, a British physician, public official, and author, helped to expand governmental responsibility for health services to populations and individuals during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. John M. Eyler grounds an authoritative study of Newsholme's professional activities in careful analysis of a mass of archival and published primary sources and critical reading of a rich secondary literature.

Eyler assesses Newsholme's career in an international context. Newsholme was a medical officer of health in local government, mainly in Brighton, and subsequently an official of the department of central government responsible for local affairs. Epidemiological research and public health practice in other industrial countries regularly informed his work. In the 1920s and 1930s, retired from government service, Newsholme studied and wrote about health policy in the United States, Western Europe, and the Soviet Union.

Eyler endorses and extends two revisionist claims about the history of health and social policy. He supports the claim that public health interventions contributed significantly to reducing mortality from infectious disease. Then he aligns himself with historians who argue that politicians and advocates, rather than networks of civil servants, were the major innovators in British social policy in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Moreover, Eyler broadens the scope of public health history by emphasizing conflict about priorities and methods between officials

and politicians as well as among health officers themselves. Public health practice, he argues persuasively, has been grounded in ambition, morality, and convention more often than in applied science.

The most important change in British health policy in Newsholme's generation was the expansion of "state medicine" to include public responsibility for financing services for workers as well as for the poor. Like many other public health officials, Newsholme advocated a contrary policy: the incremental growth of programs targeted to groups with particular needs, for example mothers and infants and persons with tuberculosis and venereal disease. Eyler seems to endorse Newsholme's position in the debate about alternative priorities for state medicine. Newsholme advocated what came to be called a categorical approach to population health. He employed considerable political skill in a losing effort to prevent Britain from integrating the surveillance functions of public health (assessment and assurance in late twentieth-century jargon) with expanding access to routine medical services.

Because of his focus on categorical programs, Newsholme underestimated the emerging international consensus that access to an increasing supply of physician and hospital services and to new vaccines, drugs, and devices provided by private physicians was likely to increase life expectancy and reduce pain and suffering. Newsholme and his allies advocated a state medicine that accorded priority to intervening in populations at greatest risk of particular diseases rather than to subsidizing the increase and diffusion of health care facilities and professionals.

For most of the twentieth century, persons who agreed with Newsholme had less influence on health policy in industrial countries than advocates of increasing access to complex services. George Newman, Newsholme's rival in British government in the second decade of the century, may have been, as Eyler and other historians claim, a self-promoter who lacked compassion for human suffering. But Newman predicted correctly that the winners in twentieth-century health politics would be the advocates of arraying medical services in a hierarchy of sophistication based on industrial and military models in order to apply the results of laboratory science.

Eyler is occasionally an uncritical advocate of Newsholme's positions. For example, he accepts Newsholme's claim that voluntary notification of cases of tuberculosis in the United Kingdom was more effective than compulsion in New York City, despite evidence to the contrary in a chart of Newsholme's that he reproduces (p. 157). Eyler also misstates the history of the Milbank Memorial Fund, an American foundation that was Newsholme's principal employer in the 1920s and 1930s. John Kingsbury, the fund's chief executive officer, and Newsholme coauthored *Red Medicine: Socialized Health in Soviet Russia* (1993), an eyewitness report on health services in the Soviet Union. Eyler conflates Kingsbury's enthusiasm for Soviet medicine before 1935 with his later doctrinaire support of that

country's policies more generally. Contrary to Eyler, moreover, Kingsbury's involuntary departure from the fund was less a result of antagonism to *Red Medicine* than of outrage among leaders of organized medicine at the fund's active support of proposals to include national health insurance in the first Social Security Act.

Nevertheless, this is an exemplary work of mature scholarship. Eyler sets new standards for using primary sources as the basis for writing the history of public health and state medicine.

DANIEL M. FOX
Milbank Memorial Fund

PETER MANDLER. *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1997. Pp. viii, 523. \$45.00.

The heritage industry today is strong around the world, but nowhere more so than in Britain, so often and so widely perceived by ingenuous foreign tourists, and by many English people as well, as a country whose very rivers are "liquid history," as John Burns said of the Thames. Today, the visiting of the many dozens of country houses that are open to the public is a major, popular, and very visible industry, while it is taken for granted even among those who regard such visits as "elitist" that the wanton destruction of virtually any country house is *ipso facto* an act of vandals and philistines. As Peter Mandler demonstrates in this very interesting and well-researched account of the evolution of regard for preserving England's country houses, it was not always so. Prior to the very recent past literally hundreds of British country houses were torn down; the peak of destruction was reached in the 1950s, when forty country houses a year were demolished.

Since the early nineteenth century, public attitudes toward Britain's stately homes have undergone a convoluted series of changes, as have the views of Britain's aristocrats and landed gentry themselves. Until very recently indeed, the owners of Britain's stately homes have regarded them almost exclusively as private property, the private residences of wealthy men with which the public, regardless of the worthiness of their motives, had no right to interfere. A growing awareness of the unique nature of Britain's architectural heritage, through such bodies as the National Trust (founded in 1894), gradually—but only gradually—influenced a reconsideration of this attitude. Much more compelling was economic necessity, with the post-1879 agricultural depression, the death duties and super-taxes introduced by successive Liberal governments from 1894, the two world wars, and unprecedentedly high rates of taxation after 1918 making it virtually impossible for all but the very wealthiest of Britain's landowners to live in the old style. Although the role of the National Trust was well-established by the interwar period, many observers (like Evelyn Waugh) were genuinely surprised at the post-1945 popularity of country house

visiting. Arguably, however, not until the famous 1975 exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum on "The Destruction of the Country House," with its haunting photographs of the wreckers at work, did public concern become fully visible. Mandler traces all of this, in an engaging way, with great skill and deep research. It should be emphasized that he fills a historical gap: those historians, like David Cannadine, Jill Franklin, and F. M. L. Thompson, who have examined the aristocracy and country houses since the late nineteenth century have touched on the subjects examined here only tangentially, if at all.

There are a few matters on which one would have liked more detail. Many would assume (and perhaps Mandler also assumes) that the bulk of the stately homes pulled down in this century belonged to great landowners and aristocrats. Although some did, I think that if one were to carry out a searching investigation one would find that most belonged to minor gentry or to newly rich business families who built stately homes, ephemerally becoming landowners for a generation or two. This does not necessarily make their loss more tragic, but does show that more careful definition may be necessary. This raises an even more basic point: what is a "stately home," and how has the term been defined for the purpose of compiling statistics on destruction? The picture might not be quite so grim as at first glance, with many demolished houses having been glorified villas for merchants and manufacturers without significant architectural merit, however poignant each and every loss was.

There are also a number of comparative points on which it is a pity that Mandler did not comment, however briefly. Parallel to the evolution of the public attitude to the preservation of the stately home has been its attitude to the London mansion and other urban edifices for the rich. Here, the destruction was virtually complete: among the aristocratic mansions of the West End, two survive, only one of which (Apsley House, home of the Duke of Wellington) is still used as a residence. Every other London mansion has been torn down, many in the 1920s when Park Lane and Piccadilly were redeveloped as the venue of luxury hotels, apartments, and offices. It could be argued that the turning point in the preservation of London's historical buildings came as recently as 1962–1963, with the unsuccessful fight to save Euston Arch. How closely did the historical dynamics and social bases of the campaigns to save historic London resemble those behind the National Trust? I suspect that they were very different. Internationally, too, the 1960s seemed to herald a fundamental change in attitudes with, for example, the wanton destruction of Pennsylvania Station in New York in 1964 marking a watershed in America.

W. D. RUBINSTEIN
*University of Wales,
Aberystwyth*

HENRY PELLING. *Churchill's Peacetime Ministry, 1951–55*. New York: St. Martin's. 1997. Pp. ix, 216. \$59.95.

Henry Pelling's death in October 1997 was a considerable loss to students of contemporary British history. A reviewer of his last book approaches the task with a mixture of sadness at its author's recent passing and admiration that the book was completed at all, given Pelling's years of illness and confinement to a wheelchair. Yet Pelling himself would have been the first to insist that any assessment be untinged by personal sentiment. The book's subject has already received an extensive and detailed treatment in Anthony Seldon's *Churchill's Indian Summer: The Conservative Government 1951–55* (1981). But Seldon's work was based on almost every source other than the government papers (which were unavailable at the time). Pelling aimed to fill that gap; he also made use of some cabinet ministers' private papers, similarly unavailable to Seldon. Comparison between the two books is thus unavoidable.

If Seldon's excellent study is much fuller, dealing, notably, with the machinery of government, Pelling is content to provide a brief and pithy account, concentrating on problems and the policies devised to deal with them. His outstanding historical qualities—exactitude, moderation in tone, and a clear, even terse, literary style—are much in evidence. There is, however, little difference in the overall conclusions drawn by Seldon and Pelling. Both authors agree that Winston Churchill's 1951–1955 ministry pursued policies similar to those of the previous Labour administrations, despite a great gulf in propaganda. The point is, of course, that the circumstances were not the same, and it must be said that Seldon was rather more aware of this factor than Pelling. On the domestic front, Churchill's government benefitted enormously from the favorable terms of trade that followed the ending of the Korean War. In the field of foreign policy, Churchill was as thwarted by the clumsiness and intransigence of Soviet diplomacy (despite the death of Joseph Stalin), and by differences with the U.S., as Clement Attlee had been.

Both authors are also exercised by the effect of Churchill's failing health on his government's policy making, a tricky question. Here, Pelling is perhaps the more perceptive, stressing that, in any case, Churchill as a peacetime prime minister was far weaker politically than he had been during the war. He was often at odds with members of his cabinet and the backbenchers represented by the 1922 Committee. For Pelling, Churchill's physical shortcomings were probably responsible, in particular, for his failure to deal with the problem posed by the increasing number of colored immigrants—the social consequences of which Churchill, according to Pelling, clearly foresaw. Yet both historians concur that, ill or not, Churchill remained the key figure, successfully resisting all efforts to remove him until he himself decided to go.

Pelling was one of a host of British (and American)

admirers of Churchill. In this book, he has no doubt that Churchill's final aim in politics—that of setting the world on the way to détente—was a worthy one, even if it was not achieved. His strictures on the great old man's last years in office are thus gentle and rare (although the more telling for that very reason). Pelling certainly does not think that the Conservative Party had changed its spots in 1951. Its basic tendencies were simply inhibited by the fact that most of its leaders were moderates, including, notably, the prime minister. Moreover, Pelling tends to admire consensus. Thus it must be accounted a pity that neither he nor Seldon have attempted to develop or sustain criticism of what future historians may come to consider as one of the weakest (as well as luckiest) British governments on record. It was a government that failed to confront the trade unions as it did the immigration question; it had no particular economic or social vision and, consequently, failed to take advantage of Britain's vastly improved trading position. Seldon could find no overall theme in the government's policies, while Pelling merely hints at the lost opportunities. Nevertheless, their books neatly complement each other and will surely serve as the foundations for future work. Pelling's volume, in particular, should prove an inspiration for historians wondering what to do in their old age.

TREVOR BURRIDGE
EMERITUS
University of Montreal

KATHLEEN PAUL. *Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Postwar Era*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 1997. Pp. xvii, 253. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$16.95.

Measured against any standard, this is an impressive book. It is thoroughly researched, well-written and, most importantly, persuasively argued. Its main subject, the politics of citizenship in postwar Britain, is timely. Moreover, as a piece of contemporary historiography, the book complements and significantly enhances both the established literature on the politics of ethnicity and race in Britain as well as the newer, burgeoning scholarship on the politics of citizenship and national membership in Western Europe.

In systematically comparing the migration experiences of the major immigrant groups of the postwar period—emigrating U.K. residents, immigrating European aliens, Irish immigrants, and migrating colonial subjects and citizens—Kathleen Paul claims to discover a hitherto unappreciated instrumental and racial logic behind the formulation and execution of postwar British citizenship policy. According to Paul, this logic was underpinned by two overriding goals: preserving British influence in the highest decision-making international councils and successfully “balancing several different, competing communities of Britishness within a single empire” (p. 9). Embedded in the 1948 British Nationality Act and, subsequently, in other immigra-

tion, nationality, and citizenship statutes, postwar British citizenship policy, Paul argues, has consistently reflected a "racialized understanding of the [British] empire's population" (p. 22). In operationalizing this racialized understanding, British policy makers have met the various challenges of postwar migration and citizenship discriminately and, ultimately, in harmony with the aforementioned objectives.

Despite the labor shortage that attended the economic boom immediately following World War II, for example, policy makers facilitated the emigration of thousands of British workers to various Commonwealth countries in order to "strengthen the links between Commonwealth members by maintaining the Britishness of the whole and to increase the stature of the British Empire by boosting economic development through demographic growth" (p. 26). In so doing, Paul underscores, they deliberately compromised the interests of the labor-starved domestic economy. Largely because of the exodus of native workers and persistent domestic labor shortages, the British government recruited hundreds of thousands of displaced persons from the continent, the group of so-called European Volunteer Workers, during the early postwar years to work and permanently settle. Although perceived as far from ideal, this population was deemed to be sufficiently malleable and racially fit to be assimilated into British society.

By the early 1950s, this source of immigrant labor was exhausted. As a result, British elites tolerated the arrival of Irish citizens seeking employment and, later on, "coloured British subjects" from the New Commonwealth. It is the different treatment accorded these two groups by policy makers that buttresses Paul's thesis of a racially driven but nevertheless instrumentally oriented logic guiding postwar British citizenship policy. Irish workers, although not formal British citizens, were allowed privileged access to the labor and housing markets and even to the electoral process as a consequence of their implicit status as "first cousins" in the imperial and racial paradigm that informed British postwar citizenship policy. Nonwhite colonial subjects, on the other hand, were from the outset classified as a "problem," despite their status as British citizens. Indeed, over time, this external population was judged to be a sufficient problem to be stripped of formal citizenship. Those who were already permanently settled in the country, while retaining formal citizenship, were excluded from informal definitions of national membership by politicians and other elites who, at every turn, unreservedly challenged the wisdom of having admitted nonwhite immigrants into Britain in the first place.

Although one could quibble in places with Paul's description and analysis of the logic of postwar British citizenship policy, they are, on the whole, convincing. By skillfully mapping the similarities and differences among her four cases, Paul constructs a solid empirical foundation for her argument that official definitions of national membership were and are more important

than formal citizenship in determining which groups are embraced as "British" by elites and, ultimately, by white native citizens. Having conceded the argument, however, Paul can be criticized for overplaying it. After considering all the evidence presented in this book, it is difficult to conclude that successive British governments created and manipulated nationality and migration policy as deliberately and unflaggingly as Paul claims (p. xii). As racist as it is, postwar British citizenship policy is not nearly as coherent and purposeful as this study implies.

The book can also be faulted for its intermittent lapses of subjectivity and emotionalism, as, for example, when Paul insists, without sufficient empirical justification, that the Notting Hill and Nottingham racial disturbances of 1958 "resulted not from a desperate *popular* hostility toward people of color but from the policy-making *elite's* racialized understanding of the world's population and their propagation of this belief to the rest of society" (p. 133). Indeed, the very title of Paul's book exudes the emotionalism that inspires these occasional lapses. Nevertheless, these faults are minor when weighed against the volume's numerous strengths. On the whole, it is an exemplary piece of scholarship and one that will inform and enlighten our understanding of British postwar immigration and citizenship policy for many years.

ANTHONY M. MESSINA
Tufts University

SEONG-HAK KIM. *Michel de L'Hôpital: The Vision of a Reformist Chancellor during the French Religious Wars*. (Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, number 36.) Kirksville, Mo.: Sixteenth Century Journal. 1997. Pp. xi, 216. \$40.00.

Among the first actions taken by Catherine de' Medici on becoming regent of France in 1560 was to appoint Michel de L'Hôpital as chancellor. He became, in effect, her chief minister and embarked on a policy designed to promote concord between Catholics and Protestants in France. How far the policy was Catherine's own rather than her chancellor's is unlikely ever to be established with certainty. L'Hôpital has traditionally been regarded as an early champion of religious toleration—a kind of nineteenth-century liberal before his time. But, as Seong-Hak Kim demonstrates in her excellent book, this reputation is mistaken. The chancellor believed, like most of his contemporaries, that religious uniformity was a desirable end, but unlike them he did not see it as a *sine qua non* of political unity. He shared Niccolò Machiavelli's belief that politics and religion were divisible. The kingdom's greatest ill, in his view, was political disunity fueled by violence, and he believed that the coexistence of two religious faiths was a price worth paying to avoid civil war. In the end, of course, he failed: violence continued, and Catherine lost faith in her chancellor. In 1568, he surrendered his seals of office and retired to his country home at Vignay. Kim incidentally throws

light on L'Hôpital's relations with the house of Guise. He was one of its protégés and, for this reason, aroused the suspicion of Protestants. But the cardinal of Lorraine was for a time genuinely interested in religious compromise; it was only after returning from the Council of Trent that he and L'Hôpital parted company. Ironically, the Catholics suspected the chancellor of being a crypto-Protestant.

Given his importance, L'Hôpital has not received much serious attention from historians. No biography in English has been published since 1905, and two more recent biographies in French were aimed at the general reader. In the meantime, our knowledge of sixteenth-century France in all of its aspects has been much enlarged and refined by recent scholarship. Kim's monograph, based on solid research into printed and manuscript sources, is therefore both timely and welcome. After tracing L'Hôpital's family background and education as a humanist lawyer in France and Italy, she describes his career as *premier président* of the *Chambre des Comptes* and as chancellor of France, which brought him into conflict with the *Parlement* of Paris. Kim has no misgivings about calling L'Hôpital an absolutist. She stresses his total commitment to the idea of an all-powerful monarch under God. For this reason, he strongly objected to any move by the *parlement* or by its provincial counterparts to amend or impede royal legislation. During Charles IX's grand tour of France in 1564 and 1565, the chancellor trounced several *parlements* for dragging their feet in regard to the implementation of the Edict of Amboise. L'Hôpital also made enemies in the legal profession by vigorously condemning the venality of judicial offices. He was among the first statesmen to see that, in the long run, this practice would undermine the king's authority.

Kim's reassessment of L'Hôpital is made all the more effective by her choice of a mainly thematic rather than chronological treatment. The various strands in the minister's thinking and policy are thus more easily followed through. His ideas are illustrated by excerpts from his many remarkable speeches, some of which have been recently reedited by Robert Descimon. Kim makes no exaggerated claims for her subject. She admits that he achieved little within his own lifetime but sees him as "a rare blend of pragmatist statesman and idealist reformer" (p. 194), who helped lay the foundations of the absolutist monarchy of the seventeenth century.

R. J. KNECHT
University of Birmingham,
England

JACQUES ROGER. *Buffon: A Life in Natural History*. Translated by SARAH LUCILLE BONNEFOI. Edited by L. PEARCE WILLIAMS. (Cornell History of Science Series.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997. Pp. xvii, 492. \$49.95.

This study is a peculiar brand of the biographical genre that has unfortunately lost much in translation from one culture to another. Like its subject, it is somewhat singular. George-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon was, by eighteenth-century standards, both a prominent scientist and a literary figure who published a voluminous, illustrated *Natural History* (1749–1767) and wrote an elegant *Discourse on Style* (1753). Yet by modern measures, he was neither an accomplished natural historian nor a towering author. Buffon is not even a typical representative of the Enlightenment or a trendsetter of its intellectual or political realm. Although he purported to be an intellectual, he wrote for a popular audience and his books appear in more library inventories than even the famed *Encyclopédie*. Yet his *Natural History* was more often displayed on bookshelves than read or studied, and few modern historians of literature have had the stamina to do more than flip through the twenty-nine quarto volumes that extend to thousands of pages. The colored illustrations were often reproduced more for their aesthetic value than their naturalistic accuracy.

For all these reasons, writing about Buffon is a mighty challenge. How appropriate that a literary historian of the eighteenth century turned historian of science should attempt to meet it! This book was Jacques Roger's last major project and was finished in 1989, shortly before his sudden death. Thirty-seven years earlier, Roger had prepared a detailed critical edition of Buffon's *Époques de la nature* as his secondary thesis along with the masterful *Les sciences de la vie dans la pensée française du XVIII^e siècle* (1963), which has recently been rendered into English. Buffon was at the core of both dissertations and remained central to the rest of Roger's distinguished career. This biography should therefore stand as definitive; yet it is far from the smooth, integrated work one might have expected.

It was originally written as if spoken to an informed, cultured French public, and the English editors have been forced to add notes to explain allusions not readily understood by non-French readers. The elegant French is at times not properly conveyed in English; verse in particular loses rhyme and charm in translation. Moreover, even the original French version was unorthodox. Chapters recounting Buffon's life story, based on solid documentation including correspondence, are interrupted by chapters devoted to a synopsis of the contents of his writings, which spare the modern scholar from reading his garrulous prose. Using the traditional French technique of *explication de texte*, Roger draws us into Buffon's mind, revealing how this majestic figure was led to his problematic arguments. So attached is he to his subject that Roger more often appears like an apologist for Buffon's serious shortcomings than a dispassionate commentator. Buffon is scarcely measured fairly against his detractors Réaumur, d'Alembert, Diderot or Voltaire, who are today considered more influential figures in science or literature. What Roger is able to

do is provide a convincing case for the pattern of thought Buffon chose to adopt. At the end of the book, he also points to the way Pierre-Simon Laplace and Georges Cuvier turned some of Buffon's brilliant insights into respectable scientific theories.

The most original part of the study is Roger's analysis of Buffon's unusual explanation of the evolution of adult human beings from children and of the distinction Buffon made between humans and other animals in the chain of being. Although not portrayed as a founder of ethology, he attributed a large role to the process by which learning and the environment affected behavior, and by this logic he arrived at a novel notion of the relationship between soul and body. Roger's analysis reveals Buffon as an nonconformist philosopher of nature, unafraid of grand speculation and undaunted by contemporary critics. His rejection of traditional Christian values is patently obvious, not only in the early volumes he wrote on the history of the earth but even more so when he discussed the spiritual nature of human beings.

Roger is not always successful in penetrating behind the majestic exterior of his hero to Buffon's inner psychology. Buffon appears at times as a faithful defender of his Burgundian colleagues; at times as a polite but scheming politician at Versailles or in his official roles as treasurer of the Académie des Sciences, president of the Académie Française, or director of the Royal Gardens; and at other times as a domineering patron of the naturalists under his command. As an individual he was equally idiosyncratic; his old age was devoted to creating a modern metallurgical forge in Montbard, perhaps to surpass the accomplishments of his arch-rival Réaumur. Roger depicts Buffon in this enterprise as a bumbling entrepreneur with little business acumen whose bullying of neighbors who interfered with his plans resulted in protracted law suits. The reader is left with a jumbled picture of a powerful individual whose life was filled with unresolved paradoxes. Despite devoting his career to Buffon, Roger has left much for others to explore. But any future scholar must reckon with this engaging biography.

ROGER HAHN
University of California,
Berkeley

FRANK A. KAFKER. *The Encyclopedists as a Group: A Collective Biography of the Authors of the Encyclopédie*. (Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, number 345.) Oxford: Voltaire Foundation. 1996. Pp. xxvii, 222.

The famous *Encyclopédie* has long been seen as central to the eighteenth-century French Enlightenment. This collective biography examines the similarities and diversity in the lives of the 140 collaborators who contributed articles to the seventeen original volumes published between 1751 and 1765. Frank A. Kafker's careful study treats the following topics: family back-

ground, education, and occupations of the Encyclopedists; how and where they were recruited and how they were paid; their contributions and the censorship and persecution they suffered as a result of participating in the project; their political and religious ideas; their productivity in old age; and, for those who lived beyond 1789, their reactions to the French Revolution and Napoleon.

The work is based on a very useful earlier study by the author (in collaboration with Serena L. Kafker), *The Encyclopedists as Individuals* (1988), as well as on a wide variety of other primary and secondary sources. Meticulously documented, well organized, and clearly written, this work provides a wealth of pertinent information about the Encyclopedists, the *Encyclopédie*, and its place in the Enlightenment.

In addition to providing a collective biography of the Encyclopedists, Kafker states that he aims to fulfil two additional objectives. One is to disprove the stereotype of the Encyclopedists as a unified group striving to destroy the Old Regime. Biographical details, Kafker argues, show they were instead a varied collection of men of letters, physicians, scientists, and craftsmen, each following his own bent. The *Encyclopédie* should be characterized, Kafker believes, not as a party statement but as a compendium of knowledge characterized by contradictions, including both progressive and conservative ideas.

Kafker's other stated objective is to enlarge our knowledge of the French Enlightenment by showing that it was not merely the creation of Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Diderot, and a few others. By his portrayal of the lives of the *Encyclopédie* contributors, Kafker seeks to demonstrate that, having been nourished and shaped by a great number of individuals, the French Enlightenment is best understood as a movement characterized by remarkable diversity.

Kafker reaches other interesting conclusions as well. He finds that, although their work was subject to censorship and some suffered persecution because of their collaboration in the enterprise, only a very few of these individuals suffered serious inconvenience; self-censorship by the contributors, the editors, and the publisher seems to have affected the final product more significantly than censorship by state or church. Kafker finds as well that those Encyclopedists who survived beyond the age of sixty-five remained remarkably productive, and those who survived into the revolutionary and Napoleonic eras were almost all disillusioned by the revolution and ready to accept the kind of order that Napoleon brought to France.

In summary, Kafker's study provides a worthwhile addition to our understanding of the *Encyclopédie* and the French Enlightenment. Although none of his conclusions are strikingly original, they do enrich generally accepted judgements about the famous French enterprise and its contributors. The volume opens with a handy chart of biographical information about the Encyclopedists and concludes with a complete index. It is handsomely produced and free of

typographical errors. Unfortunately, the book appears to be designed for specialists rather than general readers. One would like to be able to recommend it to undergraduate students, but since none of the many generous quotations are translated into English, such readers will likely be more frustrated than enlightened.

RICHARD A. LEBRUN
University of Manitoba

DANIEL HICKEY. *Local Hospitals in Ancien Régime France: Rationalization, Resistance, Renewal, 1530–1789*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1997. Pp. xix, 275. \$44.95.

The present work is a useful synthesis on a much-neglected subject, the organization and history of pre-revolutionary French local hospitals, about which practically nothing has been written in English. Selecting eight local hospitals as case studies in two separate regions of France (Normandy/Brittany in the north and Dauphiné/Provence in the south), Daniel Hickey traces the two-century struggle of absolute monarchy to centralize and "rationalize" local hospitals through closure and expropriation. The crown seized their resources to consolidate or found larger regional institutions, to pay pensions of nobles and military officers, and to finance the costly establishment of 156 *hôpitaux-généraux* all over the kingdom for the internment of beggars and vagabonds.

Notwithstanding the diminution of their numbers to around 1,000 by 1789, local hospitals proved remarkably adept at surviving. This was due in large measure to widespread "resistance" of local leaders. They successfully challenged royal edicts before the courts and defended the integrity of their medieval charters before the pope. They outwitted, or outwaited, lumbering, overlapping, and often contradictory judicial-magisterial-bureaucratic jurisdictions. They often continued old structures under new forms. They alternately acceded to *force majeure* or practiced sullen defiance. Resisting closure, the hospitals that managed to survive expanded facilities and services. This "renewal" extended their life beyond the revolution into the modern era.

In the course of his analysis, Hickey illuminates large and significant trends in the social and political history of early modern France. Operating in defense of local political rights, economic interests, and the control of welfare by bourgeois notables, hospitals were bastions of solidarity against urban and absolutist centralization. Rural elites, who were the principal agents in reforming local assistance, assumed direction of the hospitals and relief agencies, which, in turn, accorded them substantial financial advantages as well as special social status and political control.

Humanist and Catholic Reformation reform doctrine revised the traditional medieval notion of indiscriminate assistance to the sick and poor. Instead it emphasized Christian morality, industry, and self-help, separated the sick and crippled from malingers and

robust beggars, and attempted to rehabilitate the latter in the "great confinement" of the *hôpitaux-généraux*. The emergence of new Christian orders inspired by Vincent de Paul and the Lazarists, and their successful missionary activity all over the kingdom, profoundly revitalized the regime of local hospitals and charity. Under their guidance, many new women's religious nursing orders were founded, drastically altering the traditional role of women in cloister and household and transforming the division of labor between men and women in French hospitals, where thousands of women would play significant, often directing roles.

In the last decades before the revolution, ministers Clément-Charles-François de Laverdy, Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot, and Jacques Necker pursued policies designed to separate the sick from the poor and to impose a distinction in the type of care each received. These ministers fought the large confinement hospitals because they were costly, inefficient, and aggravated rather than diminished illness and dependency. They expended precious resources to seek alternatives and to establish new institutional models: localizing and laicizing assistance, creating employment opportunities for the able-bodied; and supporting the work of social reformers as well as physicians and scientists to redefine the purpose, function, and operation of the hospital as a purely medical institution. This work is only sketchily addressed by the author. No mention is made of Jacques Tenon and his fellow scientists, who laid the foundations of the modern hospital, nor of the implacable battles of the religious nurses in the largest hospital in France, the Paris Hôtel-Dieu, which seriously undermined them. By reversing two hundred years of centralizing royal repression, Enlightenment policy enhanced the wealth and renewal of local hospitals.

Notwithstanding vexing misspellings, Hickey has written a learned, thoughtful monograph that synthesizes archival documentation alongside an impressive corpus of regional and institutional studies. Numerous maps, tables, glossaries, appendixes, and bibliography are invaluable. Although some readers may object to the absence of detail on the conditions and services to the sick and poor, Hickey has drawn the story of local hospitals into the mainstream of more than two centuries of conflicting values and politics in *ancien régime* France.

LOUIS S. GREENBAUM
North Amherst, Massachusetts

PAUL M. COHEN. *Freedom's Moment: An Essay on the French Idea of Liberty from Rousseau to Foucault*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1997. Pp. x, 229. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$13.95.

Are Jean-Jacques Rousseau's ideas about freedom responsible for governmental instability in France since 1789? Freedom as the recovery of the naturally good, pre-social self has certainly been a way of reading Rousseau at least since the time of Maximilien

Robespierre, whose effort to perpetuate the “free moment” in a collective order ended in the Terror. Have France’s most prestigious schools, the École Normale Supérieure and the Collège de France, fostered conditions that encourage professors to challenge the moral foundations of society? Paradoxically, institutions—including the Committee of Public Safety, the schools mentioned above, and the Académie Française—have enhanced and made more possible the expression of corrosive critiques of society than if their expounders had lived in poverty (except for Jean-Paul Sartre, the Rousseau disciple who went beyond his master by rejecting appointments to prestigious institutions and prizes). As Christopher Kelley has shown in *Rousseau’s Exemplary Life: The Confessions as Political Philosophy* (1987), beneath the poses of simplicity and illness a most subtle mind was at work creating a Diogenesque persona that would be every bit as influential as his writings. Paul M. Cohen refers to this phenomenon as the “mythic archetype” (p. 49) of the individual; Johann Huizinga referred to the same phenomenon as “historical ideals of life” (*Men and Ideas* [1959], pp. 77–96). In the case of Rousseau, history as biography nourished the persona more than myth and was (is) consistent with the philosophe’s intentions. Ideas of freedom and the exemplary philosophical life have attracted numerous intellectuals who have literally lived and articulated the ideal of the individual recovery of the natural free man from the highest “pulpits” of the nation.

After Robespierre, Stendahl, Jules Michelet, Henri Bergson, Charles Péguy, Sartre, and Michel Foucault not only enunciated radical critiques of institutions and scientific disciplines but also, and perhaps more originally, traced out exemplary relations as individuals with the “other,” whether criminal or in some other way characterized by society as deviant or aberrant. Binary oppositions between the individual-versus-society mode of analysis, inherited from the ancient Greeks, deepened as the Rousseau disciples pushed harder and harder on the radical individualist side. Nannerl Keohane’s *Philosophy and the State in France* (1980) might have offered a useful perspective to Cohen, whose work is in fact a continuation of that book. The Rousseau disciples have been deeply engaged with public issues, despite the pursuit of often quite unpopular and disturbing causes. In Stendahl’s Julien Sorel, the relation between language, action, and institutionalized justice attains heroic dimensions that probably would have shocked Rousseau. Michelet’s exploration of the relations among women, priests, and sex strained but did not break the Rousseauian construct of belief in God, while rejecting institutionalized religion. Bergson and Péguy, by their hostility to bourgeois values and the latter’s celebration of military courage, kept alive the belief that individual freedom required an anarchist attack on established morals. Sartre’s ontology, more tortured still than either Rousseau’s or Julien Sorel’s, and Foucault’s critique of criminal justice systems as well

as scientific disciplines (except history) also went far deeper than Rousseau’s vague, semi-historical, semi-idealist notions of the natural man.

Cohen was right not to title his book *The French Idea of Freedom*, although it is evident that for his own fulfillment of a “historical ideal of life” (as a student of the late Leonard Krieger), he should be destined to write a book with such a title. There is so much more in the French idea of freedom than the Rousseauian tradition. As Keohane’s work also shows, Rousseau’s exemplary individualism was part of a much older movement, elements of which would continue to shape French philosophy quite independently of Rousseau.

Cohen leaves the reader to infer conclusions. It may be that he is himself a bit terrified by his findings, since they seem to enforce ideas of French exceptionalism, if not dangerous peculiarity. I would prefer to see the whole project as enhancing and deepening the understanding of the potential of the individual. Fretting over French government instability might be something left to political scientists. Such fretting also implies that stability is somehow morally superior to instability, an issue almost beyond history. Cohen is a fine close reader of biographical and textual material, notwithstanding his misplaced emphasis on the use of the word penetration, which, I suspect, would be objected to by all the “consecrated heretics” (pp. 5–10) whose sense of the need to maintain the public valence of the French language is evident to the point that psychoanalytical inferences would be dismissed.

That there is a distinct masculinist underpinning to this entire Diogenesque project, however, is also certain. Dena Goodman (after David Hume) has recently reminded everyone (in *The Republic of Letters* [1992]) just how masculinist all argument is in philosophy. Not a single Rousseauian disciple discussed here really sought to imagine himself as a woman, despite all their efforts to explore the “other.” But there is nothing particularly French in this omission; one has only to mention the name of Bertrand Russell, certainly a “consecrated heretic” but also certainly not French.

OREST RANUM

Johns Hopkins University

CLIFFORD D. CONNER. *Jean Paul Marat: Scientist and Revolutionary*. (Revolutionary Studies.) Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press International. 1997. Pp. xiii, 285. \$55.00.

In his introduction, Clifford D. Conner suggests that it is almost impossible to write a dispassionate biography of Jean-Paul Marat, and the rest of his book shows us why. Conner is honest, well-informed, and by no means uncritical, but his favorable verdict on Marat is unlikely to make many converts. One of the main reasons for this is that Conner is inclined to accept at face value Marat’s own accounts of his activities, even if he is scrupulous about telling the reader when he is doing so. What Conner does *not* do, however, is tell us about Marat’s more ludicrous attempts at self-glorifi-

cation: claims that in 1774, Lord North spent 8,000 guineas to delay the publication of Marat's *Chains of Slavery* until after the British election; that Jacques Necker offered him a bribe of one million livres; that in 1791, the French government was pursuing him with five spies and two thousand assassins. The charge against Marat is not that he was inclined to exaggerate but that he was either a deliberate liar on a massive scale or that he inhabited a fantasy world in which he was always St. George, the only man capable of taking on an endless succession of dragons.

The skepticism generated by Marat's unreliability on matters of fact extends to every aspect of his career. Conner dedicates his book "To the wretched of the earth, for whom Marat lived and died." There was not much evidence of that in those years before the revolution, when Dr. Marat's expensively treated patients were drawn mainly from the aristocracy and he himself was attached to the household of the Comte d'Artois. On the other hand, he spent a very harassed and uncomfortable three years on the run after 1789, when he would not have found it difficult to strike some sort of a deal with the revolutionary authorities.

Whereas the assessment of most people's motives is a matter drawing fine distinctions, in Marat's case only the absolutes seem plausible, and one's choice of extreme is liable to be influenced by one's political inclination. In this dilemma, it is tempting to try to assess Marat's actions on their own merits, and it is here that Conner scores his most striking success. In one hundred carefully researched and closely argued pages, he shows that, during the 1780s, Marat was not some kind of charlatan but a serious scientist, even if, as Conner concedes, he was also an "aggressive self-promoter." The negative side of this achievement is that Conner leaves himself with little more than another hundred pages in which to explore Marat's political career. As a result, his study of the politician amounts to little more than a summary of his attitudes and actions during the main crises of the revolution, and there is no serious attempt to examine the content and influence of his newspaper.

It is not merely shortage of space, however, that leaves the reader skeptical about Conner's claim that Marat provided the Montagnards with indispensable leadership. That was probably his view, but it was certainly not theirs. As one follows the development of Marat's hostility to one popular leader after another, culminating in his denunciation of Jacques Roux, who had sheltered him when he was on the run from the police, the futility of trying to separate motive from achievement becomes obvious. This raises the question of whether Marat's real concern—as he himself once admitted—was not the pursuit of personal glory, whether as the man who confounded Isaac Newton or as the unchallengeable savior of the *sans-culottes*. This returns us to our original dilemma: if we are not to take Marat at his own estimation, it is difficult to take him seriously. Conner has presented us with the case for the defense. Even if it fails to convince the jury, his

exposition of Marat's scientific work may be held to constitute some sort of extenuating circumstance.

NORMAN HAMPSON
University of York

JOHN MARKOFF. *The Abolition of Feudalism: Peasants, Lords, and Legislators in the French Revolution*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1996. Pp. xviii, 689. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$25.00.

When the National Assembly declared that it was entirely abolishing the feudal regime in France, some may have imagined that this was a clear act, simple to execute. But it rapidly generated a whole industry of debate, commentary, theorizing, research, and explanation that has proliferated over two centuries and poses some of the major issues of modern social science.

John Markoff's contribution to the historical literature on this topic is by a wide margin the best. He has carried out a thorough exploration of public opinion and collective action, giving contingency the place it deserves, distinguishing long-term trends from short-term struggles, and constructing explanations of the peasants' and the legislators' comportment to conform to rather than supersede the evidence he has found.

Indeed, the book is based on a mass of evidence. In all, 1,112 *cahiers de doléances* were translated into an artificial code so that their statements could be counted by computers. (The code was devised by Gilbert Shapiro and Markoff, and is explained in their book, *Revolutionary Demands* [1998].) For accounts of collective violence by country people from 1788 to 1793, Markoff drew information from 130 secondary works, beginning with Anatolii Ado's Russian-language thesis. He found more than 4,000 instances, which he painstakingly classified by their motives and tactics into twenty-one types of anti-seigneurial action and more than sixty other specific types. Markoff followed the legislative history from the glorious night of August 4, 1789, through subsequent laws of March 15, 1790, August 25, 1792, July 17, 1793, and a score of lesser enactments. In elucidating bourgeois attitudes toward peasants, he found an illuminating discussion in a report by two commissioners, Jacques Godard and Léonard Robin, sent to investigate peasant turbulence in Quercy at the end of 1790.

On the basis of the *cahiers*, Markoff is able to analyze in detail what the peasants were prepared to say they wanted at that moment, what the urban notables speaking for the Third Estate wanted, and what the nobility wanted. The peasants spoke principally of the burdens placed on them by institutions outside of the village: state, church, and lord. The Third Estate expressed many concerns, most prominently their opposition to privilege and to hindrances to free markets. The nobles displayed their sensitivity to individual liberty and constitutional questions. Some nobles sought to defend seigneurial rights in terms of property and individual rights (not as immu-

table tradition); many noble assemblies omitted any discussion of seigneurial rights.

Inherent in the *cahiers*, therefore, was the potential for an anti-seigneurial alliance once the issue of taxation became less inflamed than in April 1789. Markoff offers valuable methodological lessons on how to read and interpret these documents. He makes short work of a historian who "had a habit of making quasi-quantitative statements without actually counting anything" (p. 598).

The *cahiers* by themselves did not cause the legislators to adopt the decree abolishing the "feudal regime." Markoff found that "the greatest waves of rural insurrection were all followed by major legislative acts. Seigneurial rights were placed on the agenda by insurrection" (p. 511). At times when Paris was quiet, lawmakers did not make concessions to peasants. On the other hand, insurrection in Paris but not in the countryside brought no important legislation on rural issues. To bring about anti-seigneurial legislation, peasant insurrections had to be large and widespread but did not have to display anti-seigneurial themes.

In his concluding chapter, Markoff refers to two interpretations commonly found in historical writing: the first, "that the plebeian violence was but a tragic sideshow in a history primarily driven by elite reform. The second, the view that the elite reform was nothing but a fraud" (p. 588). As a whole, his work will persuade readers that both those views are wrong.

In the course of reaching his conclusions about the ending of the seigneurial system, Markoff develops a view of the process of revolutionary change that brought about that result. The anti-seigneurial alliance "was made, as rural communities and legislative factions each learned how to use the other. What unfolded, then, was a process of bargaining . . . The alliance came to exist as radical legislators and militant peasants both seized the moment. The revolution was not, however, a single moment, but a prolonged series of moments when the actions of a subject population and a group of power holders created new opportunities for each other" (p. 514).

In the attempts during recent decades to dismantle the traditional Jacobin account of the French Revolution, what has been largely missing is a different narrative scheme with any credibility. It is not the least of Markoff's accomplishments that he suggests some elements of what such a scheme must include.

PHILIP DAWSON

EMERITUS

City University of New York

KEN ALDER. *Engineering the Revolution: Arms and Enlightenment in France, 1763–1815*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1997. Pp. xvi, 476. \$59.50.

Ken Alder takes a Tocquevillean line in this book. He asserts that French engineers, notably those of the artillery of the Royal Army, promoted meritocracy under the *ancien régime* and continued to do so, more

successfully, under the revolutionary and Napoleonic regimes. The book consists of three parts. In part one, the engineers convert "capital into coercion"; in part two, they convert "coercion into capital"; and in part three, centered on the Terror and Thermidor (1793–1795), the engineers are "at the head of the revolutionary state" and effect a partial "technocratic Revolution" (pp. 19–20).

If Alder's initial explanation of his work is somewhat obscure, he quickly clarifies matters. He shows that the "disaster" (for the French) of the Seven Year's War (1756–1763) brought home to the king and his ministers the key role that the artillery engineers must play in army modernization. Louis XV named Jean-Baptiste Vaquette de Gribeauval director of engineers. (A hero of Schweidnitz, Gribeauval had been praised by his enemy, Frederick the Great, who recognized his skillful use of artillery. After some political infighting, Gribeauval became inspector of artillery under Louis XVI. His system included lighter, more maneuverable cannon (and carriages); packaged shot and powder, making for more rapid fire; and interchangeable parts, devised by Honoré Blanc (which were, however, rejected as too expensive). The "Gribeauvalists" were supported by the military theorists of the time, including J.-A.-H. Guibert. The budget for artillery was expanded, while that for the line army was reduced.

Meanwhile, the artillery had initiated commissioning and promotion of officers on merit. Its engineering school was the first sponsored by the crown (1720). Perforce, one might say, officers were rated by merit both in school and thereafter. Alder shows that the artillery recruited from the upper bourgeoisie and the lower nobility. Unlike members of the court and upper nobility, they disdained neither study, nor technical work, nor dealing with manufacturers and artisans. Alder gives a fine statistical picture of the artillery corps under the *ancien régime*: fourteen percent were commoners and eighty-six percent nobles, but not high nobles. Many were descendants of judicial and financial officers ennobled by the king, including Gribeauval himself (p. 76). In September 1792 (after Louis XVI was deposed), only eighteen percent of infantry and cavalry officers remained in the army, but forty-two percent did of engineers (p. 83).

Promotion in the artillery was slow, but it became the elite corps. The engineers failed to "sell" interchangeable parts for cannon (and later muskets) to provincial manufacturers because they demanded quality and efficiency (while private and semi-private producers respected profits).

The triumph of the engineers came during the Terror (1793–1794), when two former Royal Army engineers—Lazare Carnot and Claude-Antoine Prieur—masterminded the military effort that "saved" the republic. Carnot has been celebrated as the "Organizer of Victory," because of his introduction and management of the *levée en masse* and activities to supply the army and to inspire and instruct the new recruits through representatives-on-mission (which

role he sometimes took himself). Alder makes Prieur a co-Organizer of Victory because of his direction of the Manufacture de Paris, which turned out masses of muskets (if of low quality) during 1793–1794.

I am not enchanted with Alder's use of the English language. His "artifacts" are manufactures. His repeated use of "epistemology" and its derivatives is inventive, to say the least. And why Gribenauvalists, Vallièrists, and even [Henry] Fordists? On substantive matters, I have doubts about the influence of Francis Bacon on scientific thought (p. 61), the success of the Manufacture de Paris (p. 288), the superiority of the Soldiers of the Year II (p. 345), and a few other things. But none of these undermine the author's thesis.

This a fine work, grounded in research in French archives and a plethora of other sources. Alder has forcefully demonstrated the role of engineers in fostering social change in the eighteenth-century and revolutionary eras and has become an expert on their weaponry and its production—from gunlocks to boring machines. If the "New Historians" take notice, he may well accomplish his stated purpose: "to help bridge the gap between our current cultural-linguistic histories and the older social-materialist histories" (p. xiv).

OWEN CONNELLY
University of South Carolina

LAURA MASON. *Singing the French Revolution: Popular Culture and Politics, 1787–1799*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 268. \$39.95.

Laura Mason says that, until now, historians have seen the political culture of the French Revolution as "an instrument forged by legislators and cultural elites to educate and control an unruly citizenry" (p. 5). In this study of song in Paris between 1787 and 1799, she promises to "demonstrate that political culture was . . . a contested terrain over which countless individuals and political factions struggled" (p. 7).

According to Mason, song during the Old Regime was regarded as lowbrow, lowlife, and frivolous. Everybody sang, but everybody disdained song as "popular." Even when a barrage of satirical songs helped to bring down the ministry in 1787, song was not seen as serious. It could mock official culture, but it could never join it.

The taking of the Bastille in July 1789 was a victory for the common people and their "song culture," which, according to Mason, gave the *sans-culottes* "lyrical centrality" (p. 107). From 1790 to 1792, the *sans-culottes* sang *Ça ira*. Royalists countered with *O Richard, ô mon roi*. In 1792, republicans turned to the *Marseillaise*, with its evocation of Manichean clashes between patriots and the slaves of tyranny. By 1793, the battle of songs was over; the common people and their "song culture" had triumphed. The revolutionary spirit had merged into official culture. The Terror, which was "univocal," had begun (p. 211).

Thermidor ended this univocality. After the fall of Robespierre, revolutionary singers could not "imagine

a polysemous anthem that meant many things to many people" (p. 145). The Thermidorean *jeunesse dorée*, who sang the *Réveil du peuple*, battled the left, who sang the *Marseillaise* and (beginning in 1794) the *Chant du départ*. The government tried to end this battle of songs, first by ordering people to sing the *Marseillaise* and, when that failed, by forbidding them to sing in public. The people, who by 1795 had lost faith in the revolution (p. 188), willingly acquiesced. They withdrew to the private spaces of their cafés to sing of wine and war. Sometimes they mocked their government in song, just as they had in 1788. Song culture had come full circle "from the oppositional singing of the Old Regime to the oppositional singing of the Directory" (p. 183). The culture of the empire, in which a cynical people obeyed the government, cheered its victories, and vented their discontent in private, was already in place by 1796 (p. 203). Years later, songs born in the cafés and *goguettes* would emerge and rouse the people to revolution in 1830, 1848, and 1871 (pp. 203–206, 219).

Mason's research on Paris is extensive and her conclusions are suggestive. But did all revolutionary "song culture" emerge from eighteenth-century popular culture? The Old Regime had produced popular songs that merchants sold cheaply to market crowds, but it had also produced a rich tradition of operas, religious hymns, and official anthems that embodied and transmitted the virtues of nobility, devotion, and honor. The *Marseillaise*, with its stately rhythms, grand words, and wide vocal range, came from this tradition of high culture—it offered to the nation the same worshipful enthusiasm that had formerly been offered to the church. *Ça ira* and the *Carmagnole* were revolutionary songs set to simple popular tunes. But when the people sang the *Marseillaise* and the *Chant du départ*, they were appropriating a high culture that had its roots in the opera, the church, and the court of the Old Regime.

What was changed by the revolution? New men in strange clothes were speaking new words, but cultural structures remained surprisingly intact. French governments before, during, and after the revolution sponsored songs that called for loyalty and virtue, while people at all levels of society wrote sprightly ditties that mocked the establishment. Has it ever been otherwise, except under tyrannies like the Terror, which cowed its opponents into silence and allowed only half a culture to survive?

The study of song raises many questions. Does song dissipate or arouse public feeling? (Mason gives arguments on both sides but, perhaps wisely, she remains neutral.) Did song teach republicanism to the people, as Michel Vovelle claims, or did people parrot songs without understanding their meaning? Did song extend the Enlightenment by spreading reason in an easy-to-learn form, or did it open the Romantic age by drowning reason in a flood of passions? Mason's opinions would have been welcome.

This learned, suggestive book demands a sequel that

looks beyond Paris and analyzes more of the 3,000-odd songs written between 1789 and 1800, the people who sang them, and the ideas they represented. A broader study could explore how many of the new words actually described old things.

EDGAR LEON NEWMAN
New Mexico State University

MARTIN PHILLIP JOHNSON. *The Paradise of Association: Political Culture and Popular Organizations in the Paris Commune of 1871*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1996. Pp. viii, 321. \$44.50.

GONZALO J. SÁNCHEZ. *Organizing Independence: The Artists Federation of the Paris Commune and Its Legacy, 1871–1889*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 235. \$47.50.

The centennial histories of the Paris Commune of 1871 were broadly cast. They analyzed the rise and fall of the Commune, the politics of its leaders, the motives of its political and military opponents in Versailles, its demise during the bloody fighting with the French army, and the place of the Commune in the history of revolution. The histories that have appeared around the Commune's 125th anniversary are more narrowly focused. Those of Martin Phillip Johnson and Gonzalo J. Sánchez are illustrative of the new approach. Neither attempts to tell the whole history of the Commune. Johnson analyzes the role of popular organizations in determining the direction of the revolution. Sánchez examines the effect of the Commune on the organization of Parisian artists. The connection between the two stories lies largely in the person of Gustave Courbet, the most famous artist associated with the Commune. His declaration in April 1871 that "Paris is a true paradise . . . all social groups have established themselves as federations and are masters of their own fate," provides Johnson with the title for his book and Sánchez with his subject matter.

Johnson argues that radical political organizations in Paris—vigilance societies and political clubs—played a pivotal role in the creation and direction of the revolution known as the Commune. They had planned for revolution and, when the national government attempted to disarm the city on March 18, they swung into action, taking control of the arrondissement *mairies* and the Hôtel de Ville, resisting the attempts of the Parisian mayors and National Assembly representatives to take control of the city, and becoming the elected leaders of the Commune. Johnson's quantitative study of the membership of the clubs and the Commune nicely makes his case. The leaders of the clubs became the leaders of the Commune. Without them and the revolutionary tradition in which they deeply believed, the Commune, as we know it, would not have existed.

What is missing from Johnson's study are the actors on the other side of the conflict. While the Commune would not have taken the shape it did without the

discussions and plans of the republican and socialist organizations, it also would not have taken that shape without the opposition of Adolphe Thiers, the head of the national government, and the National Assembly. Thiers's refusal to negotiate with the men who became the city's leaders after he abandoned it on March 18, the army's bombardment of Paris, and the execution of national guardsmen who were captured in battle also determined the Commune's character. By focusing almost exclusively on the radical organizations of Paris, Johnson underestimates the importance of other actors in this drama.

Johnson includes both men and women in his study, but he overstates the Commune's potential for radical change in their relationship. He argues that women's participation in the armed defense of the Commune would have resulted in an "inversion" of gender roles if the Commune had been victorious. Female Communards did join in the city's defense, and many of them believed in civil equality for men and women. They did not, however, seek an inversion of gender roles that would place women hierarchically above men. Nor were they optimistic about the prospects for equality in the event of victory.

Like Johnson, Sánchez is interested in political organizations. For artists, however, the Commune was more of a grand opportunity to organize and wrest aesthetic and financial control from government hands than it was a fruition of their plans. Like other republicans, many artists had participated in earlier French revolutions. They also had engaged in skirmishes with the Second Empire over the control of their work. But they had made little headway with their major concerns: government control of patronage, entry into the salons, and the content of their work.

Sánchez examines artists' political activities and organizations before and during the Commune with an emphasis on the creation of the *Fédération des Artistes*. The Federation worked to achieve both their long-term goals for self-regulation and to protect the city's art from the army's bombardment. (Artists also undertook the latter during the Prussian siege of the city in 1870.) Like Johnson, Sánchez traces the political activities of individuals across time and analyzes the retribution exacted upon them by the conservative Third Republic.

Sánchez's book would have profited from considerably more illustrations (both of the work discussed in the text and of the most famous works by these artists), since it is that work that makes the men's political activities interesting and important. Many readers will also regret Sánchez's decision to downplay Courbet's activities and work, since it removes the politically most important and culturally most famous artist from the story.

Together, these studies remind us of the enthusiasm with which the revolution of 1871 was greeted and the hopes and desires that men and women invested in the Commune. They also demonstrate the importance of planning and organization for the achievement of

radical change. The defeat of the Commune by the conservative forces arrayed at Versailles meant that the socialists and other radicals who had planned for revolution and the republican artists who took advantage of it would pay a high price for their attempts to achieve substantial change in their lives and occupations. For a brief time, however, most of them undoubtedly felt they had had a taste of paradise.

GAY L. GULLICKSON
University of Maryland

MATT K. MATSUDA. *The Memory of the Modern*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. vi, 255.

Citing Frances Yates's classic study of the Renaissance, *The Art of Memory* (1966) and the collective French endeavor, *Les lieux de mémoire*, edited by Pierre Nora (1984–1993) as models, Matt K. Matsuda endeavors to show that there was a distinctive form of memory in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century France, "quite unlike that of any other period" (p. 4). To do this, he brings together a cabinet of curiosities from the period, incidents and institutions ranging from the Paris Bourse to self-help books on memorization, from neurological theories to the tango craze on the eve of the Great War. The nature of memory was certainly a major preoccupation of French intellectuals during the period from 1870 to 1914: Matsuda cites Henri Bergson's *Matière et mémoire* (1896) as an example. But the concept was, and remains, an elusive one. Matsuda shifts from memory as an individual psychological faculty, located in the brain (or perhaps only in the relations between parts of the brain, as he claims Paul Broca and other neuroanatomists came to realize during this period), to collective memory, regarded sometimes as a political construct; the "memory of the state," embodied in official records and identity documents, sometimes as a collective social phenomenon; and also to memory as a philosophical category. The diversity of themes treated in the book demonstrates that virtually any phenomenon can be discussed in terms of memory, even the stock market, whose obsessive concern with the latest news, Matsuda argues, made it a site of anti-memory, "a temple of time without a sense of history, memory, or priority of events" (p. 59). Matsuda's eclectic method generates many interesting insights, such as his suggestion that the shift in nineteenth-century memory training methods, from a classically based procedure in which data was associated with carefully arranged visual images to one in which arbitrarily chosen letters and numbers were used as mnemonics, foreshadowed the Saussurian theory of language as a system of arbitrary signs. At other times, as in his discussion of the conflict between French prisoner-settlers in New Caledonia and the Canaque population, what Matsuda describes as a conflict between "memory traditions" (p. 145) seems equally understandable, in more familiar terms, as a struggle over land and power.

The overall impression left is a confusing one, partly

because Matsuda himself wants to see memory in the *fin de siècle* as both multiple and yet unified by common concerns with such issues as the accelerated pace of technological change and the implications of an evolutionary view of human development. His essays lack the clear chronological framework of the contributions to *Les lieux de mémoire*. Although Matsuda makes some interesting observations about the ways in which memory was seen to vary among social groups—psychiatric experts in rape and sex abuse cases contended that women's memories were inherently less reliable than those of men—he tends to treat memory in isolation from social context. He makes reference to state officials' idealized notion of France's rural past, for example, but says nothing about how peasants themselves may have recalled earlier eras. Eager to bring to light topics that at first glance may seem to have little to do with collective memory, Matsuda curiously and without explanation neglects "memory sites" such as school manuals, public monuments, and state funerals in which the French past was explicitly given shape. At times, his efforts to provide context are unconvincing: the notion that the tango craze of 1911–1914 reflected a "nationalist furor" is hard to square with extensive research that has shown how little real enthusiasm for war there was in the summer of 1914. The complexity and diversity of the materials he does treat would have made for difficult reading even without the handicap of sometimes awkward writing and inexcusably sloppy proofreading. The well-known French historian Maurice Agulhon's name is at least consistently misspelled "Aghulon;" several other figures suffer the indignity of having their names spelled two different ways on the same page. A publisher as distinguished as Oxford University Press should surely hold its authors and editors to higher standards. Despite these flaws, the book makes a provocative contribution to the scholarly literature on the anxieties that beset French and European culture in the half-century that preceded 1914. Like Debora Silverman in *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France* (1989), Matsuda brings together diverse elements of high and low culture, old traditions and new technological innovations, and finds significant connections among them.

JEREMY D. POPKIN
University of Kentucky

J. F. V. KEIGER. *Raymond Poincaré*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 413. \$64.95.

In J. F. V. Keiger's long-awaited scholarly biography of Raymond Poincaré, one of the French Third Republic's most important political leaders, whose career spanned over forty years (1887–1929), finally receives a full-scale study in English. Heretofore, scholars have relied on older French studies without detailed references. Using new archival material and an extensive bibliography of published works, Keiger follows the Lorraine patriot from family origins, education, and

early political career to his emergence as a political leader in the 1890s. The book's high point is Poincaré's premiership (1912) and presidency of the republic (1913–1920); it ends with his premierships in the 1920s. Keiger looks at the “whole of Poincaré's life . . . through the prism of the myths associated with his name from ‘*Poincaré-la-guerre*’ to ‘*Poincaré-le-franc*’” (p. 2), hoping to alter the unfavorable historiography that has dogged Poincaré's image in his country's collective memory.

Elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1887, Poincaré was a moderate republican in the tradition of Jules Ferry, with financial rigor and patriotism two of his persistent characteristics. Minister of education and culture in 1893, he was at thirty-two the Third Republic's youngest minister, one of the unsullied men who rose to prominence after the Panama scandal. Keiger perceptively discusses moderate republicanism's ambiguities (pp. 59–61): its incorporation of order and progress into a republican governmental system; political, economic and religious freedom; laicism; and national unity. Poincaré's wavering behavior during the Dreyfus Affair demonstrated a characteristic reluctance to act unless a decision was risk free, leading contemporaries to accuse him of an absence of determination (Georges Clemenceau) or a phobia of responsibility (Alexandre Millerand); as Keiger puts it, self-doubt was his Achilles heel (p. 99).

Keiger notes Poincaré's interest in foreign policy as premier in 1912 and his conviction that the balance of power best guaranteed peace. Acceptance of the republic's presidency in 1913 did not end this concern for foreign issues. In 1914, Austrian Archduke Francis Ferdinand's assassination initially elicited little French response, and the absence of Poincaré and Premier René Viviani during most of July largely isolated France's principal decision-makers from the period's diplomatic maneuvers. Furthermore, loyalty to alliance commitments rather than a free hand characterized Poincaré's program during his Russian visit. To Keiger, Poincaré was responsible for restraining Russia so that Germany incurred blame for the war's outbreak. Viviani's ill health and lack of foreign policy expertise allowed the president unusual influence during the July crisis, although events largely constrained even his choices.

For Keiger, the important “*Poincaré-la-guerre*” myth derived from postwar German efforts to shift the war's blame to the French president. Wartime rumors (probably financed by Germany) linking the conflict to Poincaré's activities became common currency of the postwar revisionist campaign. But new archival evidence proves that Poincaré took a more passive role and had limited influence on wartime policy. With few exceptions, he played little part in wartime decision making or in the later peace-making process, a cause of considerable bitterness toward the popular Clemenceau and self-pity for the constitutionally dictated powerless presidential role.

When Poincaré returned to the political fray in 1920,

he was initially seen as a staunch defender of France's rights under the Versailles Treaty. Accused of being an anti-German political reactionary, he was actually accommodating, even weak, on the 1922 reparations defaults and the 1923 Ruhr occupation. Caught between the need for good Anglo-French relations and German treaty compliance, Poincaré was hesitant to risk an active policy. His choice of a collective rather than a unilateral solution to the end of German passive resistance (transfer reparations to a committee of experts) launched France, Keiger argues, on the road to Locarno and Franco-German reconciliation.

Poincaré, who resigned after the *Cartel des Gauches* electoral victory of May 1924, watched the deterioration of France's financial situation from the sidelines. The financial crisis of 1926 returned him to power as head of a government of republican union—long a republican dream—that included six former premiers. His government by the center stabilized the franc at twenty percent of its prewar value, a figure roughly reflective of French economic performance, but delaying the stabilization bill until after the 1928 elections did not preserve the center coalition. Poincaré's resignation for health reasons in July 1929 ended a generation of rule by centrist politicians.

Although Keiger's comprehensive discussion of this important politician's career is a significant contribution to the historical literature, its research base is somewhat uneven. The book's central portion, covering the years 1912–1920, utilizes Poincaré's unpublished letters, journals, and foreign and finance ministry documents to supplement his published memoirs. The earlier and later sections, where Keiger too often relies on secondary sources for direct quotes and information, are somewhat disappointing from a research point of view.

Keiger sees Poincaré as a hero of normalcy and moderation who defended political, economic, and social stability in France. He disputes Poincaré's reputation as a reactionary, bigoted, nationalist Germanophobe. Rather, he was the epitome of political moderation, a practitioner of politics as the art of the possible whose goal was a liberal, democratic French society. Despite its limitations, Keiger's biography is a valuable contribution to the history of Third Republic France.

MARJORIE M. FARRAR
Chestnut Hill,
Massachusetts

VLADIMIR HALPÉRIN. *Raoul Dautry: Du rail à l'atome, L'aventure sociale et technologique de la France dans la première moitié du XX^e siècle*. Foreword by JEAN-LOUIS CRÉMIEUX-BRILHAC. Paris: Fayard. 1997. Pp. v, 303.

Raoul Dautry was an early twentieth-century forerunner of the techno-bureaucratic elite that was to come into its own in the mid-twentieth century and to be vilified, inside if not outside France, by the end of that century. This interlocking directorate of higher civil

service, politics, and big business has been especially identified with the École Nationale d'Administration, which was only established in 1945. It can, however, be traced back partially to the École Polytechnique created by the French Revolution, militarized by Napoleon, and eulogized as a model for managing society by Henri Saint-Simon and Auguste Comte in the early nineteenth century.

An admirer of Saint-Simon, both as the early advocate of the positivist organization man and as the protagonist of a Franco-British Union in 1814 (an idea that Dautry supported when it was reinvented, in a June 1940 joint Monnet-Salter proposal to Winston Churchill, as a way of keeping France in the war despite its mainland defeat), Dautry's career exemplified the versatile capacities of the former *polytechnicien*. He rapidly moved in 1903 to work for the state railways—much less efficient than its private counterparts—and was able, by the 1930s, to make it more efficient than its competitors. By then, he was being asked by government to reorganize the airmail and merchant shipping services, which were in financial difficulties. In March 1938, Dautry wrote to President Lebrun, "The importance of the technical task which France faces . . . requires the presence at the head of ministries of technicians of proven capacity" (p. 121). Such arguments for an apolitical technocratic government were a characteristic feature of the latter-day Third Republic, but his record ensured that Dautry would be called upon, albeit too late.

After the outbreak of World War II in September 1939, Dautry was appointed Minister for Armaments, and for nine months he threw himself into the task of mobilizing the national resources in support of the war effort. This included supporting the Joliot-Curie team working on the atomic chain reaction, work that was to be resumed after the war with Dautry as joint director of the Atomic Energy Commissariat with Joliot-Curie. In 1939–1940, he worked closely with Churchill (then at the Admiralty) who—with Charles de Gaulle, who had supported the 1940 idea of a Franco-British Union—pressed Dautry in vain to come to Britain after France's capitulation. Dautry withdrew to the country during the Vichy years, keeping in touch with the Resistance and deploring the fact that his private secretary of 1939–1940, fellow *polytechnicien* Jean Bichelonne, became minister of industry in the 1942 Pierre Laval government.

Dautry was appointed minister of reconstruction in the de Gaulle government of November 1944–January 1946, where his organizational skills and energies were deployed successfully. Among those he recruited to his staff was Jean-François Gravier; Dautry wrote the preface to Gravier's very influential *Paris et le désert français* (1948), which inspired postwar thinking on national and regional development. Until his death in 1951, Dautry devoted himself to many forward-looking causes, leading the French branch of the European Movement and the French Committee for the Channel

Tunnel, explicitly in the spirit of the Saint-Simonian advocacy of a Suez Canal a hundred years earlier.

Written by Vladimir Halpérin, a former student, research assistant, and disciple of Dautry's, this biography leans toward the hagiographic. Nevertheless, its subject is worthy of a full-length study because he combined the technocratic qualities of a visionary and man of action in a way that many others would seek to emulate. For those who wish to comprehend elite preoccupation with the need to modernize a lagging France that inspired the mid-twentieth century French revival, Dautry's career provides an excellent vantage point.

JACK HAYWARD
St. Antony's College,
University of Oxford

CHARLES REARICK. *The French in Love and War: Popular Culture in the Era of the World Wars*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 321. \$35.00.

Richly illustrated, carefully researched, and beautifully produced, this book by Charles Rearick analyzes the most persistent themes that marked French popular culture in the era of the world wars. Song and film celebrated the beauty of the French countryside, articulated the escapist desires of ordinary people, and created with their representations of the hardy front-line soldier a model of French fortitude, resilience, and good humor. Rearick argues that the always cheerful, ever resourceful *poilu* who endured adversity with a smile emerged from World War I as the nation's most significant cultural icon.

In the 1920s, the spirit of the *poilu* lived on in film and song as the fast-talking little guy of the Parisian working class. Like the *poilu* upon whom he was modeled, the *faubourien* who always muddled through and emerged triumphant, came to exemplify all that was truly French. In the mid-1930s, however, in film as in life, the resilient little guy fell upon hard times. The long-suffering hero continued to suffer but rarely triumphed. Instead, he found a resolution of his worries in fatalism, defeatism, and death. Curiously, this dark mood disappeared after 1940. Even though the *poilu* had failed to triumph over his enemies, France proved reluctant to abandon his spirit of jovial good humor: under Vichy, popular culture remained, in the main, upbeat. No one captured the spirit of the mythical *poilu* more effectively than Maurice Chevalier, whose determination to keep on smiling even during the Occupation revealed the moral limitations of smiling in the face of adversity.

Memories of the Great War shaped popular culture in yet other ways throughout the interwar years. The great enemies of the front-line soldier—the shirker (*embusqué*) and the faithless woman—now reconfigured as the despicable bourgeois and the girl of easy virtue—remained targets of populist opprobrium. Popular song and film repeatedly celebrated the victory of the little guy over the powerful and condemned

women to an early death. Many a tearful lament told the unhappy tale of a "fallen woman" led astray by her own moral weakness or the machinations of rich young adventurers. Rearick observes that these ballads "played upon society's ambivalence toward such women" (pp. 108–109), but surely they also played, more generally, on society's ambivalence toward all women. As it condemned countless young women to death in song, was the nation not also expressing its resentment that women, who now outnumbered men, had survived the war, while their menfolk had died in such horrendous numbers? As if to rewrite the ledger book, after the war the *poilu* survived and streetwalking women did not.

Rearick recognizes that the "little people" of Paris were by no means representative of the nation at large, but his evidence says little about how songs and movies celebrating the Parisian little guy played in the provinces. We do not know, for example, how many movie theaters there were in provincial France, and whether it was possible for those who lived in the villages and smaller towns of rural France to participate in, and identify with, this cultural spectacle. Resentment of city slickers ran high in rural France during and after the war, especially among those who believed that the peasantry had borne the brunt of the war while urban workers had earned dispensations from front-line service. But did this resentment keep rural audiences away from films that portrayed the *poilu* invariably as an habitu   of the Parisian faubourgs? And, if it did, did producers care?

These questions notwithstanding, Rearick's book adds to our ever-increasing understanding of the cultural consequences of the Great War and offers an intriguing—albeit partial—explanation for why France persevered until victory in 1918 but crumbled in defeat in 1940. However well the front-line soldier had served France in the years of the Great War, the cultural model of the resilient *poilu* that dominated French popular culture in the interwar years ultimately failed France, for it offered the French the false assurance that they would always triumph, if only they kept on smiling.

MARTHA HANNA
University of Colorado,
Boulder

IVAN STRENSKI. *Durkheim and the Jews of France*. (Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1997. Pp. ix, 215. Cloth \$41.00, paper \$15.95.

This is a frustrating book. Ivan Strenski makes a strong, cogent, and convincing argument that   mile Durkheim's thought cannot be understood in terms of an essentialist, inherited "Jewishness," as so many scholars have attempted to claim. He also, and I believe rightly, argues that our understanding of Durkheim and the Durkheimians is enriched by focusing, among many other influences and intellectual

trends, on the milieu of a select group of French-Jewish scholars who were part of Durkheim's "argumentative context." Scholars such as Salomon Reinach, Isra  l L  vi, and Sylvain L  vi wrote on the phenomenon of religion and provided, in their reaction to the cultural and political trends of their time such as nationalism and anti-Semitism, interpretations that in many cases converged with those of Durkheim and the Durkheimians.

There are, however, several methodological problems with Strenski's book. The author mentions very briefly, in the beginning, that Durkheim and his followers, such as Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss, can be treated together because of the collaborative nature of their work. This assertion requires more elaboration before it can become convincing. There is no explanation as to why no other Durkheimians beyond these two figures are considered. And Durkheim largely disappears by the middle of the book, to be replaced by Mauss. Virtually no archival or primary source work is in evidence to contextualize the larger claim of familiarity, contact, and influence within the French Jewish intellectual scene.

Even more seriously, the author betrays a rather skimpy understanding of French Jewry. Much is made of the development of an interpretation of Judaism by some leading French Jewish intellectuals in the early twentieth century that valued it in its "embodied" form, with its rites and rituals, as opposed to those who were more attuned to a "prophetic" reformist position. These stances existed throughout the nineteenth century, however, and were frequently taken simultaneously by the same person, as Strenski himself shows in the case of Sylvain L  vi. And it is very hard to give much credibility to the treatment of L  vi in this book, which presents him eventually as sympathetic to the idea of a Jewish "national home" in Palestine; it is well known that his strong opposition to such a proposal during the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 became a byword for the anti-Zionism of the Western European Jewish elite. L  vi's positions can be understood only in the context of strategic politicking on behalf of the staunchly anti-Zionist organization, the Alliance Isra  lite Universelle, of which he became the president in 1920 and whose archives have not been utilized by the author.

Strenski relies heavily on the influence of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, the movement for the "scientific" study of Judaism that began in early nineteenth-century Germany on French Jewish scholarship. But it appears that he assumes this influence extended to all scholarly study of Judaism by Jews. It is striking that Strenski does not cite a single major study of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* movement in Germany and mentions only an article by Ferrine Simone-Nahum, whose book on the movement in France, *La cit   investie* (1991), goes unmentioned. It is indeed unsettling to note that neither the major biography of Mauss by Marcel Fournier (*Marcel Mauss* [1994]), nor Pierre Birnbaum's *The Jews of the Republic: A Political History*

of *State Jews in France from Gambetta to Vichy* (1996; original French edition in 1992), nor Birnbaum's important essay on Durkheim and the Jews (in *Déstins Juifs* [1995]) has been consulted. Last but not least, a book on this subject that does not treat, nor even mention once, the evolution of the republican thought and politics with which Durkheim and French Jews were passionately engaged is seriously deficient.

All this is a pity, for the general thesis of the book is certainly important, and worthwhile. But this flawed work does not do it justice.

ARON RODRIGUE
Stanford University

DONNA F. RYAN. *The Holocaust and the Jews of Marseille: The Enforcement of Anti-Semitic Politics in Vichy France*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1996. Pp. xviii, 307. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$17.95.

RICHARD H. WEISBERG. *Vichy Law and the Holocaust in France*. Foreword by MICHAEL R. MARRUS. New York: New York University Press. 1996. Pp. xxiii, 447. \$45.00.

"A curious brand of legalism surrounded Vichy anti-semitism until at least 1942," writes Donna F. Ryan at the end of her admirable account of the Jews of Marseille during the German occupation (p. 214). More, concludes Richard H. Weisberg in his study of Vichy law and the Holocaust: with lamentably few exceptions, lawyers and magistrates turned on the Jews of France, some of whom were their colleagues, many of whom were their compatriots, and all of whom were innocent of any wrongdoing.

Two more books on Vichy France and the Jews, one about a town, the other about a profession: what do they add to our understanding of the now much-discussed episode? Thirty years ago, Robert O. Paxton, today the foremost historian of Vichy France, launched the reinvestigation of official French collaboration during the German occupation. Since then scholars—many of them Americans who have benefited in one way or another from Paxton's help—have demolished the self-serving canards according to which Vichy only bowed to superior force, or shielded the French from the worst, or enjoyed no support, or sacrificed some Jews to the Germans in order to save the rest. Such views are still occasionally aired in France, as I discovered yet again only a few months ago, when one of their latter-day stalwarts ruined an evening in a restaurant. But among professional historians, they have few supporters. What, then, do today's researchers want to know; why the unabated scholarly interest?

Ryan and Weisberg take us into the inner workings of the French assault on the Jews. They reveal the faces of quotidian complicity among servants of the state and society and show how policies decreed turned into crimes committed, how statute became deed. Vichy pervades the scene like some tutelary spirit but no longer commands their undivided attention, now

fixed on the scattered agents, exegetes, and disciples of the National Revolution.

Ryan devotes much time to the victims as well, for the Jews of Marseille, especially the numerous foreign Jews, suffered as much as those of other cities and probably more than those of the smaller towns along the Mediterranean coast. Ryan's statistics are rather confusing, leaving the reader to estimate percentages of Jews expelled from their jobs, interned in Vichy's camps, or deported, but the daily reality of ostracism and worse emerges starkly from her soberly written pages.

Ryan's central concern remains the implementation and reception of an anti-Semitic campaign orchestrated on high. All history is local, but some is more local than others, and only an urban study like this can bring out the full measure of participation by the few and indifference by the many. A plethora of governmental agencies identified most Jews, excluded many from their prewar occupations, despoiled some of their businesses and possessions, and eventually deported at least 4,000 to the death camps in the east. A few figures dominated the proceedings, notably the police chief Maurice Rodellec du Porzic and his assistant Robert-Stephane Auzanneau, but the *dramatis personae* mostly hid among anonymous officialdom in all its acronymic drabness: SEC, CGQJ, PQJ, SCAP, and a host of other agencies born of Vichy's assault on the Jews. In Marseille, they worked with dispatch. Unlike John Sweets, for example, who concluded that aryanization of Jewish property in Clermont-Ferrand was a modest and limited affair, Ryan finds the expropriation of Jews in Marseille to have been all too effective. Two-thirds of all confiscated businesses, she writes, were sold by 1944, and even if their owners survived the war, chances of recovering their property were slim indeed.

Such bureaucratic efficiency required at least the passive acquiescence of civil society at large. Among the professional organizations, only the architects held out against the *numerus clausus* used to reduce Jewish membership. Most, like the physicians, reacted with legalistic piety, in a show of support that undoubtedly masked professional jealousies. Elsewhere in occupied Europe, hardship and deprivation intensified anti-Semitism; why should Marseille, with its port closed and its economy shattered, be any different? Resistance arose, both violent and peaceful, but not to the anti-Semitic measures. Misery rather than indignation brought demonstrators onto the Canebière and strikers into the factory yards, symptoms of disenchantment rather than of moral awakening.

Nowhere in France was complicity more striking than in the profession supposed to defend human rights, the law. Weisberg's damning indictment of the magistrates and lawyers of wartime France leaves no room for rebuttal, so thorough is his investigation, so incontrovertible are his findings. Weisberg examines the statutes that ordered, the bureaucrats who obeyed, and the judges who interpreted; and in perhaps the most original parts of his book, he presents the lawyers

who declined to challenge the new measures, even when the lives and livelihood of their own colleagues hung in the balance. Here again, civil society takes its place in the dock along with the more familiar villains, official bureaucrats. At most, lawyers and law professors interpreted the acts and decrees narrowly, resorting to their beloved technicalities to help their endangered clients, always accepting the spirit even while occasionally bending the letter of the law.

How could the robe lend itself to so complete a rejection of the heritage of 1789? Because, argues Weisberg, a particular "hermeneutic" ruled the profession, allowing its members to interpret general principles away while taking specific provisions quite literally. The deconstructionist delegation now strides in, explaining that the lawyers and judges followed a "reading strategy" that allowed them to "buy into the new narrative of egalitarian exclusion" (p. 403) and the "declarations of 'neutral' discourse," thanks to the double-edged "hermeneutic" that springs from Roman Catholicism.

This bizarre explanation, concluding a work of such solid scholarship, takes the reader by surprise. The book reads far more like an attack on legalism than on Catholicism, and Weisberg's attempt to absolve legal positivism of responsibility for the moral passivity of the legal profession does not convince. The lawyers' slavish devotion to the letter of statute, rather than to some semi-submerged reasoning device of Catholic theology, emerges from these pages. So, too, does the well-known timidity of the French courts and the near absence of any recent tradition allowing or expecting them to strike down the laws and decrees of an errant executive. The lawyers of the Third Republic, most of whom continued to practice under Vichy, were not renowned for their Catholicism. And what of Protestant America, as Weisberg himself briefly grants, where judges and lawyers for long tolerated legal practices fundamentally at odds with many principles of the country's founding? The argument is shaky.

Weisberg is too scrupulous a scholar not to recognize at times that entirely secular traditions could help to explain his sorry tale. It takes no stretch of the imagination to read into Article IV of Justice Minister Barthélemy's draft constitution for Vichy a distant revolution's inability to tolerate particularisms, ethnic or other: "The French community requires of its members an exclusive allegiance. It does not take into its bosom and as a constitutive element a race that behaves like a distinct community or resists assimilation" (pp. 134–35). The analytical, methodical approach to determining who is a Jew is more Cartesian than Catholic, and the very legalism, the adoration of the text, was perhaps more Napoleonic by then than canonical. Why look to Rome to explain Vichy?

And why adopt the convoluted jargon of literary criticism to explain this least literary of episodes? It is in any case unfortunate that so many advocates of "discourse analysis" and the "linguistic turn" seem oddly incapable of using the English language them-

selves. Linguistic anarchy reigns in this book. Malapropisms abound: the reader learns that "at the request of his trusted minister, Pétain's intermeddling ceased" (p. 24); that "the head of the Paris Bar Association . . . firmly chastened Pétain" (p. 50); that "they [the lawyers] drew up charts to clarify the various perambulations" (p. 68); and that Vichy law was "fulsome and complex" (p. 370). Nouns are transmogrified into verbs, resulting in hybrids like "foundation-alize." Bizarre turns of phrase—"no one ever punished or . . . even chastised these lawyers" (p. 50), "the tragic near-inevitability of Catholic resentment" (p. 124)—periodically arrest the reader, who must also swallow neologisms such as "disempower" and "underperform" and constructions such as "repulsion towards" (p. 49). It is a pity that New York University Press failed to ensure a level of English worthy of the author's learning and scholarly standards.

Ryan sees Marseille as "an important example of how Vichy policy actually was implemented," and Weisberg sees jurists and lawyers, with the help of Catholic exegetical devices, distorting legal and constitutional texts to require or justify the exclusion of Jews. But, in the end, both these important books raise the question that hangs over the trial in Bordeaux of Maurice Papon, the Vichy official accused of complicity in the deportation of more than 1,500 Jews. Neither anti-Semitism nor Catholicism can explain his actions. Instead, a blind devotion to the state emerges from his past, symptomatic of the cult of efficiency, of the primacy of means over ends that Max Weber identified at the beginning of the century and that we now bequeath as a tainted legacy to the next. How could the climate of moral indifference in Marseille or in the French legal profession arise, the same climate that historians of Germany long ago began exploring in that country and that now demands an explanation for France as well?

PAUL JANKOWSKI
Brandeis University

ROBERT BADINTER. *Un antisémitisme ordinaire: Vichy et les avocats juifs (1940–1944)*. Paris: Fayard. 1997. Pp. 256.

On July 11, 1946, a ceremony was held in the Palais de Justice in Paris to honor the lawyers of the Cours d'Appel who had died in the years 1939–1945. At the ceremony, Marcel Poignard, the new *bâtonnier* (president) of the Paris Bar, solemnly recalled the tragic loss of life. Nowhere was there greater indignation against the persecution of innocents during the Nazi occupation, he proclaimed, than in the Paris judicial corps, "the supreme bulwark of [our] liberties" (p. 208). In his book, Robert Badinter effectively refutes Poignard's claim by examining the important role that the Paris Bar played in the Vichy regime's oppression of Jews.

The nature of the legal profession's involvement in anti-Jewish activity was twofold. On the one hand, it

officially sanctioned and helped to carry out discriminatory laws against Jews. Thus, for example, prominent Parisian lawyers helped frame Vichy's legal definition of the Jew (which was far more stringent than that enacted by the Nazis) and gave formal sanction to the expropriation of Jewish property. On the other hand, it actively aided in the exclusion of Jews from the legal profession. The result, Badinter claims, was that anti-Semitism was "legalized" and "normalized in daily practice" (p. 103).

Following in the footsteps of Michael Marrus and Robert O. Paxton's pioneering work on Vichy and the Jews, Badinter emphasizes how, despite its innumerable attestations of loyalty to the ideals of republicanism, the legal establishment in the French capital shared the view of many Frenchmen that there was far too much Jewish influence in society and in the legal profession in particular. Much of the book is concerned with the ways in which the Paris Bar acquiesced to the government's efforts to restrict the number of Jewish lawyers. Until 1942, Badinter notes, there were no protests against the imposition of a *numerus clausus*, either by the heads of the Paris Bar or by Jewish lawyers. Indeed, it was only in March 1943, after the massive deportations of native-born as well as immigrant Jews, that legal authorities publicly expressed their opposition. By then, of course, thousands of Jews, including dozens of lawyers, had been deported to their deaths. Even after the Liberation, the Paris Bar refused to consider reparation payments for Jews prohibited from practicing law during the war. It also insisted that only Jewish lawyers who were deported or arrested under Vichy, as opposed to those were forced to go into hiding and thus could not work, would be exempt from back payments into their pension fund.

Unlike Richard H. Weisberg's exhaustive study, *Vichy Law and the Holocaust in France* (1996), Badinter only hints at an explanation of why the French judiciary so easily accepted Vichy legislation. While Weisberg examines in excruciating detail what he describes as the "rigorous professional logic" of French legal thought, Badinter refers solely to external factors, such as the ingrained anti-Semitism that affected all circles of the French elite and the desire of young lawyers for advancement. The strength of Badinter's work lies elsewhere, especially in its poignant evocation of the fate of individual Jewish lawyers. Many seemed totally unaware of their fate and wanted nothing more than to die for France. As Badinter notes ironically in his concluding sentence, many Jewish lawyers did die for their country, but it was "for a certain idea of France" (p. 210) that was clearly not shared by the Paris legal establishment.

DAVID WEINBERG
Wayne State University

BENJAMIN R. GAMPEL, editor. *Crisis and Creativity in the Sephardic World, 1391-1648*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1997. Pp. xvi, 413. \$45.00.

Numerous publications appeared in the wake of the quinquennial observances of two momentous departures from Iberia in 1492: Christopher Columbus's voyage across the Atlantic and the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. Columbus's journey led to the discovery of the New World, while the migration of the Jews led to the creation of a Sephardic diaspora that extended around the Mediterranean to the Middle East and India, Western Europe, and the New World. This well-conceived, well-balanced collection of essays edited by Benjamin R. Gampel is one of the best of its kind. Many of the essays complement each other. The attentive reader will notice that footnotes to certain works return again and again in different articles, giving this collection a much greater degree of unity than most such conference volumes.

Six of the fifteen essays (parts two and three) deal with Iberian Jewry before and at the time of the expulsion; eight (parts four through six) deal with continuity and change in the Sephardic diaspora; and one (part one), an eloquent, thought-provoking essay entitled "Exile and Expulsion in Jewish History" by Yosef Haim Yerushalmi, not only provides a historical overview for the volume but sets its subject within the broader context of more than two millennia of Jewish history during which "exile—*galut*—has been a fundamental datum of Jewish history and Jewish consciousness" (p. 3). Among other things, Yerushalmi deals with the seeming paradox represented most strikingly by the Iberian experience of feeling at home in the diaspora, a dialectic tension between exile and domicile. It was the dynamism of this tension which contributed to the social structures, adaptive behaviors, and cultural creativity that were the by-products of diaspora life and the periodic crises that occurred when a comfortable domicile became hostile and new migrations produced exile from exile.

The three essays on Iberian culture and society on the eve of expulsion, although very different in theme and approach, provide complementary insights into Sephardic culture. Raymond P. Scheindlin shows how the secular Hebrew poetry of the Jewish upper class continued to be deeply rooted in the Arabic cultural models of the golden age of Islamic al-Andalus. "Jews who had a taste for high culture in the vernacular acquired this taste outside the Jewish community, and the acquisition of this taste," Scheindlin posits, "must have been part of the process of acculturation that led eventually to the conversion of much of the Jewish upper class to Christianity" (p. 37). It was on the popular level that vernacular culture was cultivated, not in Iberia but in the Sephardic diaspora as Ladino. Hebrew poetry, too, underwent a revival in Italy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries under the impact of the encounter with the Italian poetry of the Renaissance. In his essay, "1492: A House Divided," Seymour Feldman also deals with dichotomy and ambivalence within the final generation of Iberian Jewry, using the different attitudes toward philosophy of a famous father and son, Don Isaac Abravanel and his son Judah

(who is best known to Europeans by his Italian name Leone Ebreo). Along with poetry, philosophy was a hallmark cultural pursuit of the Sephardic elite, and the split between father and son was symbolic of the transition from medieval to Renaissance mindsets. Thomas Glick's contribution, "On Converso/Marrano Ethnicity," deals not with Iberian Jews as Jews but with those people of Jewish origin who with greater or lesser enthusiasm embraced Christianity and in some cases maintained a form of Jewish identity and practice thereafter. This group was already very significant in the century leading up to the edict of expulsion and became even more so in the century that followed. Some continued a dual existence for generations, others eventually returned to open Judaism when safely out of the reach of the Inquisition, and some moved back and forth between two identities in what Glick refers to as "cultural commuting." Glick offers useful comparisons and contrasts between the *conversos* and *moriscos* on the one hand and between Spanish Jewish *conversos* and Portuguese Jewish *marranos* on the other. His social scientific approach, complete with useful graphic representations of centrifugal and centripetal trends following R. A. Schermerhorn's models of ethnic relations, provides a valuable balance to the traditional cultural historical approaches that predominate Sephardic Studies and comprise the lion's share in this volume.

The three contributions in part three deal with the expulsions themselves. Haim Beinart, the doyen of Sephardic peninsular historians, offers a succinct analysis of the legal and social developments in the Christian kingdoms of Spain that culminated in the edict of 1492, while Maria José Pimenta Ferro Taveres outlines the very different policy of the Portuguese monarchy, which tried unsuccessfully to integrate New Christians into society. Gampel examines different strategies and various reactions of Sephardim at the time of the expulsion of 1492 and follows several individuals who made their way from Castile and Aragon to the neighboring kingdom of Navarre, where they maintained an openly Jewish identity until 1498. The essay summarizes some of the principal issues that Gampel has taken up at length in his book, *The Last Jews on Iberian Soil: Navarrese Jewry, 1479/1498* (1989).

Several contributions in parts four, five, and six interface neatly with those in parts two and three. For example, Renata Segre's essay, "Sephardic Refugees in Ferrara: Two Notable Families," compares the Abravanel, whose intergenerational differences over philosophy are discussed by Feldman, with the no-less-famous Mendes/Nasi family, whose years as New Christians and cultural commuters and whose very dramatic return to open Judaism in the Ottoman Empire tie in nicely with Glick's discussion of *converso* ethnicity. Yosef Kaplan's essay, "The Self-Definition of the Sephardic Jews of Western Europe and Their Relation to the Alien and the Stranger" also takes up the subject of ethnicity and identity and argues that the exclusivism of the *Nação*—the Spanish-Portuguese

Jewish nation in Amsterdam, Hamburg, and later London—and the rationales for its exclusivism were in no small measure a cultural inheritance from caste notions of *limpieza de sangre* in Christian Spain. I would argue that such notions of purity actually go back to Islamic al-Andalus and seemed to have been a cultural leitmotif of Iberian Muslims, Christians, and Jews. There is a marked contrast between the exclusivist communal world of the Western Sephardim described by Kaplan and the Eastern Sephardim of the multi-ethnic, multi-religious Ottoman Empire described by Jacob Barnai in his essay "Prototypes of Leadership in a Sephardic Community: Smyrna in the Seventeenth Century." Among other things, Barnai shows that Sephardic religious leaders had at times to make compromises with the indigenous Romaniote Jews of Anatolia and the Balkans, although they did try to force their interpretations of Jewish law and practice on them. His five individuals represent five types for a prosopography of Sephardic communal leaders.

The world of ideas that was in part represented by the Abravanel is examined again in the contributions of Moshe Idel and Hava Tirosh-Samuelson, although members of the family only make fleeting appearances in these two essays. Idel's piece on the encounters between the Spanish and Italian kabbalists is a brilliant account of the transformation of content and context in Sephardic mysticism in the aftermath of the expulsion. It is profoundly thought-provoking on the nexus of events and historical ideas. Idel's elegant progression of thought leads the reader step by step through a very difficult topic. This essay continues his revisionist and reasoned critique of earlier Kabbala scholarship and eschews easy answers and neat, grand theories. Tirosh-Samuelson's essay, "The Ultimate End of Human Life in Postexpulsion Philosophic Literature," is a sterling complement to both Feldman's and Idel's essays. She outlines how Jewish philosophy in its encounter with Italian Renaissance humanism on the one hand and kabbalist theosophy on the other was molded to the needs of a traumatized and uprooted community. She also argues that the new Jewish philosophy was popularized as it had never been in Spain and that popularization was not an outgrowth of secularization but rather the opposite. "Philosophy became the handmaiden of popular hermeneutics. The philosopher's task was to apply human wisdom . . . to interpret suprarational, supranatural divine revelation" (p. 235). This shift of emphasis somewhat balances and tempers Idel's emphasis on the kabbalistic and its general oppositional tension to the philosophic.

The final three contributions grouped together in part six are more atomistic and stand somewhat apart from the preceding twelve. Menahem Schmelzer's brief piece on "Hebrew Manuscripts and Printed Books Among the Sephardim Before and After the Expulsion" is a good survey, but it is tantalizingly brief. Schmelzer clearly shows that the flowering of printing in the immediate wake of the expulsion was a deliber-

ate creative response to the crisis. Dwayne Carpenter's essay on the New Christian Fernando Rojas's masterpiece *Celestina* (1499) and the literature it inspired is one of the most narrowly focused of the contributions, but the astute reader cannot fail to see how it relates to many issues raised in other essays. Vivian Mann's final essay on Sephardic ceremonial art in Iberia and the diaspora, while providing an important visual element on material culture, is somewhat dry and reads like a catalogue entry. Mann makes the case for artistic continuity, but only two out of the twelve plates in her essay depict items from outside Spain. Other aspects of the history of Sephardic material culture (synagogue architecture, for example, or vestimentary history) would have been welcome and would also have given more balance and breadth to the treatment of physical reality.

This thematically well-balanced collection is a welcome addition to the growing literature on Sephardic social and cultural history and would make an excellent supplementary text for an upper-level undergraduate course.

NORMAN A. STILLMAN
University of Oklahoma

MIRIAM BODIAN. *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation: Conversos and Community in Early Modern Amsterdam*. (The Modern Jewish Experience.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 219. \$35.00.

Most Jews are born Jewish, by maternal descent; others are converts. It was the peculiar fate of the Portuguese Jews of early modern Amsterdam—and Europe in general—that they were both. In Portugal and Spain, they and their ancestors had lived under threat of inquisitorial persecution, whether or not they had attempted to practice Judaism secretly, by virtue of their Jewish “blood.” When they left Iberia, such *conversos* (descendants of baptized Jews) discovered they had little idea what rabbinic Judaism taught or what its practice precisely entailed. To join the covenanted community of God’s “chosen people,” they had to be “rejudaized” and their men had to undergo adult circumcision—neither of them a comfortable process. Even after they had embraced the faith of their ancestors, they felt more closely tied to their *converso* relatives, in some respects, than to other non-Portuguese Jews, even Sephardic ones. To the former, not the latter, they gave charity in the form of dowries for impoverished girls, and all who died at the hands of the Inquisition received from them the veneration due to martyrs. Like their former persecutors, ironically, the *ex-conversos* claimed their blood to be noble and pure, while at home they spoke Portuguese and in school and print retained Spanish as the language of intellectual life. In short, the Sephardic Jews of Amsterdam remained as resolutely Portuguese as they became Jewish.

Miriam Bodian’s thoughtful book explores this dual, conflicted sense of communal identity felt by Amster-

dam’s Portuguese Jews. It examines their relations to their own and their families’ *converso* past, their retention of Iberian culture and identity, and their relations to other Jewish communities: the Venetian one which they took as a model, the French ones which they nurtured, and the Ashkenazic one of Amsterdam, for which they felt something that approached loathing. It also examines their relations to Dutch Christian society and to the heterodox and skeptics whom they themselves spawned. Bodian’s original research on the Amsterdam *Dotar*, or dowry-fund confraternity, provides one of several nodes where different dimensions of *ex-converso* identity intersect. A good part of the material Bodian treats, such as the *conversos*’ confrontation with rabbinic Judaism, has received scholarly attention before, and Bodian herself acknowledges her heavy debt to Jonathan Israel, Yosef Kaplan, I. S. Révah, and Yosef Yerushalmi. Bodian is the first, though, to explore systematically the construction of (ex-) *converso* identity in all its dimensions, and the approach proves very fruitful. Historians in many fields might find interesting her treatment of the social function of founding myths, the use of social discipline to control dissent, cultural responses to stigmatization and repression, emergent notions of ethnicity, and the dilemmas of exile.

Although Bodian writes about the entire Portuguese Jewish community, her sources in fact illuminate only a small group within that community, one (all male) consisting of intellectuals and big merchants. In an appendix, she offers thumbnail biographies of the thirteen men who dominate the preceding text. By the time a reader reaches this section, he or she has heard their life stories multiple times, albeit in fragments. For a short book, this one is very repetitive, and its text is rather disorganized, with matters treated at one point repeated and further developed at a later one. Substantive errors are few. The biggest is Bodian’s characterization of the Dutch Reformed Church as aggressively missionizing and proselytizing. This runs counter to the findings of recent historical research, and Bodian’s evidence for such proselytizing vis-à-vis the Jews is slender, with some of it requiring an interpretation different from hers. That said, Bodian strikes the right note on the really fundamental point, which is that Dutch-Jewish relations had “little of the entanglement, intensity, and intimacy that had characterized New Christian/Old Christian relations in the Peninsula” (p. 68). Her book is equally perceptive on many other points.

BENJAMIN J. KAPLAN
University of Iowa

CAROLYN P. BOYD. *Historia Patria: Politics, History, and National Identity in Spain, 1875–1975*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1997. Pp. xxi, 358. \$49.50.

Few works of history are as timely as this one. In October 1997, a committee of experts appointed by Spain’s conservative minister of education presented

its proposals for a new history curriculum for the country's schools. This report triggered an intense and highly politicized debate. Much as in the recent North American "culture wars," the contention centered around the existence of a single, shared national history. After the proposed curriculum was voted down in parliament in mid-December, all political parties agreed to appoint a new commission to study the place of the humanities in the schools.

The question of which history is to be taught and the relationship between the teaching of history and national identity is precisely the subject of Carolyn P. Boyd's superb study. Starting from the premise that national history was "central to the cultural construction of the nation" in Europe from the mid-nineteenth century on, Boyd traces the ongoing debate over just what constituted Spain's history, and thus its contemporary nature, from the beginning of the Restoration in 1875 to the end of the Francisco Franco regime a century later. The current democracy falls outside her frame of reference, although she does make a few very prescient remarks about the current situation. (This book appeared only a few months before the debate that produced so much heat in Spain at the end of 1997.)

For Boyd, the most important product of her analysis is to cast light on some key aspects of "Spain's modern political and cultural history, especially the low levels of civic engagement, the conspicuous absence of a mass nationalist movement and the weak attraction of a Spanish identity" (p. xviii). This puts Boyd at the center of the emerging consensus that, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Spanish authorities either failed, or never really tried, to inculcate a sense of nationalism in the population; that is, they did not manage to nationalize the masses.

At the same time, Boyd does not see the Spanish experience as totally distinct from that of other European nations. History mattered to Spanish liberals, and they produced national histories concerned to legitimate the liberal revolution and promote national unity. Even though the architect of the Restoration, Cánovas del Castillo, had himself written one of these histories and claimed historical justification for the regime, the Restoration state did not use the schools to push its vision of national history, as was done in France and Germany. Invoking history without trying to monopolize it led the regime's opponents, especially Catholics, to develop their own, very different view of the national past and allowed them to promote it in the schools. As Boyd observes, "the liberal state . . . was ultimately the loser, not because it rested on a fiction, but because it failed to promote that fiction aggressively" (p. 67).

Boyd tells her story in chronological fashion. Two initial chapters describe the evolution of the educational system between 1857, when liberals passed the first significant education law, the Ley Moyano, and the beginning of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship in 1923. These are followed by seven chapters that exam-

ine the teaching of history in different periods, including one on the Catholic view, one on the Second Republic, and two on the Franco regime.

Boyd analyzes the debates over the meaning of Spain's history waged by cultural and political elites in a range of media and institutions, but her primary focus is on the history textbooks used in Spanish schools. Here she finds the multiple views of the Spanish past, and its relationship to the present, that were in play across the century she studies. While this focus on textbooks requires her to take a top-down approach, Boyd is careful to avoid a view of education in which elites dispose and the people passively obey. Instead, she sees schools as "a semiautonomous sphere where institutional inertia, classroom culture and textbooks changed . . . only gradually and incompletely" (p. 303). Careerist teachers play their part; so do middle-class parents for whom schooling was more about credentialism than education. Indeed, Boyd presents parents concerned about the cost of textbooks as important actors in this story. (Curiously enough, as part of its educational reforms, the Spanish government has also recently deregulated the price of textbooks.)

This is a thorough and thoughtful book. Of obvious importance to historians of modern Spain, it should also be read by anyone interested in the question of nationalism or in the history of education.

ADRIAN SHUBERT
York University

PAMELA BETH RADCLIFF. *From Mobilization to Civil War: The Politics of Polarization in the Spanish City of Gijón, 1900-1937*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xviii, 354.

Most of the numerous studies on Spain's ill-fated Second Republic have tried to explain its demise in terms of the left-right political dialectic that dominated national affairs between 1931 and 1936. A new and strikingly innovative approach to understanding the failure of the Second Republic can be found in Pamela Beth Radcliff's book. First and foremost, this is a theoretically engaged study that attempts to marry contemporary cultural theory with the empiricism of traditional social history. Drawing upon Jürgen Habermas's concept of the public sphere, the Gramscian notion of hegemony, and recent gender theory, Radcliff provides us with a highly nuanced and shrewdly analyzed assessment of the development of mass mobilization and political polarization in the Spanish port city of Gijón during the first three decades of the twentieth century.

The extent to which this book is informed by the aforementioned theoretical perspectives is laid out clearly in the author's introduction. One of the key themes taken up has to do with Radcliff's "revisionist" definition of political culture. According to her, "politics" consists of more than just the actions and expressions of those who participate in formal public

institutions. She forcefully argues that it also consists of "collective contests over power relations" that occur in a number of different arenas, "from the workplace and the city hall, to the cultural center, the neighborhood and the streets of the city" (p. 3). By extending traditionally recognized boundaries of the political world in this way, Radcliff hopes above all to revise our notion of whom we should regard as actors on the political stage. In fact, one of the main aims of this pathbreaking study is to give a feminist (as against a masculine) reading of politics so that women can be written into the general narrative of historical events.

In the first part of the book, Radcliff carefully constructs the empirical basis of her historical analysis by examining the structural context of Gijón, particularly during the peak period of its industrial development. In addition to thoroughly mapping the geophysical features of the region, the author also provides a detailed portrait of the underlying social and economic structures that gave rise to the general pattern of popular culture and working-class life in Gijón. Although much of the book's descriptive content is based on a close study of the local press and public archives, Radcliff carefully weaves into her discussion illuminating insights garnered from comparative historical studies. She argues convincingly that, despite its local peculiarities, the contours of popular political culture in Gijón evolved along lines that were not dissimilar to those developing in the industrial towns of France, Germany, and elsewhere in Europe.

The central chapters (four through seven) focus on what Radcliff calls the formal "institutional actors" who attempted to assert their leadership in Gijón's political culture by mobilizing public opinion around their own specific counter-hegemonic projects. The most conventional of these "actors" were the members of the middle-class republican parties, who sought to harness the burgeoning popular masses to the political structures of a progressive democratic regime. Competing against the republicans and against each other were the region's two dominant working-class organizations, the reformist-minded socialists of the PSOE-UGT (Partido Socialista Obrero Español/Unión General de Trabajadores) and the revolutionary maximalist anarchosindicalists of the CNT (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo). But even though all of these movements were united in their opposition to the deeply conservative political culture that prevailed throughout the period leading up to the Second Republic, Radcliff points out that longstanding ideological differences and mutually exclusive organizational strategies time and again thwarted the creation of a unified left political culture.

This point underscores one of the central themes of the book: namely, that the fragmentation of the political culture of Spanish leftist groups effectively prevented them from winning their "hegemonic struggle" with the forces of the right. Above all, the author sees the inability of the republican movement to bridge the chasms separating the mass base (read: working

classes) occupying the public sphere from the political institutions of the Second Republic as the primary reason for its failure to create a "republican public capable of responsible democratic citizenship" (p. 311).

Radcliff has carefully crafted a powerful argument for locating the failure of the Second Republic at the grassroots level of society. According to this argument, the political and ideological contests that dominated local and national politics between 1931 and 1936 should no longer be regarded as the primary arenas for exploring the causes of the breakdown of political order, because these struggles were occurring at only one level of society. Instead, the author persuasively contends that the political realm was intimately bound up with the various formal and informal groups occupying the public sphere (republicans, socialists, women), and it was for this reason that Republican Spain was being driven by forces from below.

Another thread that runs throughout the book has to do with the role of women. Indeed, one of the major contributions of this study is that Radcliff seems to have found a way of bringing women (as well as other marginalized groups) into the grand narrative of political events. But the author's argument for doing so is premised on a revisionist interpretation of analytical categories such as the Marxian notion of "class" and Habermas's theory of the "public sphere." In the latter case, for example, Radcliff argues against Habermas's formal separation of the public and private spheres because this conceptual construction has tended to exclude women from the realm of politics. Instead she insists that, through their consumer-based activism and informal community networks, women did participate in the public sphere and thus should be regarded as legitimate political actors.

But while Radcliff is good at charting the hitherto unrecognized paths women took into the public domain, her arguments for interpreting all their public activities as political are not always convincing. One obvious objection to Radcliff's rather elastic definition of politics is that it does not distinguish between self-consciously political and non-political acts. For example, some women joined trade unions or other formal structures because they chose to become politically engaged. Because we have no concrete evidence (printed documents and the like) to refer to, however, it is not clear that women who protested bread prices or defied public officials through street demonstrations were doing so because they sought to articulate a specific political message. In fact, the vast majority of these kind of public protests were most probably driven by economic necessity rather than by political motivations.

Radcliff's attempt to rescue women from obscurity is also slightly marred by her own politics of advocacy. Thus, women who participated in informal community networks and the like are generally seen as forming part of the "oppositional" or counter-hegemonic bloc on the left rather than as potential supporters of the

status quo. Men are also repeatedly upbraided for having been the main obstacles to the politicalization of women, and their reasons for doing so are judged by today's rather than by their own standards. Furthermore, Radcliff never seriously examines the other side of this complicated equation. In a society in which a strict and often smothering form of Catholicism informed all aspects of daily life, there is reason to believe that women themselves were loathe to cross the threshold into the political arena precisely because they accepted the church's definition of their identity and did not want to blur the boundaries between the private and public spheres.

The fact that Radcliff raises more questions about women's role in society than she can answer is not meant as a major criticism of this provocative and engaging study. This is a groundbreaking work that should stimulate a number of fruitful historiographical debates and discussions. It is also Radcliff's achievement to have written a book that is relevant not only to specialists of modern Spain but also to historians and social scientists interested in the development of mass politics in Europe as a whole.

GEORGE ESENWEIN
University of Florida

GEOFFREY DIPPLE. *Antifraternalism and Anticlericalism in the German Reformation: Johann Eberlin von Günzburg and the Campaign against the Friars*. (St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History.) Brookfield, Vt.: Scolar. 1996. Pp. x, 244. \$74.95.

The role of anticlericalism in the early Reformation has been the subject of intensive research since the appearance of Hans-Jürgen Goertz's *Pfaffenhass und gross Geschrei* (1987). Goertz argued that anticlericalism belonged to the core of Martin Luther's theology and that it was critical to both the theoretical and the popular advancement of the Reformation. This thesis has received intensive scrutiny and elaboration, above all in a set of conference papers that were presented at the University of Arizona and published in *Anticlericalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Peter A. Dykema and Heiko A. Oberman (1993).

Dipple's study of Johann Eberlin von Günzburg (c.1455–1534) belongs in the context of this debate. Eberlin was a Franciscan friar who left his priory in Ulm in 1521 and became a remarkably prolific pamphleteer of the early German Reformation. Dipple focuses on Eberlin's literary production between 1521 and 1526 and analyzes its anticlerical content. Within this analysis, Dipple gives special attention to what he calls Eberlin's antifraternalism: that is, the specific criticism of mendicant orders alongside the censure of monks and clergy in general. Eberlin's attacks on the mendicants belong also to a particular campaign against the Franciscans that was launched mainly from Wittenberg in 1523 by a group of ex-Franciscans that included Eberlin, Francis Lambert of Avignon, and

Heinrich von Kettenbach. While Dipple believes that this campaign and early Reformation antifraternalism express continuity with a medieval antifraternal tradition, he also thinks it has to be related to the larger context of Reformation anticlericalism, which it will then illumine and clarify.

Dipple's analysis of Eberlin's works, therefore, proceeds on several levels at once. First, he enters into debate with Eberlin scholars over the circumstances and dating of Eberlin's pamphlets during the period under study. Chapter two explicitly examines the composition of the best-known of Eberlin's early pamphlets, "The Fifteen Confederates" (1521). Chapter five discusses the nature of the pamphlet "Against the Profaners of God's Creatures" (1523) and reassesses its place in the Eberlin corpus. Second, Dipple treats Eberlin's pamphlets as a case study of the relationship between medieval and Reformation anticlericalism and the latter's significance. At this level, Dipple emphasizes the precedents for Reformation anticlerical polemic that can be found in medieval writings, especially the use of certain biblical types for denouncing the clergy. He also traces the development of Eberlin's anticlericalism from a typically medieval and humanist denunciation of the clergy's faults to a more radical Reformation attack on the clerical order itself. Finally, the specific campaign against the Franciscans is analyzed in detail. This analysis, the first of its kind, highlights Luther's role in the campaign and offers a section-by-section comparison of Luther's own *Judgment on Monastic Vows* (1521) with the anti-Franciscan pamphlets of Eberlin, Kettenbach, Lambert, Johannes Schwan, Johannes Briesmann, and Heinrich Spelt. A prolonged discussion of Kettenbach and of Johann Rot-Locher in chapter seven illustrates how the antifraternal campaign could also be waged at some distance from Wittenberg.

The major contribution of Dipple's book stems from his analysis of Eberlin's works and of the anti-Franciscan campaign of 1523. I question, however, whether either analysis sheds as much light on Reformation anticlericalism as Dipple hoped it would. His main point about anticlericalism is that Luther retreated "from direct anticlerical agitation" and replaced his early radical emphasis on the priesthood of all believers with the call for a "scripturally defined clerical order" (p. 97). Dipple argues that Eberlin's pamphlets confirm this shift as Eberlin came more and more under the influence of Wittenberg. The problem with this argument is not with Dipple's analysis of Eberlin but with his portrayal of the role played by anticlericalism in Luther's development. Luther's initial attack on the clerical estate did not seek to abolish the clergy but to reject their superior spiritual status and to subordinate them to the office of ministry in which they served. Luther and his supporters, like Eberlin, continually defined and defended this office against the Roman hierarchy that supported the traditional superiority of a clerical order. But no fundamental shift occurred in the reformers' criticism of the clergy

or in their definition of an evangelical ministry, and Eberlin's writings do not document such a shift any more than do Luther's.

Dipple would have done better to examine Goertz's thesis more closely before adapting his analysis of Eberlin to that platform. Nevertheless, his book remains an important study of Eberlin's pamphlets and of the anti-Franciscan campaign, and it is a welcome addition to Reformation studies.

SCOTT HENDRIX

Princeton Theological Seminary

MANUEL FREY. *Der reinliche Bürger: Entstehung und Verbreitung bürgerlicher Tugenden in Deutschland, 1760–1860*. (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 119.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1997. Pp. 406.

Manuel Frey's study of "the clean burgher" is part of a rapidly growing literature about the formation of an increasingly assertive middle class within a society in which advocates of *bürgerlich* values continued to confront serious obstacles from above and from below. Conceptually clear and full of fascinating (albeit often repulsive) descriptions, the book provides fresh insights into middle-class thinking and practice that are readily accessible, highly informative, and generally persuasive.

Frey concentrates on new ideas about bodily cleanliness and its relation to other aspects of human character and society. Drawing heavily on the ideas of Norbert Elias, he shows how, beginning in the period of the Enlightenment, medical and administrative "experts" combated and revised the thinking of "premodern" groups (Catholic clergymen, nobles, and peasants) in two important respects. At a general level, they redefined cleanliness as *Reinlichkeit*, which, in contrast to the word *Reinigkeit*, had moral and social as well as purely physical connotations. Whereas some had regarded concern about filth as a mark of vanity and others had actually prized filth (mainly excrement) as being therapeutic, in the newer view, intolerance for dirt went hand in hand with personal and political probity. Clean bodies and clean environments indicated inner and spiritual as well as outer and physical purity, they betokened readiness to participate dependably in industrial and commercial enterprises, and they also served as necessary elements of "a nation [that was to be] both pure and efficient" (p. 139).

More specifically, middle-class thinking moved away from earlier notions of the cleansing process as one that took place within bodies, which had been seen as cesspools that needed to be evacuated in a variety of ways: mainly by spitting, farting, defecating, and sweating. Much of this activity led to obviously unpleasant odors, which those who possessed the means to do so sought to mask by means of the use of perfumes. But the physical cleanliness of the individual was increasingly being redefined as an aspect of her or his skin. This condition was neither to be pursued through the

removal of substances from within the body nor through efforts to conceal bad smells via the application of pleasing ones. The appropriate means to achieve the desired end was water, which was to be enjoyed or endured, depending on one's social status, in a variety of settings. These ranged from the warm baths of the bourgeoisie to the cold showers that were provided for members of the military, for inhabitants of workhouses and prisons, and for other members of the lower classes. In line with this thinking, there was a great increase in the use of water more generally. Its availability as a result of the introduction of new technologies permitted not only increased bathing but also other activities that went beyond the skin itself, such as the laundering of clothes, the use of flush toilets, and the cleaning of city streets.

Although key elements of Frey's narrative could be read as a success story, he firmly opposes any such interpretation. Toward the end of his study, he circumscribes the limits of whatever progress may have occurred by reminding the reader of the quite primitive principles and practices that remained very much alive among most inhabitants of the Bavarian countryside. More generally, throughout his study, he depicts the men on whom he focuses as agents of a process of social control that was entirely congruent with the interests of the class to which they belonged. Middle-class experts sought, in his view, not only to advance the cause of class formation but also to impose new forms of discipline on their recalcitrant inferiors, mainly in order to protect themselves against urban-industrial threats from below, both epidemiological and social. The reader thus gains the impression that the crusade for cleanliness was largely a selfish conspiracy. One problem among others inherent in this line of argument is, of course, that it runs counter to a second, albeit subordinate argument that middle-class objectives were in large measure compromised by economic limitations on the percentage of the population that was entitled and enabled to benefit from them. One may choose to criticize the bourgeoisie either for having done too much or for having done too little, but it is difficult to combine both lines of criticism at the same time. Having pointed out this inconsistency, I wish to conclude by emphasizing that Frey makes a quite welcome contribution to both the cultural and the social history of German modernization. His book gives the reader plenty to chew on, and none of it is anywhere near as off-putting as the premodern prejudices and practices that his protagonists sought to supersede.

ANDREW LEES

*Rutgers University,
Camden, New Jersey*

SHULAMIT S. MAGNUS. *Jewish Emancipation in a German City: Cologne, 1798–1871*. (Stanford Studies in Jewish History and Culture.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 336. \$49.50.

The use of the city of Cologne as the site and lens through which Shulamit S. Magnus examines the process of Jewish emancipation in nineteenth-century Germany proves to be a brilliant research strategy that provides a new angle of vision. Cologne is a stunning case of a dramatic reversal in a city's relationship to the Jews. After the expulsion of its Jewish inhabitants in 1424, Cologne excluded Jews from residence and trade until revolutionary France annexed the left bank of the Rhine in 1797 and granted the Jews legal equality. After the former French Rhineland was joined to Prussia in 1815, Jewish policy was one of the few areas in which the king's new Rhenish subjects and the government in Berlin were of one mind. Magnus uses archival sources to document how the city council and chamber of commerce up to the late 1830s rationalized their anti-Jewish animus and desire to limit Jewish immigration to Cologne. In the following decade, a sea change in attitudes toward the Jews occurred. Cologne's most prominent liberals spearheaded a campaign for Jewish civic rights in the Provincial Diets of 1843 and 1845 and the Prussian United Diet of 1847. Magnus presents a rich and subtle analysis of the interaction of social, economic, and ideological changes that created an environment of mutual accommodation and tolerance.

One of the many strengths of this work is that Magnus sees emancipation as a fluid process of interaction and mutual accommodation between Jews and Christians, not as a fixed event. She points out how actively the Jews participated in changing the attitudes and policies of non-Jews. The Jews in the Rhineland who migrated to Cologne after 1800 came out of choice rather than to escape misery; they were lured by the size of the city and were in search of greater economic opportunities. By the 1840s, they had achieved a remarkable degree of integration and had become solidly bourgeois and acculturated. Following the dictates of their income and tastes, they took up residence in all four sections of the city. In pursuit of material progress, they departed from the tradition of separate Jewish schooling and saw education in the city's *Realgymnasium* as a means for their sons to attain success. They became integrated into the commercial and banking sectors of the city's economy. These "facts of life" in Cologne during the era of emancipation "laid the groundwork for public acceptance of Jewish legal equality" (p. 222).

The businessmen who dominated Cologne's economic life in the 1840s were very different from the old merchant elite, whose constricted view of the material world had sustained a fear of Jewish competition and an obsession with protecting the access of "insiders" to finite wealth and resources. A new elite of innovative businessmen, many of whom were Protestant immigrants to Cologne, promoted the construction of railways and other big capitalist ventures. Because the Prussian government did not recognize the economic and military potential of the railroads in these early years and refused to provide the financial backing,

Rhenish entrepreneurs such as Hermann Beckerath, Ludolf Camphausen, and Gustav Mevissen had to create financial alliances with Jewish bankers. The Oppenheim banking house became a leading force in the dynamic economy in the city and the region. Abraham and Simon Oppenheim not only raised capital but also sat on the managing boards of the newly founded companies.

Throughout the 1840s, the Oppenheim brothers lobbied on behalf of Jewish civic rights among their business associates and at the Rhenish Diets and the United Prussian Diet. Neither philosemitism nor sheer expediency, argues Magnus, explains the "steadfast and unequivocal" (p. 220) commitment to the cause of Jewish equality within the Rhenish liberal movement. By the 1840s, most liberals in Cologne were leaders of business, industry, and finance whose "optimistic, pragmatic, energetic civic mentality [replaced] the xenophobic outlook that had gripped the city for centuries" (p. 219). For this new elite, which included Protestant "outsiders" in heavily Catholic Cologne, "newness, which Jews had borne doubly as Jews and as immigrants, had lost its stigma" (p. 107). These men had "a vision of dynamic, virtually limitless economic potential beckoning the most aggressive and inventive, of whatever religion, to create and enjoy wealth" (p. 121). They had a benign evaluation of the Jews' capacity for commerce and saw the qualities that had most stigmatized the Jews in the past as positive attributes.

Magnus's well-researched account and persuasively argued thesis provide a valuable addition to the scholarship of Reinhard Rürup and other historians who have pointed out the ambivalent and inconsistent views of liberals in Baden, Württemberg, and Bavaria in the prolonged debate on Jewish emancipation. Her account underscores the regional differences in the liberal movement and deepens our understanding of the economic, social, and ideological factors that created diverse perspectives on the Jewish question in nineteenth-century Germany.

MARJORIE LAMBERTI
Middlebury College

AXEL LUBINSKI. *Entlassen aus dem Untertanenverband: Die Amerika-Auswanderung aus Mecklenburg-Strelitz im 19. Jahrhundert*. (Studien zur historischen Migrationsforschung, number 3.) Osnabrück: Rasch. 1997. Pp. 328.

Immigration historians are drawn to new local and regional studies that help sharpen the focus on the nature, factors, and characteristics of the immigration experience. Axel Lubinski's study of immigration to America from the eastern Mecklenburg area of Strelitz and Stargard provides a thoughtful analysis of the multilayered economic, technological, and social factors that shaped immigration from one area of northern Germany to America from the 1840s until the 1890s. The book grew out of a dissertation under the

direction of Klaus J. Bade, who is the general editor of the Studies in Immigration History Research series in which Lubinski's work is the third volume.

The basis for the study is a collection of applications for permission to immigrate that became available to researchers in the 1980s. The applications include a wealth of information about those wanting to leave; full names, sex, family position, birthdate or age, birthplace, residence, occupation, financial status, destination, employment opportunities, contact with relatives or acquaintances who had already immigrated, and reasons for immigration. The application records are of particular importance because they appear to be quite complete, and similar files for other areas of Germany have been completely or partially destroyed. The 17,000 immigrants from the Strelitz/Stargrad area were part of 180,000 nineteenth-century immigrants from Mecklenburg to America.

Lubinski has made an exhaustive study of the applications, and the fifty-nine tables included in the text and appendix give a thorough quantitative analysis. Several insightful quotations are cited from the applications and contemporary observers of the process. The narrative develops the context for immigration to America and offers a careful assessment of the various push and pull factors that affected immigration.

Primarily an agricultural area, Mecklenburg-Strelitz prospered in the nineteenth century with the introduction of new farming methods and crops. A population explosion boomed, and cities grew by nearly sixty percent between 1817 and 1910. Young people had difficulty obtaining adequate housing, especially in rural areas, as few dwellings were constructed for the expanding population. Consequently they looked to immigration as the best opportunity to marry, acquire land, and establish homes of their own.

One of the most important factors in stimulating immigration and providing some measure of reality about the process were the letters and reports from immigrants that circulated in the homeland. Other factors included the high cost in taxes and fees that prohibited most journeymen from becoming masters without assistance. Parents who were not in a position to pay the expenses for children to learn a trade in Germany were willing to send them to America, especially to family members who were already there.

The first application for permission to immigrate to America was made on April 15, 1836. As interest in immigration began to swell, the local aristocracy became troubled, and one member responded to the first application with the lament that it marked the first time that a subject, other than those who had committed a crime, had sought to "leave our happy and peaceful land." Soon the floodgates broke as nearly everyone began talking about leaving for America. After 1846, new and relatively inexpensive and safe transportation made immigration more attractive. Advertisements to attract immigrants to Wisconsin and other land-rich areas circulated in Mecklenburg into the 1880s.

Immigration helped precipitate a short-term worker shortage. An emissary of the Mecklenburg landowners journeyed to America in 1873 and traveled 3,000 miles through Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin, trying to find anyone wanting to return. He found only one Mecklenburger who expressed the wish to go back to his homeland.

Events in America affected immigration. Between 1855 and 1859, immigration declined because of a reduction of wages and the emergence of the Know-Nothing Party and its anti-foreign sentiment. The American Civil War stimulated immigration because of labor shortages. The Panic of 1873 reduced the number of immigrants, and the Panic of 1893 signaled the end of nineteenth-century immigration from Mecklenburg-Strelitz.

Although Lubinski does not offer any radical new interpretation about the immigration experience, he does draw our attention to several unrecognized issues that help us understand the complex factors that impacted one small area of Germany during a critical period of immigration to America.

ALLAN KENT POWELL

Utah State Historical Society

BRETT FAIRBAIRN, *Democracy in the Undemocratic State: The German Reichstag Elections of 1898 and 1903*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press, 1997. Pp. xiv, 408. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

Brett Fairbairn investigates the distinctiveness of the two Reichstag elections of 1898 and 1903. In contrast to the nationalist elections, especially those of 1887 and 1907, these two events were almost "normal" affairs, articulating group interests around domestic "fairness" issues. Fairbairn's largest claim is that the two elections resulted in "a more democratic culture than what had preceded it" (p. xii), because modern mass politics as represented by the Social Democrats, the Catholic Center, and the Agrarian League triumphed, whereas the Liberals and the Conservatives received their lowest percentage of votes. Specifically, Fairbairn argues that the social imperialism promoted by Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz and the *Sammlungspolitik* initiated by the Prussian finance minister Johannes von Miquel suffered "abject failure" (p. xi). This argument is, of course, a critique of Hans-Ulrich Wehler, especially of *Das deutsche Kaiserreich* (1977). In the third volume of *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte* (1995), Wehler emphasized again "the triumph of *Sammlungspolitik*" (p. 1008) by virtue of the high tariff bill of 1902 and the large naval expansion bill of 1900. Fairbairn, who does not cite Wehler's work after 1981, can see it in reverse because he focuses not on the parliamentary votes and the historical consequences but on the momentary popular vote distribution, and the latter was indeed a blow to the government and its conservative and liberal allies.

Fairbairn tries to balance the narrow focus on just two elections with a framework drawn from the polit-

ical and social mobilization literature, a sketch of the parties' history throughout the life of the empire, and a regression analysis of the popular vote. The book begins with a quick review of the mass mobilization literature from Maurice Duverger to Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan, but haste leads to unnecessary slips. We are told that "both Robert Michels and Moisei Ostrogorski used the [Social Democratic] party as an example . . . Michels and Weber apparently accepted Ostrogorski's view that the SPD epitomized the modern trend of political organization" (pp. 10, 311). But Ostrogorski's famous *La démocratie et les partis politiques* (1902) contains no reference to the German Social Democrats, and Michels's *Zur Soziologie des Parteiwesens in der modernen Demokratie* (1911, not 1915) basically ignored Ostrogorski, as Werner Conze pointed out more than forty years ago. These may appear to be small factual slips, but there are larger consequences to this kind of forgetfulness. In his conclusion, Fairbairn asserts that "the very same populist, cleavage-oriented, interest-mobilizing behavior that repelled contemporary nationalists like Max Weber may have represented the best democratic potential in the party system" (p. 258). But Weber the nationalist held exactly this theory and affirmed it politically, as a careful reading of such essays as "Wahlrecht und Demokratie in Deutschland" (1917) demonstrates. He advocated letting the "dogs of material interests" fight it out with one another. In what Fairbairn takes to be a critique, he actually arrives at Weber's own position eighty years later.

But Fairbairn's heart and ambition belong to regression analysis, to which he wants to win over historians. In an appendix, he patiently instructs his untutored colleagues in its virtues and its computer application. The analysis involves first the construction of a typology of the Reichstag's 397 constituencies "into nine mutually exclusive categories or types, each of which aggregates constituencies of similar social-economic character and political culture" (p. 263). The types range from "large landownership area" across Protestant and Catholic rural and urban areas to "seats of 'national' conflict." This leads to tabular presentations of the multiple regression for the parties' popular vote from 1890 to 1912. The "best prediction" within this skillful artifice derives from regional variables for the conservatives and liberals, from social-economic statistics for the Social Democrats, and from constituency typology for the Catholic Center (p. 265).

The question remains: what contribution can such a regression analysis make to the larger issues raised? Fairbairn's overall conclusion is that "turn-of-the-century Germany had a flourishing mass-political culture" (p. 262) and that "the elections of 1898 and 1903 do not seem to show an authoritarian culture among voters" (p. 260)—a curiously narrow view of authoritarianism. But he seems to realize that there cannot be just one answer to his initial question: "How democratic was Imperial Germany as a whole?" (p. 8). After all, the "democratic potential" was not fulfilled. The

most general answer to the issue of "democracy in the undemocratic state" may still be that in the historical balance, "votes don't count" for much.

GUENTHER ROTH
Columbia University

MANFRED B. STEGER. *The Quest for Evolutionary Socialism: Eduard Bernstein and Social Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 287. \$64.95.

Eduard Bernstein was one of the most controversial—if not paradoxical—of the leading figures within European Social Democracy during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. His much-noted attempt to revise Marxist theory has earned him a place in the German left pantheon of heroes or villains, depending on one's point of view. During a long and active career in German Social Democracy, Bernstein locked horns with the fiery radical Rosa Luxemburg over the question of reform or revolution toward the end of the century while later denouncing V. I. Lenin after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. Even those who disagree with his theories can acknowledge the importance of the issues he raised within the Socialist movement.

Bernstein has not received the attention his thought and achievements warrant. Save for Peter Gay's brilliant—but almost half a century old—biography, *The Dilemma of Democratic Socialism* (1952), Bernstein has been little studied, particularly in the English language, and scholars have every reason to welcome a new monograph that adds further nuance to the famous German revisionist's historical image. Manfred B. Steger additionally claims to show the relevance of Bernstein's theories to contemporary politics. Sadly, he fails substantially to accomplish either the self-proclaimed task of historical reinterpretation or the demonstration of Bernstein's continued relevance to politics on the eve of the millennium. As to the latter, Steger devotes so little time or effort to proving Bernstein relevant that one suspects this proclamation resulted more from a marketing ploy than a sincere desire to advance such an argument. This book gives the reader little more than an eight-page epilogue that emphasizes Bernstein's commitment to tolerance, debate, and flexibility: sound advice for any political movement no doubt, but hardly original or unique to Bernstein.

The heart of this monograph is Steger's attempt to update and analyze Bernstein and evolutionary socialism in light of new evidence or interpretive paradigms when contrasted with Gay's much earlier work, the book seems thin. One difficulty is the author's habit of introducing obscure aspects of Bernstein's personal life without adequately exploring their significance. The reader learns, for example, that having "for a long time resisted the influence of the numerous prostitutes crowding the night-time streets of Berlin's red-light district, the prudish young Bernstein finally succumbed

to his curiosity" (pp. 26–27). The importance of this unfootnoted anecdotal digression is left open, as no discussion is given about how this experience may have molded the later evolutionary socialist. Steger subsequently appears to insinuate that Bernstein abandoned Marxism after ultra-left political attacks brought on a nervous breakdown in London (p. 70). If so, this would be a very important episode to investigate at some length, as the reasons behind Bernstein's transformation from Friedrich Engels's pupil to a revisionist theoretician have always been a matter of debate. Yet it is mentioned and then abandoned, as is the influence of English Fabianism a few pages earlier.

What, then, of Bernstein's quest for evolutionary socialism? While acknowledging limitations, Steger is enthusiastic about Bernstein's theory, crediting him with "reinserting moral subjectivity and human agency into socialist theory" and arguing that many of Bernstein's theoretical weaknesses were the result of the spirit of Marx and Engels continuing "to hover over Bernstein's pen" (p. 248). Yet the author minimizes a central dilemma of evolutionary socialist theory: that is, the belief in the middle classes.

As the text approvingly notes, Bernstein had faith in liberal democratic institutions and the civic consciousness of the middle classes. His theory was premised on the notion that an evolutionary socialist politics could win over the middle class and gradually transform society. This liberal-socialist paradigm, with its belief in democratic political institutions, left little room for the emergence of the Hitlers, Mussolinis, and Francos who have filled the pages of twentieth-century European history. Moreover, the theory was clearly factually wrong regarding the middle strata, as even Steger admits. After all, Bernstein's faith in the middle class "was neither to be fulfilled in the context of the Wilhelmine Empire nor during the fourteen years of the Weimar Republic" (p. 176).

When the definitive intellectual biography of Bernstein is finally written, these questions will have to be addressed in no little detail. This volume gives neither a rounded portrait of Bernstein as a person nor delves deeply enough into his thought. Until such time as a more complete treatment appears in the English language, one would be well advised to turn first to Gay, using Steger only as a supplement.

WILLIAM A. PELZ
Institute of Working Class History
Chicago

HEINZ HAGENLÜCKE. *Deutsche Vaterlandspartei: Die nationale Rechte am Ende des Kaiserreiches*. (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, number 108.) Düsseldorf: Droste, 1997. Pp. 441. DM 98.

This is the book that everyone thought Dirk Stegmann was going to write; instead, Heinz Hagenlücke, a young Düsseldorf scholar, has produced the definitive study of the German Fatherland Party (Deutsche Vaterlands-

partei, or DVLP). One might ruminate on how Hagenlücke's book, originating from a dissertation supervised by Wolfgang J. Mommsen, is different from the one Stegmann might have produced. The author is not shy about identifying his differences of opinion with Stegmann. But it is worth noting here that new questions about the prospects for political renewal on the German Right have also been posed in two other recent books: Norbert Friedrich's *"Die christlich-soziale Fahne empor!" Reinhard Mumm und die christlich-soziale Bewegung* (1997), and Raffael Scheck's *Alfred von Tirpitz and German Right-Wing Politics, 1914–1930* (1998). Just as Hagenlücke's study focuses on the Fatherland Party's founder, Wolfgang Kapp, without allowing "the man" to overwhelm "his times," Friedrich and Scheck also succeed in tying the failure of right-wing reform attempts to long-neglected figures of major historical significance.

Although Hagenlücke quite rightly acknowledges Stegmann's pathbreaking work, he argues (correctly, in my view) that Stegmann's characterization of the Fatherland Party as "pre-" or "proto-fascist" cannot withstand critical scrutiny. In Hagenlücke's view, only the much smaller and more radical parties led after 1918 by Anton Drexler and, later, Adolf Hitler deserve to be considered "pre-fascist" parties. In fact, one of the most significant and convincing elements of Hagenlücke's thesis is that the Fatherland Party's leaders were patently unable to overcome the same liabilities of *Honoratiorenpolitik* (the politics of notables) that had always afflicted the parties of the right. Again and again, one reads just how pretentious, boring, and downright irrelevant speeches given by DVLP leaders and functionaries actually were. Ironically, it is the Pan-German leader Heinrich Claß—a man completely unable to speak in front of an audience—who emerges from this book as the only figure both forward-looking and ruthless enough to merit comparison with Hitler. Nevertheless, Hagenlücke reminds us (pp. 410–11) that what distinguished pretenders from real fascists was the latter's willingness to resort to physical violence to achieve their political aims.

Hagenlücke suggests that Stegmann and many other historians have been duped, mainly by the Fatherland Party's leaders' penchant for self-aggrandizement, into believing that the party was a success. Citing Kapp's private correspondence, Hagenlücke demonstrates that every one of the party's central figures believed that the first year of activity had brought mainly disappointment and failure. "The party did not succeed in realizing a single one of its high-sounding program points," writes the author (p. 405). Indeed, the failure of the party was apparent to most insiders in the late spring of 1918, when the German offensive in the West ground to a halt—not, that is, in the early autumn of 1918, when the other pillars of German authoritarianism began to crumble. After May 1918, the DVLP's propaganda slowed to a trickle. Its financial situation became desperate (the author estimates

that about half of all members were in arrears of their membership dues at this time). Its local and regional chapters balked at the authoritarian pronouncements issued from Berlin. And others took up the task of fashioning a new popular basis for the German Right. Citing Claß's critical (though not entirely hostile) appraisals of the party's activities, Hagenlücke demonstrates that the Fatherland Party failed to exploit its many initial advantages: its connections to powerbrokers, its impressive membership figures, and its sophisticated propaganda distribution network. In fact, at the very outset of the party's history, Claß identified (pp. 353–54) the three principal challenges the Fatherland Party never met: the governmental timidity of its leaders and patrons, particularly Tirpitz, which prevented them from working openly against the government and its war aims; Kapp's headstrong insistence on naming the new organization a "party," when it neither acted like a party nor really wanted to be one; and the contradiction between DVLP's leaders' declared aim of *supporting* a strong government and their actual goal of *creating* a strong government where (allegedly) none existed. As Hagenlücke suggests, the revolutionary impulse that culminated in the abortive Kapp Putsch of 1920 was latent in the Fatherland Party all along, even though it was neither acknowledged by sycophants like Tirpitz nor resolved in the public's understanding of what the party stood for. In contrast to 1930–1932, the attempted juxtaposition of traditional parliamentarism and revolutionary putschism in 1917–1918 constituted a weakness, not a strength.

Hagenlücke believes that the Fatherland Party should not be conceived as the start of something dramatically new on the German right. The author's skepticism of older accounts is salutary. He demolishes the notion—favored by Stegmann, Geoff Eley, and others—that the Cartel of Productive Estates (1913) had any practical impact or even represented a theoretical new departure on the Right. Eley is also the victim of Hagenlücke's successful effort to show that "one cannot justifiably speak of any 'self-mobilization of the grass-roots' or of the lower middle classes" (p. 187). To be sure, Hagenlücke somewhat conflates the opposing views of Eley and Roger Chickering on this point. He nevertheless opts for the latter. Lastly, Hagenlücke shows that the Fatherland Party was wholly unsuccessful in solving "the central problem of the Right in Germany": how to find a popular call to arms with which to capture the working classes.

As one might expect with any book appearing under the highly respected Droste imprint, the production values and reliability of this study are beyond reproach. The only error I discovered was the identification (p. 46) of Heinrich Rippler as editor-in-chief of the agrarian *Deutsche Tageszeitung* (Rippler edited the *Tägliche Rundschau*). On the other hand, four questions of interpretation can be raised in the manner of a "critical appreciation." First, the author insists at one point that the DVLP was an "almost purely Prussian party" (p. 291), whereas only a few pages later he notes

that the Saxon *Landesverband* alone—the strongest of any regional group—had over 80,000 members (p. 300). My own study of the Kapp papers in Berlin suggests that the disaffection of non-Prussian chapters of the DVLP in the summer of 1918 is somewhat foreshortened in Hagenlücke's account. Second, the author identifies the Fatherland Party as a "populist-nationalist movement dominated by a few activists" (p. 408). This formulation seems to beg all sorts of interesting questions about just how few activists—or how many—a "movement" can tolerate to deserve that label. Third, Hagenlücke might have explained more systematically why the DVLP failed to expand beyond the "nationalist camp." The concept of camps (*Lager*) has become central to analyses of Wilhelmine political culture, but it remains undefined in Hagenlücke's account.

Fourth and finally, the author might have been more bold in extending and deepening his analysis of how the Fatherland Party attempted a "one-sided, emotional appropriation of the concept of Fatherland" (p. 405). Arguably, it is the emotional power of nationalism that is most conspicuously underplayed in Hagenlücke's study. Except for a brief treatment of the "spirit of 1914," he does not attempt to grapple with the larger role in German history played by political strategies explicitly calculated to draw emotional strength from the reservoir of national sentiment, national spirit, and national "will." If Hagenlücke had gone further down this road, he would have helped us recognize that efforts to exploit populist, demagogic, or "proto-fascist" means to instrumentalize radical nationalism—despite their obvious success in the 1930s—have fallen surprisingly flat in other epochs.

All in all, no existing study comes closer than Hagenlücke's to explaining why such failure was almost preordained in the late Kaiserreich period. Hagenlücke not only charts with great assurance the many lines of conflict and consensus that weave through the history of the wartime right until the founding of the Fatherland Party in September 1917; he carries the story well beyond the revolution of November 1918. Thus he is able to illustrate which trajectories achieve major historical significance in the Weimar Republic, and which—like the subject of his own research—did not. This superb book will remain a standard work for many years to come.

JAMES RETALLACK
University of Toronto

T. HUNT TOOLEY. *National Identity and Weimar Germany: Upper Silesia and the Eastern Border, 1918–1922*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 320.

Behind this book's somewhat indeterminate title lies a detailed analysis of Germany's effort to hold on to Upper Silesia, the site of its second largest concentration of coal and heavy industry, after World War I. A plebiscite allowing Upper Silesians to have some say in

their own future was the one significant change between the draft Treaty of Versailles and its final version, but the task confronting Germany's new government still seemed daunting. After all, most Upper Silesians were ethnically Polish, and U.S. President Woodrow Wilson was not the only one who considered a majority vote for Poland to be a foregone conclusion. T. Hunt Tooley has prepared a detailed and intelligently written analysis of Weimar Germany's response to this challenge, showing how it managed, under very trying circumstances, to mount a successful plebiscite campaign and hold on to most of the province.

Weimar Germany had first of all to persuade Polish-speaking Upper Silesians to vote for a country whose previous government had harassed them with all manner of germanization measures. It had to persuade a predominantly Catholic region to vote for a country whose new socialist government had just introduced aggressively secularist policies. It had to persuade mostly Polish miners and industrial workers to identify nationally with their overwhelmingly German employers and managers. It had to conduct its campaign from a distance, for Upper Silesia was subject to the rule of an Interallied Commission—whose leading member (France) openly favored the other side—for fourteen months prior to the plebiscite. And it had to wage its campaign virtually unarmed, against a Polish adversary that tried to gain control of the contested region by armed force on three separate occasions. And yet, despite some initial stumbling, the campaign was successful: on March 20, 1921, sixty percent of Upper Silesians, including one in three Polish speakers, voted to stay with Germany. Tooley seconds the view of most neutral observers that this outcome was a reasonably accurate reflection of popular wishes; he argues that the 97.5 percent voter turnout alone disproves charges that the electorate was simply too terrorized to vote for Poland.

Tooley approaches the German plebiscite campaign in part as an example of what he calls "the dynamics of decision-making" during the first years of the Weimar Republic, in part for the light that it sheds on the outcome of the plebiscite itself. For example, he cites the contrast between the forty-seven percent vote for German candidates in the November 1919 communal elections and the plebiscite sixteen months later as evidence that the German campaign must have done something right to improve its position. In particular, he credits the partial shift of control over the campaign from socialists (and others) in Berlin to native Upper Silesians, many of Polish descent (e.g. Carl Ulitzka, Hans Lukaschek, Kurt Urbanek). The willingness of the national government to consider creating a new federal state in Upper Silesia was also part of the effort; although the Prussian state government vetoed this idea, it did agree to a separate Prussian province with enhanced autonomy. Overall, however, the picture of the German campaign that emerges from this account is mainly one of bureaucratic infighting, numerous changes of leadership and policy, and internal

division along Prussian-Reich, centralist-autonomist, Catholic-secularist, and socialist-conservative lines. Although the author does not put it so bluntly, some readers may well wonder how the German cause managed to fare as well as it did under this kind of direction.

Tooley's examination of the plebiscite campaign, including its international context, is thorough and surefooted; based on extensive research in German archives, it fills an important gap in the English-language literature. He does treat the view from Berlin rather more fully than the view from Upper Silesia, however, and those interested in both sides of this contest will want to consult the mostly Polish-language literature on the Polish campaign. The intriguing question of national identity among Polish-speaking Upper Silesians also deserves fuller treatment. Tooley examines some of the literature on this question, but the literature itself is scant and tentative: a comprehensive examination of national consciousness among Upper Silesian Poles, incorporating also the ever-expanding theoretical literature on national identity formation, remains to be written. The German victory seems to have owed less to the well-funded, sometimes even well-oiled campaign orchestrated from Berlin than to the persistence of pro-German sentiment among so many Upper Silesian Poles. It was their willingness to stick with Germany at a low point in its history that turned the plebiscite campaign into something surely not intended by the Entente powers: a made-to-order opportunity to shore up national unity and a welcome early boost to postwar German morale.

To be sure, the verdict of 1921 was only temporary. When Germany next lost a war in 1945, the views of the Upper Silesians were no longer consulted, and the "borderland" that is treated here found itself deep in the heart of Poland. Ironically, while the Polishness of many Upper Silesians preserved them from the ethnic cleansing that eradicated the rest of the German East after 1945, their descendants still make up the bulk of the self-defined "German" minority in today's Poland.

RICHARD BLANKE
University of Maine

SIEGFRIED WEICHLEIN, *Sozialmilieus und politische Kultur in der Weimarer Republik: Lebenswelt, Vereinskultur, Politik in Hessen*. (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 115.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1996. Pp. 404. DM 98.

In the recent historiography of modern Germany, the concept of "milieu," pioneered by M. Rainer Lepsius, has found increasingly frequent use in the analysis of politics and society. In skilled hands it has been utilized to convey the common elements of moral values and material concerns which bond sociopolitical groupings over time. A particular version of milieu is the interpretive anchor of Siegfried Weichlein's study of the *Regierungsbezirk* (administrative district) of Hessen-Kassel during the Weimar era. Structures, pro-

cesses, and organizations are cast by the author as the framing constituents of the three milieus he explores: political Catholicism, Social Democracy, and the liberal-conservative successor to the separate sociopolitical entities that had existed down to the end of the preceding imperial era.

Weichlein observes in his introduction that recent research has given prominence to the fragmentation of German society in the Weimar period. He finds milieu to be the most helpful analytic construct with which to approach this issue. As a platform for investigation, he chooses the regional arena: large enough to allow representative conclusions to be drawn, but not so extensive as to encourage overgeneralization. Within this interpretive scheme, underlying processes and guiding principles are the causative forces in historical development. Human agency seems secondary when Weichlein writes that "[s]everal structural principles defined the development of organizations" (p. 58). Political parties do not operate in an autonomous sphere; as the "action committees" of social milieus, they serve functions beyond politics. Of Weimar Weichlein writes, "Because the parties, as social-moral communities of opinion, ritualized and perpetuated conflicts pre-dating the national state, the process of democratization was subculturally reshaped and hindered" (p. 15). (Yes, the concept-laden prose often is this dense.)

Weichlein's conceptual apparatus is effective in identifying continuities that extended from the mid-nineteenth century to the Weimar era. Deeply rooted habits of thought and long-established organizations, for example, separated Catholic and Social Democratic factory workers despite their class similarities. On the deficit side, this approach screens off the possible importance of particular events and personalities. Individuals are characterized not by personal traits but as representative types; thus this description of a leader of the German Democratic Party: "He embodied the liberal political tradition in the Hessian middle class" (p. 189). Even the Hessian-based Social Democrats Philipp Scheidemann and Albert Grzesinski, two of Weimar's most combative political figures, are blanketed in bland references.

Weichlein's analysis works best when tracing out the milieu of political Catholicism (to which he also devotes the most space, although Catholics numbered fewer than one-fifth of the region's population). Catholics in Hessen-Kassel were held together politically by religious concerns and by the "dense net" (p. 166) of Catholic organizations, which encompassed all occupational groups as well as men and women, the aged, and youth. In the Social Democratic milieu, centered in the Protestant northern Hessian area around Kassel, Weichlein finds fewer organizational links but points to other facets of solidarity, most notably the small-scale, part-time involvement in farming of many workers and their families. This tie to property helps to explain the dominant reformist orientation of the region's Social Democrats. The approach yields fewer

dividends, however, in regard to liberal and conservative party politics. Allegiances there were frequently short-term. Many groups—civil servants, artisans, academics—shifted loyalties, often in response to events such as the 1918–1919 Revolution, occurrences of sufficient magnitude to disrupt the continuities that are central to the author's analytic scheme. But the interpretive difficulty also lies in Weichlein's reliance on formal organizations as the foundation of milieu.

In this regard, the largest question is posed by his treatment of the anti-Semitic peasant movement launched and led by Otto Böckel in the 1880s and 1890s. Here it is presented as a protest phenomenon, which failed organizationally and gave way on the economic front to the Raiffeisen cooperatives and in politics to the conservative Bund der Landwirte (BdL). In Weimar, however, the BdL's successor, the Kurhessischer Landbund, lost supporters as agricultural recession recommenced in the late 1920s; those who left moved first to a local peasant party but ultimately, in 1932, to the Nazis. An alternative construction of milieu, locating its constants in economic circumstances rather than organization, might account for these shifts in rural voting patterns as varying political expressions of persistent structural problems in agriculture; in this case, the Böckel movement would become something more than an ephemeral protest vehicle, and National Socialism's smashing electoral successes in Hessen-Kassel would derive from more profound sources than, as Weichlein states, "a sum of dramatizations of occasions of the moment and structural shortcomings in the Weimar state" (p. 316). In Weichlein's hands, then, the concept of milieu enlightens us about the sociopolitical groups whose paths of development accord with the paradigm. Its limits are evident when it addresses the parties and strata whose histories diverge from the pattern.

DAN S. WHITE

University at Albany

KLAUS HENTSCHEL, *The Einstein Tower: An Intertexture of Dynamic Construction, Relativity Theory, and Astronomy*. Translated by ANN M. HENTSCHEL. (Writing Science.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 226. \$45.00.

As startling in its day as is the Louvre's glass pyramid or the Vietnam Memorial wall in ours, the Einstein Tower, constructed on a hill in Potsdam, Germany, in 1921, was a source of architectural controversy as well as scientific debate. At once a solar research laboratory on relativity theory and a monument to the theory's creator, the unusually shaped tower and attached building became for the German public the artistic expression of its incomprehension of relativity theory and the postwar era. Even the research produced in the new building's surprisingly conventional interior challenged the traditional aims and methods of astronomical research, fanning personal animosities that, mirroring the public descent from the towering

ideals of Einsteinian science, contributed to the waves of persecution that followed Adolf Hitler's rise to power in 1933.

In this carefully researched, well-illustrated, and superbly translated story of the Einstein Tower, which still overlooks the Potsdam suburb of Berlin, Klaus Hentschel weaves the numerous strands of the tower's story into an "intertexture" of people and ideas, a "cultural fabric" of personalities, institutions, economic forces, and scientific research. Hentschel shows how this fabric entwined the collaboration of three very different personalities at the height of their creative abilities and led to the building of the tower. The first of these personalities was Albert Einstein, who sought experimental verification for his newly formulated general theory of relativity. The second was the little-known Erwin Finlay Freundlich, an astronomer only too eager to supply the verification. The third was Erich Mendelsohn, a young architect handed the chance of a lifetime: free reign to build a structure of his own choosing, with the funds to go with it. While divorcing form entirely from function, Mendelsohn strove nevertheless for a "holistic" design reflecting what he perceived as the essential unities of space and time, energy and matter in Einstein's relativity theory. The rounded edges, smoothed shapes, and recessed windows of his monument defied stylistic definition, although after an apparently overwhelmed Einstein toured the new building in silence, his one-word reaction, "organic," provides a clue. Hentschel rightly notes an echo in Mendelsohn's unities of the German public's widespread, though dangerously misguided, urge for so-called organic holism.

Because of his mathematical training in Göttingen, a center of relativity research, Freundlich became the first German astronomer to support Einstein's theory. Einstein hired him to head the solar research institute at the planned tower (the instruments requiring a tower design). Tirelessly engaged in the search for construction funds, Freundlich successfully invoked patriotic arguments familiar from historical studies of other contemporaneous campaigns for German research funds: the national need to preserve German culture, and the competition with other nations, particularly the United States, for scientific preeminence. At the same time, Freundlich alienated many of his colleagues who, while jealous of the funding and independence accorded him, opposed the new experimental astronomy espoused by Freundlich as well as the relativity theory espoused by his patron. Hentschel notes only in passing that the rancor of the period through the completion of the tower in 1921 helped to pave the way for the increasingly anti-Semitic movement against Einstein and relativity theory in Berlin that began about that time. One of Freundlich's main opponents was the astronomer Hans Ludendorff, the brother of the notorious General Erich Ludendorff, a later Hitler supporter. Hans Ludendorff led the charge against the part-Jewish Freundlich in 1933, forcing him

to emigrate and Einstein's name to be removed from the tower monument.

The primary purpose of the tower institute was to test two predictions of general relativity theory: the shifting of frequencies of light emitted by the sun toward the red end of the spectrum, and the deflection of starlight as it passed near the sun during a total solar eclipse. Both of these effects, caused by the gravitational field of the sun, were at the limits of instruments used at the time. Ironically, Freundlich and his institute never confirmed either prediction. In well-researched, rather technical accounts of both topics, Hentschel attributes the failure to detect the red shift to a failure to apply the institute's instruments fully to the task. He attributes the failure to confirm light deflection in part to the mundane difficulties of travel and weather but mainly to Freundlich's failings as an analyzer of error-prone data. Compounding the irony, after 1929 his data seemed (mistakenly) to contradict Einstein's theory, but by then there was no doubting the theory's validity. The early lone supporter of Einstein's theory became in the end an isolated opponent.

By weaving together all of the strands of this story and resting it on the solid foundation of archival materials and the many Einstein documents published during the last two decades, Hentschel has provided an outstanding account of an important episode in the history of science and of architecture.

DAVID C. CASSIDY
Hofstra University

WINFRIED SPEITKAMP. *Die Verwaltung der Geschichte: Denkmalpflege und Staat in Deutschland 1871–1933*. (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 114.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1996. Pp. 509. DM 98.

Much more integral to the everyday memory of Germans than remembering or forgetting Nazi atrocities, historical preservation as both discipline and cultural practice has received only scattered attention from historians. Over the past two centuries in Germany and the rest of Europe, the preservation of historical buildings has been so variable in its address and scope, so multifaceted in its applications, and finally so differentiated in its development in both state and society that scholarship has had to be satisfied with either theoretical generalization or local knowledge. Winfried Speitkamp's monograph is a considerable step forward in this context. Acknowledging the importance German society still attributes to the restoration and maintenance of historical buildings and sites, the author notes that "little is known about what historic preservation is, what it deals with, whom it serves and who practices it, and which methods of conservation of the scientifically or culturally important artifacts of the past are necessary and appropriate" (p. 11). Speitkamp's goal is to analyze historic preservation as a public service and state institution.

Covering the period from German unification in 1871 to Adolf Hitler's accession to the chancellorship in 1933, Speitkamp examines the institutional matrices of a practice that was transformed from a relatively narrow and amateurish preoccupation with a few major architectural landmarks—the German canon of castles, cathedrals, and city halls—to a broader and more differentiated cultural movement shaped by a professionalizing discourse and increasingly concerned with a bewildering variety of historical artifacts.

Speitkamp's careful analysis shows how historic preservation engaged with many other cultural projects and activities. The author touches on developments in cultural criticism, the *Heimat* ("home-land") movement, debates in architecture and urban planning, concepts and theories of monuments, associational life, nationalism and national identity, the differentiation and elaboration of government bureaucracies, the history of building regulations and public works legislation, the role of the church, and attitudes toward private property. Still, his goal is to analyze historic preservation not as a social movement, as this list might suggest, but as the public administration of history. In adopting this perspective, Speitkamp argues persuasively that historic preservation was not an antimodern reaction to the disruptive effects of industrialization, urbanization, and commercialization. Rather he demonstrates that it became an integral resource in the efforts of the German *Kulturstaat* to manage the most threatening elements of modernity, and that it was inspired mainly not by the reactionary impulses of *fin-de-siècle* cultural criticism or radical nationalism but by a reformed yet still essentially nineteenth-century liberalism.

The book is detailed, comprehensively documented, and well-argued. Nonetheless, Speitkamp's state-centered approach to this complex subject has a number of disadvantages. As in so much of recent German historiography, culture emerges as a function of state-making and societal development rather than as a dynamic process that defined and constituted reality. Speitkamp correctly argues that one needs to understand how preservationists conceptualized monuments before studying the monuments themselves. But this perspective also forecloses a more detailed analysis of the iconography or the history of conservation of key historical buildings, and it hinders a more textured discussion of the conflicts that arose when Germans decided whether or how to maintain such objects in their local communities. The decision to end the narrative in 1933 is also problematic. Speitkamp argues that the period from 1871 to 1933 is significant because it reflects the decisive modernization and growth of historic preservation as state policy. Yet many preservationists after World War II would argue that this process was not fully valorized until the first years of the Nazi dictatorship, and others would argue that when such aspects of the subject as popular perceptions of the government conservator's role are taken into account, an even more extended chronol-

ogy, perhaps reaching into the late 1960s, would be appropriate. Whereas there is plenty of information on the relationship between preservation and the broader *Heimat* movement, Speitkamp's analysis still leaves the reader with too little information on the public reception of monument preservation and popular attitudes toward Germany's rich stock of architectural landmarks. The book therefore has too little to say about how the administration of history, as state practice, related to the broader dynamic of social memory work in this key period of German history.

Still, by examining the development of an important cultural bureaucracy at a moment of deep social and political change, Speitkamp has illuminated a subject whose importance continues to grow in reunified Germany, where another round of public debate over the fate of historical landmarks has ensued. This book highlights how little we know about the origins and development of such debates in the past and how much remains to be done if historians want to understand this highly modern and contentious form of cultural politics.

R. J. KOSHAR
*University of Wisconsin,
Madison*

PETER C. CALDWELL. *Popular Sovereignty and the Crisis of German Constitutional Law: The Theory and Practice of Weimar Constitutionalism*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 300. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$17.95.

Historians have long recognized the centrality of constitutional questions to the Weimar Republic's demise but have paid insufficient attention to the underlying legal theory. Meanwhile, there has been a proliferation of contentious studies by political scientists on Weimar legal theorists and their relationship to constitutional and political controversies in the Federal Republic. For these reasons, Peter C. Caldwell's important study of German constitutional law is a welcome addition to the historical literature.

Caldwell provides an overview from the legal positivism of imperial Germany through the fateful court decisions on the Reich's imposition of emergency rule in Prussia a few months before the Nazi seizure of power. His sections on legal positivism under the monarchy are among the best available and make an excellent contribution to our understanding, as do sections on legal positivism and the Weimar constitution. Equally valuable is Caldwell's informative chapter on the jurisprudence of the High Courts in Weimar, which had to grapple with the interpretation, application, and constitutionality of laws in crucial areas ranging from property rights and the meaning of equality before the law to the legality and limits of presidential emergency powers under Article 48.

In addition to Hans Kelsen and Carl Schmitt, the Weimar constitution's "most significant philosophers" (p. 9), the book covers other preeminent legal think-

ers, several of whom, despite their renown, remain unfamiliar to German historians in the United States. We encounter Paul Laband's original statute positivism and its Weimar variant in Gerhard Anschütz and Richard Thoma. Caldwell's own affinity is for a synthesis of Rudolf Smend's communitarian integration theory and Hermann Heller's social Rechtsstaat, which he sees as a workable framework for modern popular democracy.

Caldwell asks how the popular sovereignty introduced with Weimar democracy created fundamental problems for legal positivism and what alternatives were advanced by anti-positivist theorists. Could popular sovereignty, particularly if leaning toward reformist socialism, be reconciled with certain interpretations of the Rechtsstaat, basic rights, or federalism? Who was the defender of the constitution? Could not judicial review just as easily serve an antidemocratic purpose by stifling the popular will (whether represented by the Reichstag or the president) as protect minority rights against domination by the majority? Acknowledging such dilemmas, Caldwell argues that in Weimar, no single conception of constitutionalism prevailed, while in the Federal Republic, a political culture did emerge that ensured stability by properly balancing institutionalized popular sovereignty and judicial review by the Constitutional Court. Still, he concludes that such constraints on popular sovereignty by the courts and institutions are currently under challenge by the German right and left, thereby reviving Weimar debates. One gets the impression that Caldwell is ambivalent on this issue, and in a previous work, he seemed to identify with leftist critics of the present system. In *The American Journal of Jurisprudence*, vol. 39 (1994), he wrote of a "profound political critique in the Federal Republic," noted the remarkable "persistence of anti-positivist Nazi elites in the post-1945 West German judiciary," and questioned whether this constitutional system "represents yet another deferral of political democracy in German history" (pp. 277, 301).

Moreover, although Caldwell contends that the pressures of the interventionist and welfare state arising from new political and social forces created the crisis for Weimar constitutionalism, he examines most theories at a very abstract level. Only in the sections on the courts is there any real sense of the pressing social issues that provided the passionate and interest-ridden context for these debates. Neither does he adequately cover or integrate the specific problems and changing circumstances that theorists were addressing after 1930. Much of what they were arguing about is incomprehensible without the factors of party intransigence, a paralyzed Reichstag, and the threat of civil war or a Nazi seizure of power. In this context, Caldwell concedes that the theories of Heller and Smend presupposed a degree of stability, social integration, and legitimacy that Weimar lacked after 1928, but he fails to grasp that other constitutionalists envisaged the

presidential system as the pragmatic means necessary to confront the political crisis as it actually existed.

Caldwell certainly deserves credit for undertaking the enormous task of researching the extensive and difficult legal and political writings of so many diverse theorists. But he uses this literature selectively to establish his points and displays striking partiality in handling various thinkers. He explains away the "authoritarian or even protofascist" (p. 212) aspects of Heller and Smend, as well as the former's *Blut und Boden* anthropology and the latter's anti-republicanism. Schmitt's depiction is distorted through misleading statements that he advocated a mythical leader and presidential absolutism, saw the polity as only a "fighting unity" (p. 101), and welcomed the new leadership of Adolf Hitler. At points, Schmitt becomes unrecognizable to those familiar with his life and work.

Caldwell has written a very useful book establishing the contemporary relevance of Weimar constitutionalism. He also expands the debate beyond the narrow and perhaps overworked Kelsen-Schmitt duality by finally recognizing the contributions of other significant legal theorists. But his book should be read critically.

JOSEPH W. BENDERSKY

Virginia Commonwealth University

LYNN ABRAMS and ELIZABETH HARVEY, editors. *Gender Relations in German History: Power, Agency and Experience from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 262. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$16.95.

The systematic study of women in German history dates only to the early 1980s, when a small group of female historians castigated German academic history for its exclusion of women and set about reconstructing women's historical experience. Lynn Abrams and Elizabeth Harvey, the editors of this volume, pay tribute to the "remarkable expansion" of women's history in recent years but nonetheless imply that the field is destined for obsolescence. "The overall process," they write, "can be seen as a gradual displacement of women's history by gender history" (p. 1). The new field of gender history aspires to study both genders in a broader context than has been provided by women's history, which has focused chiefly on the lives and concerns of women. The contributors to this volume look at ways in which conceptions of gender shape all aspects of culture and society. They draw on Michel Foucault's theory that power extends beyond state and governmental structure to all aspects of society and culture and that it constructs as well as prohibits many forms of discourse and behavior, including those related to gender. Gender becomes not an absolute or "natural" but a relative phenomenon; femaleness is always constructed in relation to maleness, and thus women cannot be understood apart from men. As Joan Scott has suggested, conceptions of gender relations often operate on a figurative level to

shape the ways in which hierarchy and power are organized.

The articles in this volume show the workings of gender and power in contexts as diverse as religious life, the law courts, the battlefield, and the physician's office. For example, Heide Wunder examines the complex mechanisms that regulated the relationships between men and women during the Reformation period. Among these mechanisms were both the policies decreed by institutions such as the church and the social pressures applied by various groups within the population, including female groups. For example, groups of prostitutes pressured women who secretly practiced prostitution to declare themselves openly, thus reinforcing police regulations.

This volume's very extensive chronological coverage, which moves from the early modern era to the period following World War II, allows for striking examples of the ways that conceptions of gender developed along with political and social structures. Two accounts of abortion, the first (by Ulinka Rublack) set in the early modern era, and the second (by Cornelia Osborne) in the period of the Weimar Republic, dramatically illustrate the changes in the mechanisms through which structures of authority intervened to limit women's control over reproduction. In the highly pluralistic world of early modern medical practice, women's options extended to a wide range of healers and remedies; by the twentieth century, the medical profession had gained control. But we can also see continuity, for in both periods women's reproductive choices were limited and policed by laws and social controls. Katherine Pence contrasts the ways in which male-female relationships were shaped by the development of two very different consumer economies in East and West Germany after World War II.

Certainly this theoretical emphasis brings a welcome change to the field of social history, which is too often written in a purely descriptive manner, as if the facts were transparent and spoke for themselves. It also poses problems, however, for the data of history are individual, local, and particular, and cannot always be successfully stretched on the Procrustean bed of theory. Sometimes the authors' theoretical ambitions are not convincingly supported by their data. For example, Abrams gives a gripping account of trials for domestic violence in the region of Cleve in the nineteenth century. But her argument that these forms of male violence showed changes in cultural assumptions about marriage, including women's higher expectations, would have been stronger if she had more specifically described earlier forms of marital violence and shown how these differed from the nineteenth-century pattern. Dagmar Herzog provides a very insightful analysis of the dissenting religious movements of the 1840s, to which historians often attribute the origins of German feminism. Herzog shows convincingly that the rhetoric of male dissenters sent a mixed message to women, on the one hand advocating their emancipation, on the other hand deploring their weakness and

vulnerability to seduction by unscrupulous Catholic priests. She concludes by calling for a more "equivocal story of the emergence of feminism" (p. 93), but she does not explain how such a story might change our understanding of the history of women's movements. Of course, most rhetoric—especially that of male feminists—is "equivocal" in the sense of expressing multiple and complex meanings, but this does not prevent women from deriving empowering messages from it if they choose.

The two essays on the National Socialist period both raise interesting comparative questions that are not fully addressed by the authors. Claudia Schoppmann, who writes on Nazi attitudes toward female homosexuality, asserts that "there was little that was specifically National Socialist about the regime's thinking on homosexuality" (p. 178). What was specific to the regime, she states, was the way in which this thinking was put into practice; but she can find very few cases (and none that are well documented) in which lesbians suffered the same kind of ruthless persecution that was inflicted on male homosexuals. And Kate Lacey, whose interesting essay concerns Nazi radio broadcasts aimed at women, argues that these programs aimed to create "loyalty to a national community based on race" (p. 196). But the broadcasts seem to have advocated a view of the domestic role that would have been prevalent in other Western societies, and to have contained little overtly racist or anti-Semitic material. Both of these examples seem to demonstrate not the ways in which Nazi attitudes were unique, but the ways in which they were rather similar to those of other Western governments of the period. Such a comparative perspective, if developed, might modify the view, prevalent in the fields of women's and gender history, of the National Socialist era as an uniquely virulent episode in the history of misogyny.

Although I found the theoretical framework of this volume very stimulating, I was not in the end convinced that gender history, at least as represented here, is on its way to displacing women's history. Most of the essays, although they see women in relation to men, do not consider both genders equally. Their focus is chiefly on women and on the same themes—marriage, reproduction, female professions, household work and consumption, marriage, and feminist movements—that predominate in the field of women's history. And the insight that gender relations are constructed in the context of political, social, or cultural power structures is also not unique to the field of gender history but has been basic to the field of women's history since its origins. At present, a history of both male and female gender is difficult to write because maleness and masculinity have not yet received the same intensive historical scrutiny given to femaleness by a generation of historians. Feminist historians, considering that women's history is still in its initial stages, might reasonably question the necessity of once again focusing on men. But the field of men's history is now expanding, and along with wom-

en's history it may one day provide a basis for a synthetic study of gender.

ANN ALLEN

University of Louisville

CLAUDIA HUERKAMP. *Bildungsbürgerinnen: Frauen im Studium und in akademischen Berufen 1900–1945*. (Bürgertum: Beiträge zur europäischen Gesellschaftsgeschichte, number 10.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1996. Pp. 402. DM 78.

Claudia Huerkamp's book is the tenth volume in Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht's series on the social history of the European bourgeoisie and the first to focus on middle-class women. Indeed, Huerkamp begins by suggesting how conceptually problematic it is to add the German feminine ending to the term *Bildungsbürger*, as she does in the book's title, for the term usually conjures up images of university professors and academically educated professionals and bureaucrats, virtually all of whom would have been male until the twentieth century.

If incorporating gender analysis into the history of the German professional middle classes is conceptually central to Huerkamp's book, the question to which the author returns most persistently concerns the impact of 1933 and the Nazi takeover on the fate of educated and professional women. Given the now generally recognized aim of Nazi policy to reverse previous feminist gains, answering any historical questions about women in twentieth-century Germany requires attention to both long-term trends and analytically separable consequences of the specific policy changes associated with first the Weimar and then the Nazi regime. To her credit, Huerkamp amasses data and employs techniques that allow her to do both.

Huerkamp looks at enrollments by year and by faculty and so is able to see the various consequences of policy in different areas of specialization and to recognize both short-term and long-term effects. She also examines three professions of major significance for academically educated women: teaching, medicine, and the law. Finally, she accompanies her statistical study with individual-level analysis based on published biographies and autobiographies and autobiographical reports written by the graduates (*Abiturientinnen*) of a girls' school in Münster between 1915–1945.

Some of Huerkamp's important and well-supported findings confirm and others challenge previous arguments about the temporal dimensions of expanding female higher education and professional opportunity in Germany. She refutes two types of overgeneralized claims: on the one hand, that the Nazi regime forced women out of higher education and the professions and, on the other, that trends in female higher education are largely explicable independently of government policy.

Huerkamp argues that the impact of Nazi policies varied by a woman's specific age cohort, by her racial categorization in the Nazi scheme, and by her chosen

field of specialization. The claim that middle-class women's education was little affected by Nazi anti-feminism ignores several very important and specific forms of discrimination. First, of course, was the terrible fate of the Jewish women who until 1933 formed a disproportionately high percentage of the female student population, disproportionate not only relative to the Jewish proportion of the German population but also relative to the percentage of Jewish men among students. (In the mid-1920s, Jews comprised just over one percent of the German population but were over six percent of male and eleven percent of female university students.) Second, such claims overlook the disproportionately strong impact of the Nazi university policies on female students in particular, especially in the early years of the regime. In 1933, quotas established upper limits on both the percentage of Jews and the percentage of women who were allowed to study in any given faculty. Finally, new requirements for service and laws about family and employment (one of which dated from the end of the Weimar regime) placed especially heavy burdens on women.

In contrast with an enormous rise in absolute and relative numbers of female students in the 1920s, the early Nazi era represented a closing down of opportunity, even if the enrollment booms of the mid-1920s were already withering in the economic crisis. The number of women students had tripled between 1925 and 1932, at which point they accounted for nearly twenty percent of all university students. Women also comprised twenty-five percent of successful candidates for the Prussian school-leaving certification (*Abitur*) that was required for university entrance. This was the context in which the Nazi government imposed a ten percent limit on the proportion of women among incoming students.

But, as in so many other areas of attempted social revolution, the Nazi policy quickly ran into contradictions that forced a retreat from the early efforts to limit the female presence in higher education and the professions. Still, the back-pedaling occurred at different rates in the different professions. Most women students registered in the philosophy faculty, many intending careers as teachers. Nazi policy changes brought drastic initial declines in the absolute numbers of women philosophy enrollees, but since male philosophy students were also affected by some of the new policies, the relative numbers of women stayed high. One particular component of Nazi policy was the creation of the so-called "pudding *Abitur*," which created a special secondary school-leaving degree for women that emphasized domestic sciences. Although this measure was originally intended to divert women from higher education, Huerkamp's evidence suggests that the many women who took this "lesser" degree nevertheless used it as a route to the university and eventually to a career. Faced with a shortage of qualified teachers by the late 1930s and early 1940s, the government filled the demand by employing a

sharply increased number of women teachers. The main success of Nazi anti-feminism in the field of teaching, Huerkamp argues, was in reducing the numbers of women principals and higher administrators; promotions clearly favored male candidates and female supervision of male employees continued to be an unacceptable violation of Nazi gender hierarchy.

An even more dramatic policy about-face occurred in the field of medicine. Nazi hostility to women professionals ran up against their institutionalization of gendered spheres. The creation of gender-specific organizations such as the *Bund deutscher Mädel* and the youth service colonies increased the demand for women doctors to provide medical services in these all-women settings. So, even though Nazi policies initially limited positions for women doctors by decertifying many of them as public health insurance doctors, the market for women doctors soon rose to unprecedented levels of demand. Once the organized women doctors were willing to swallow the banning of their Jewish and politically suspect colleagues, they did quite well as a group.

The one exceptional profession was law. There women had always been more victimized by discrimination, and the Nazis only intensified prior trends. Female judges virtually disappeared; female lawyers had even more difficulty finding clients than previously. In the face of this discouragement, female enrollments in law faculties dropped from a high of merely six percent in 1931 to one percent in 1938. Only late in the war would the numbers of women law students increase.

As Huerkamp demonstrates, then, the particular situation of the *Bürgerin* varied, depending on her characteristics and on the particular time period of her study and entry into professional life. If the situation of Jewish middle-class women got dangerously worse through the 1930s, some of their "Aryan" middle-class contemporaries did quite well under Nazism.

MARY JO MAYNES
University of Minnesota

CHRISTIAN LEITZ. *Economic Relations between Nazi Germany and Franco's Spain 1936-1945*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 255. \$72.00.

Christian Leitz has written a detailed study of economic relations between Nazi Germany and Falangist Spain from the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War to the end of World War II. His coverage of the details of trade between the two countries is very thorough, and he shows the different stages through which it passed. The initial sections of the book also include interesting material on the structure of German relations with Spain. Although Leitz argues that Adolf Hitler and the German government had nothing to do with Francisco Franco's military coup, he shows that Hitler personally made an immediate decision to assist the Nationalists and effectively delegated the job to Hermann Goer-

ing's Four Year Plan and the *Auslandsorganisation* (Abroad Organization) of the Nazi Party rather than the Foreign Office. Soon, as Leitz explains, a clearing arrangement to allow trade to be carried out was set up involving two companies, the Spanish Hisma and the German Rowak, which became the principal players in Spanish-German trade.

Leitz makes it quite clear, however, that the economic relationship between the two fascist governments never lived up to German expectations. The Germans wanted to increase imports of Spanish pyrites (important in chemical production) and high-grade iron ore, but their successes were limited, and Franco generally resisted their attempts to take over Spanish mining rights. The Spaniards were also very slow to pay off the debt they accumulated as a result of German military aid during the Civil War. As Franco conquered more and more of Spain, the British took care to safeguard their own trading position, and German gains turned out to be temporary. The Germans were also shocked by Franco's determined neutrality during the Munich crisis, a portent of things to come.

German-Spanish trade after Franco's victory largely turned out to be a hostage to the fortunes of war. It fell drastically during the period of the "phony war" but revived after the defeat of France opened secure communications between Germany and Spain. German-Spanish political relations also reached their closest point when Franco dispatched some troops to take part in the invasion of the Soviet Union. As they did in their trade with many other countries, the Germans tried to pay for their imports of raw materials with arms exports. Wolfram, or tungsten, now emerged as the commodity the Germans sought most, but Franco allowed the Allies to buy up a good deal of his supplies and bid up the price. Trade fell once again to negligible proportions after the allied invasions of France.

This is a well-researched book, but its focus is narrow. As Leitz points out from time to time, German imports from Spain were never very large and never assumed a critical significance. Thus, it is regrettable, in my view, that the author did not avail himself of more of the massive literature on German trade with other regions, such as Eastern and Southeastern Europe, to give his work more of a comparative perspective. Portugal, Turkey, and Sweden also seem to offer fruitful bases for comparison, but Leitz sticks almost exclusively to Spain. Relatively narrow monographs are bound to remain a staple of the historical profession, but they are always more useful when placed within a broader context.

DAVID KAISER
Naval War College

DAVID ALVAREZ and ROBERT A. GRAHAM. *Nothing Sacred: Nazi Espionage Against the Vatican, 1939-1945*. (Cass Series: Studies in Intelligence.) Portland, Oreg.: Frank Cass. 1997. Pp. xiv, 190. Cloth \$42.50, paper \$19.50.

Robert A. Graham, a leading scholar of Vatican diplomacy, and David Alvarez, whose work has concentrated on the study of espionage and intelligence operations, have collaborated on a book that narrates the efforts of the Nazi regime to penetrate the workings of the Vatican and gain valuable information about both papal attitudes and policies and those of the Allies.

The Vatican has always had a reputation for secrecy, with no accountability to the general public for its actions. Much of its diplomacy was performed quietly, preferably behind the scenes. Partly because of this secrecy, the papacy received a reputation for controlling a huge network of adherents who regularly reported to the Curia about conditions throughout the world. Coming to power in 1933, the Nazis well appreciated the importance of Vatican influence and sought to infiltrate the structure of the church, recruiting informants to provide data about the church's finances and organizations as well as about the political views and activities of the hierarchy, clergy, and laity.

Before the outbreak of World War II, Berlin tended to concentrate its efforts to gather information about Catholics within Germany, considering them a potentially serious danger to its domestic security. But with the outbreak of hostilities in 1939, Berlin's interests shifted to Rome and the Vatican. Considering the Vatican's position of moral authority and its millions of adherents, Germany, as well as the other belligerents, believed it increasingly important to learn papal attitudes toward the fighting and, if possible, to influence Rome's policies. Numerous agencies were employed to gather information and to attempt to penetrate Vatican security: code-breakers, Germany's Vatican embassy, offices within the military, and sundry Nazi Party agencies. Despite various attempts, including employing informants who claimed they had direct and reliable channels to high level curial prelates and planning to use a seminary in Rome for a secret radio sender and as cover for Nazi agents posing as seminarians, the results of these efforts to collect important reliable information proved negligible. The most successful operations, however, broke Vatican secret codes, thereby allowing the German government to read communications passed between the Curia and its representatives throughout the world.

Nazi intelligence activities were basically a failure for several reasons. Although the Vatican was an easy target with its outdated codes, minimal security measures, and communication channels vulnerable due to wartime restrictions, nevertheless, those in important curial positions were predominantly ecclesiastics, separated from the secular world by training and intensely loyal to the church. Although never totally impregnable, Vatican secrecy was therefore an enormous obstacle for Nazi espionage. Moreover, all important decisions rested in the hands of a very few prelates; some decisions were made solely by the pope without the knowledge of even his closest advisors. The avenues of

hoped-for information were thus proportionally smaller than those available in dealing with most secular governments.

Another major cause for Nazi inability to gather valuable information was the Nazi governmental labyrinth: the numerous overlapping German agencies compounded by personal rivalries of their leaders to outdo or even undercut one another in collecting information. The widespread Nazi prejudice, verging on paranoia in some cases, of believing that the Vatican was fomenting all sorts of conspiracies against the Reich also led to the ready acceptance of much disinformation spread by double agents, Allied propagandists, and informants seeking to ingratiate themselves with the authorities. Too many times, not the truth but what the Nazis wanted to hear was reported and sent to Berlin.

While the book ably portrays Nazi interest in the Vatican, many of these German foreign policy interests existed prior to 1933, such as the realization during and after World War I that the papacy could greatly influence world opinion and that mutual concerns about Bolshevism and the danger of a vacuum in Central Europe, should Germany be weakened, might be used to influence Vatican opinion in Germany's favor. More information about Vatican-German cooperation during the Weimar period would have helped to explain the background that made the Vatican important to Nazi policy makers.

Nevertheless, the book contributes to the growing body of literature demonstrating the Vatican's importance in twentieth-century diplomatic affairs. Alvarez and Graham show the uniqueness of the Vatican, its procedures and activities, and the difficulties any secular government had in penetrating an organization built on clerical loyalties and training in "confessional" secrecy. In addition to giving us an insight into the methods of papal information gathering, the book also gives us another example of Pope Pius XII's refraining from publicly condemning secular governments in favor of working behind the scenes: in 1940, he volunteered himself as link between London and the anti-Hitler resistance, as well as warning the Low Countries of imminent attack. It also portrays the importance as well as the vulnerability of the Vatican, especially in wartime situations. It was important for its ability to influence its adherents and public opinion, vulnerable for its lack of conventional means of strength—such as an army and modern technological equipment—to transmit its messages abroad.

STEWART A. STEHLIN
New York University

THOMAS SANDKÜHLER. *"Endlösung" in Galizien: Der Judenmord in Ostpolen und die Rettungsinitiativen von Berthold Beitz 1941–1944*. Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz. 1996. Pp. 592. DM 58.

Holocaust specialists will not want to miss reading Thomas Sandkühler's meticulous, in-depth study of

the Final Solution in Galicia. Until now, little precise information about the murder of the Galician Jews has been available. Sandkühler's book has been thoroughly researched in German and Polish archives, in addition to which the author has interviewed a number of survivors and the German rescuers, Berthold and Else Beitz.

Sandkühler concludes his study with the assertion that nowhere in the General Government (in Poland) was the Final Solution carried out more brutally than in the province of Galicia. The detailed accounts of the atrocities that he provides suggest that he could have made this statement without any qualification whatsoever. I know of no other Holocaust study that unravels the genocidal process in a given area as completely and painstakingly as Sandkühler does for Galicia.

The study consists of three parts. In part one, Sandkühler discusses the overall planning of the Holocaust as it related to Galicia. Part two deals with the murder of the Jews in Galicia. In the final section, Sandkühler details the Beitz's rescue work, which took place in an environment of total terror. Some of the material in part three could have been presented in part two. Sandkühler may have felt that by discussing atrocities in part three, he could enhance his account of the rescue work. He does, but at the cost of some repetition.

Although Sandkühler continues to support a "functionalist" interpretation of the Holocaust, he believes that his and other recent regional studies show that local conditions involving the murder of the Jews by civilians, the military, and the police detract from Christopher R. Browning's balance between "planning" in Berlin and "improvisation" in the field (in favor of the latter). This is entirely reasonable, but the author's contention that the roots of the Holocaust are to be found not in Browning's "fateful months" (of 1941) but in a genocidal mentality that can be traced as far back as 1938 is questionable and not clearly substantiated.

In spite of Sandkühler's perception of a "genocidal mentality," he disagrees explicitly with Daniel J. Goldhagen's view of the German national character as anti-Semiticly genocidal. There were, to be sure, vicious SS killers like Hans Krüger and Hermann Müller, but Sandkühler found that Ukrainians far exceeded Germans in murderous bestiality. Their excesses are spelled out: slamming little children's heads against walls and boxcars, throwing babies alive onto a burning pile of corpses, and torturing Jews in ways so gross that one hesitates to reiterate them. These and other details are elucidated with amazing specificity and documentation that comes, not infrequently, from the murderers themselves.

Regarding the Jewish reaction to their predicament, Sandkühler found evidence both for and against Raul Hilberg's well-known accusation of acquiescence and compliance. The need for skilled labor to work the oil fields of Galicia gave Jews a realistic hope that they might be spared. Heinrich Himmler's economic inter-

ests allowed many to avoid deportation to a death camp until late in the war. This also explains Berthold Beitz's success in protecting the Jews working in the oil company that employed him. But in the case of Lemberg, the city with the largest population and largest ghetto in the province, Sandkühler found damning evidence against the Judenrat. Shot through with nepotism and corruption, the Judenrat was hated by Lemberg Jews, who called it the "Death Organization." Indeed, many of its offices were nothing more than facades for robbing Jews of their money and possessions. Much worse, the Judenrat's "resettlement" office became the instrument the Germans used to deport Jews to death camps. In a telling indictment, Sandkühler reports that Lemberg's "Jewish police performed such good service at the time of the liquidation of the ghetto that the [German security police] employed them for liquidations outside Lemberg" (p. 205).

Beitz's ability to save Jews rested on two personalities—his and that of SS officer Friedrich Hildebrand. Beitz, never a member of the Nazi party, was a man of strong convictions and principles. Hildebrand, who was in charge of the area where Beitz worked, was mentally slow and easily manipulated. In some strange fashion, the SS officer became psychologically dependent on Beitz, who, during tennis matches or on hunting trips, would bring Hildebrand around to agreeing that Beitz could continue to employ his Jews. German and Ukrainian brutality against Jews was what originally triggered Beitz's impulse to save them. In particular, he was an eyewitness to the shooting of a Jewish child in the arms of its mother. All told, Beitz was only able to save about one hundred Jews. The figure would have been much higher but for the fact that, late in the war, Beitz himself was drafted into the army and had to leave his post in Galicia.

Sandkühler concludes his fine study with two appendices. One consists of a thumbnail sketch of dozens of Germans involved in the murder of Galician Jews. The second gives a statistical account of the number of Jews killed in each area of the province, the sum of which was 525,000. This is a work of extraordinary quality.

MICHAEL PAYER
Marquette University

HANS A. SCHMITT. *Quakers and Nazis: Inner Light in Outer Darkness*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 296. \$29.95.

In the vast literature on the conduct of the Christian churches during the Third Reich, surprisingly little exists on the Quaker movement in Germany, for the Society of Friends' opposition to hierarchy, as well as its commitment to nonviolence and international understanding, implicitly challenged Nazi racism, hypernationalism, and militarization. Nevertheless, argues Hans A. Schmitt, although the Quakers dedicated themselves to mitigating the sufferings that Nazism

imposed, they avoided a direct confrontation with the regime, never broaching the prospect of a root and branch opposition to the Third Reich. Hence, Schmitt's subtitle reads "Quakers *and* Nazis" rather than Quakers *against* Nazis. Inspired by the divine will ("inner light"), the Quakers confined themselves to mitigating the "outer darkness" of Germany by providing relief to those who were persecuted.

Before World War I, the Friends scarcely existed either in Germany or on the continent. Mobilized by the hunger and dislocation that the war created, however, American and British Quakers established food banks and canteens to sustain children, especially German children, with the support of the American Relief Administration under Herbert Hoover. In turn, they earned the grudging admiration of the recipients of their good will, including future members of the Nazi Party. Soon, the missionaries formed a German Yearly Meeting from a tiny number of adherents drawn from middle-class pacifists and ecumenists, but the German Friends remained dependent on the personal initiatives and financial support of American and British Quakers. Nevertheless, throughout the Weimar Republic, the small band of German Quakers and their coreligionists abroad frequently took positions on public issues consistent with their principles. They resolved conflicts between Polish and German academics, protested against the reinstitution of the death penalty, defended the artist Georg Grosz against charges of blasphemy, and in 1931, openly expressed their solidarity with German Jews. Adhering to the political neutrality that would govern their work during the Third Reich, the Quakers practiced evenhandedness in their extension of aid: they petitioned authorities to commute the death sentences of the Storm Troopers convicted in the Potemka affair.

Pushing off from his memoir, *Lucky Victim: An Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times* (1989), Schmitt's purpose in writing this book is to discharge a debt of gratitude to the Quakers, who subsidized his education after he left Germany in 1934. Despite his admiration for them, however, a persistent—and in my view justifiable—ambivalence intrudes as Schmitt describes Quaker relief efforts under the Nazi regime. Its leaders and spokesmen limited the Quaker mission to charity at the expense of its (in Schmitt's words) "spiritual mission," which would have gone beyond merely refusing to abet evil. To be sure, the Berlin Center, a joint American, British, and German Quaker enterprise to aid the persecuted, became a magnet for the regime's multiple victims and their families, and the efforts that the Quakers expended to help Jews to emigrate, particularly after *Kristallnacht*, deserve special recognition. The number that the Quakers rescued likely exceeded that of the Protestant and Catholic churches, a remarkable feat when one considers the small size of the Quaker movement. Yet the energy with which the Quakers promoted understanding between the Third Reich and its neighbors, rooted in the naive belief in Hitler's peaceableness, achieved near

pathetic proportions even by the standards of appeasement that British Quakers wholeheartedly supported. Winning the release of Nazi activists from Lithuanian prisons, aiding the families of Nazi internees in Austria, and feeding Sudeten Germans, despite the Friends' suspicion that they were playing into Hitler's hands, suggest a tunnel vision that, as Schmitt acknowledges, allowed the Nazis to advance goals utterly at odds with the Friends' basic convictions. Of course, notes Schmitt, confining their mission to charity rather than to principled criticism undoubtedly rendered the Quakers less susceptible to harassment and arrest than other small sects (most notably the Jehovah's Witnesses), as did the fond memories of some Nazis of the "Quaker feedings" after World War I and the utility of the Quakers' foreign connections. Yet the moral complexities of negotiating with and in the Third Reich were at best tentatively confronted as the Quakers pursued small acts of mercy, uncertain as to whether to advance ethical grounds to distinguish among those who sought their aid. In the end, it is hard to disagree with Schmitt's conclusion that the Quakers could resume their mission in Germany after the war "only because others had refused to conciliate an intolerant and intolerable adversary and had taken to arms to topple Hitler" (p. 218).

SHELLEY BARANOWSKI
University of Akron

CAROLYN WOODS EISENBERG. *Drawing the Line: The American Decision to Divide Germany, 1944–1949*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 522. \$59.95.

American policy toward Germany after the end of World War II has been of particular interest for contemporaries as well as later historians. Germany was one of the prizes in the Cold War, and it played a major role in American policy for the reconstruction of Western Europe. Carolyn Woods Eisenberg presents a study based on extensive research in American archives and to a lesser extent in British archives. This is a detailed examination of decision making in different government administrations, both in Washington and in Germany, from 1944 to the end of the occupation period in 1949. The positions of the political actors—the State Department, the Treasury Department, the War/Defense Department, and the American Military Government in Germany under General Lucius D. Clay—are well known. Eisenberg's thesis that the United States was responsible for the division of Germany is neither new nor original, however. In fact, she argues that U.S. policy makers chose the division as a means to implement American policy in Western Europe, organized the support of the West European countries, and excluded the Soviet Union from peace making in Germany and Western Europe. The author claims that there was a "German agenda," which was carried through and which determined the emergence

of the Cold War rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Never before has this revisionist thesis been based on such painstaking research. Nevertheless, the book does not convince. Like similar studies before, it concentrates on U.S. decision making and does not take into account important French or German studies about the occupation, the Berlin Blockade, the creation of the Federal Republic of Germany, or the attitudes of German politicians in East and West. Even more serious is the complete lack of research in Soviet policy. Soviet statements on Germany are taken at face value without questioning their propaganda value. To give but one example: the forced merger of the German Communist Party (KPD) and the Social Democratic Party (SPD) in 1946 is described briefly without discussing Soviet motives and methods. Eisenberg has done a formidable job of research in American archives, but her interpretations are one-sided, very often too simple, and focus too much on policy in Germany without dealing with the interaction of American and Soviet policies in a divided country.

H.-J. RUIEPER

Martin-Luther Universität

MARITTA HEIN-KREMER. *Die Amerikanische Kulturoffensive: Gründung und Entwicklung der amerikanischen Information Centers in Westdeutschland und West-Berlin, 1945–1955.* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kulturpolitik, number 6.) Cologne: Böhlau. 1996. Pp. xii, 625. DM 138.

Although its apparently provocative title might lead readers to expect a highly critical account, Maritta Hein-Kremer's book is a generally judicious and informative history of American cultural relations in what became the Federal Republic of Germany. The author has made meticulous use of massive document collections from such key agencies as the U.S. State Department, including its Division of Cultural Relations. She has also researched the records of wartime organizations such as the Office of War Information (OWI) and especially its Psychological Warfare Division (PWD), which was later attached to General Dwight D. Eisenhower's Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Forces (SHAEP). Hein-Kremer has capped her investigations with extensive research into the records of two major postwar organizations: the U.S. Army's Office of Military Government (U.S.) for Germany (OMGUS), plus the more recently released records of OMGUS's State Department successor, the High Commission for Germany (HICOG), which functioned from 1949 to 1955. Not surprisingly, these official government acronyms have imparted a flavor of officialese to her otherwise well-written work. Where possible, Hein-Kremer also supplements her researches with informative interviews with surviving eyewitnesses from those agencies.

By carrying this extensive study into the 1950s, Hein-Kremer has made a valuable contribution to the

history of American cultural relations abroad. She succeeds in enlightening the reader on a neglected subject, namely the cultural image Americans were projecting of themselves in Central Europe in the crucial decade following World War II. To be sure, the aggressiveness of the book's title suggests that those American officials who were involved in such programs as democratization, "reeducation," and reorientation, plus the erecting of information centers, libraries, and America Houses, were reacting to a sense of cultural inferiority vis-à-vis the Germans. It is also true, however, that those same American officials faced a difficult task. After all, succeeding generations of German elites, from the Kaiserreich through the Weimar Republic and culminating in the xenophobic Nazis, had painted a picture of Americans as cultural barbarians whose highest cultural attainment was "decadent" jazz, which the Nazis—and the German public—dismissed as "Negermusik." Sadly, the vast majority of Germans readily accepted this grossly distorted image of Americans and their culture in 1945.

Yet, as Hein-Kremer's investigations demonstrate, that same hostile German public soon began to learn otherwise as the Americans' cultural "offensive" got underway. And even as post-1945 generations of young Germans began to appreciate American popular culture by listening to American Armed Forces Radio, especially its jazz music, so too, more traditionally minded Germans, starved of contemporary "foreign" writings until the Nazis' defeat, began to discover a new world in literature. American studies, American literature, and American history began, hesitantly to be sure, to make their way into German cultural consciousness, a process that continues today as such studies gain greater acceptance in German secondary education and in university curricula. At the same time, the English language has assumed ever greater importance in the daily lives of the peoples of Central Europe.

As the author suggests, there was considerable resentment of American cultural programs among the people of Occupied Germany. Nor was the American cultural "onslaught" a perfectly shaped instrument. Hardly. Hein-Kremer's study shows that Germans frequently dismissed American cultural programs and initiatives as superficial, crudely manipulative, and, at their worst, blatantly propagandistic. Such reactions, although understandable, also revealed another fact. The German public, although understandably skeptical, often missed an important point at a crucial time. As the author notes, the essential goal of the Americans in 1945 was admirable. They were seeking to break down xenophobia and traditional authoritarian patterns while at the same time encouraging more equitable, democratic patterns as embodied in those Enlightenment ideals that encouraged individual freedoms (p. 197).

The Americans also had a political agenda, one carefully noted by Hein-Kremer. Contemporary observers, looking back upon the long Cold War, can

view American officialdom's anticommunist paranoia with contempt, and there was much about the McCarthy era that deserves criticism. It is noteworthy that Hein-Kremer's history has three appendixes. The first two are innocuous organizational charts of those long-forgotten wartime organizations, OWI and PWD at SHAEF. Interestingly, the third, lengthier appendix is a list of "certain anti-communist books in the Libraries, Presentations, and Translations Programs of International Information Administration [in HICOG]," alphabetically arranged by author and title. This appendix starts with "Abend, *Half Slave and Half Free*," and ends with "Sherman, *How to Win an Argument with a Communist*." Sad to say, it is a rare thing when governmental organizations promote cultural programs solely on the basis of their merits. It should surprise neither us nor Hein-Kremer that the American cultural offensive that ensued in a decade when two ideologically opposed superpowers emerged was no exception. Nevertheless, the author presents us with an insightful view of the postwar period. At the same time that Americans have gradually developed a respectable historiography for German history, so, too, Germans, Hein-Kremer included, have developed a respectable historiography for American history.

JAMES F. TENT
University of Alabama,
Birmingham

JEFFREY KOPSTEIN. *The Politics of Economic Decline in East Germany, 1945–1989*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 246. \$39.95.

When Communist East Germany collapsed in 1989–1990, scholars received an unexpected windfall, one not seen since the late 1940s: the entire archival record of a regime moved almost immediately into the public domain. Journalists and a few historians writing general overviews were the first to capitalize on this bounty. More detailed, archive-based articles on aspects of East German politics, economy, and society are now appearing in scholarly journals and in edited collections, but Jeffrey Kopstein's study is one of the first books to be published. It provides a useful overview of the political economy of East Germany and helps define a number of key issues which require further inquiry.

Kopstein divides his book into two parts, the first a chronological overview of high-level economic policy formation and the second a thematic analysis of implementation of central policies at lower levels during the 1970s and 1980s. Each part focuses on a particular issue. Part one argues that the choice of Stalinist patterns of labor relations—and the reaction of labor to that choice—"determined the path of future development" very early in East German history (p. 18). The choice and its reaction had two primary effects. For one thing, the culture of the country's work force changed under the corrosive effects of Soviet-style socialism: "As wages lost their disciplinary and stimu-

lating functions . . . other traditional German working-class virtues fell by the wayside" (p. 39). What is more, labor's reaction to the imposition of this system, as epitomized most clearly in the 1953 uprising against the enactment of new norms for labor, catastrophically curtailed the economic policy options available to the country's leadership. Because party leaders were constantly aware of what had happened in 1953, labor had a "paradoxical sort of veto power" (p. 18).

Kopstein's attention in part two turns to two other questions: did the economic leadership become more technocratic, and how did economic policy actually function in the provinces and on the shop floor? Here, he uses sociological data on provincial party officials to good effect, demonstrating that ideology, not technical expertise, remained the key factor affecting career paths. By focusing on case studies from the housing and consumer goods sectors, he also shows in some detail how and why East German socialism failed to provide for the basic needs and desires of its people. The material presented in part two is a particularly valuable addition to our knowledge of the workings of the East German state and economy.

The structure of the book has evident benefits, allowing the author to change points of view easily. But because part one is chronological, covering the whole of East Germany's history, while part two is thematic, dealing almost exclusively with the 1970s and 1980s, the benefits of the book's structure are not used to full effect. The connections and interactions between sometime massive policy changes at the central level and their practical implementation at the regional or local level are not fully explored, especially for the periods of greatest experimentation and crisis in the 1950s and 1960s.

One of Kopstein's strengths comes from his background in comparative politics: he constantly makes useful comparisons between East German, West German, and Soviet (and other) politics and economics, especially in the introduction and the conclusion. He thus avoids one of the potential pitfalls of East German studies: treating the East German case in isolation. At the same time, the comparisons are sometimes strained. Kopstein argues, for instance, that Stalinist structures conditioned East German society more than previous German history, that the imposition of Soviet-style communism fundamentally altered the society. This is a somewhat controversial point, but it is fair enough. To then go on to suggest that "if historical culture were decisive, East Germany should have been a 'developmental state,' a communist variation on the standard East Asian model" (p. 9) seems to me to ignore crucial aspects of historical culture in both Germany and East Asia. Kopstein also attempts to place the East German case into broader discussions of modernity and German identity. This is a stimulating discussion, but Harold James's *A German Identity, 1770–1990* (1989), a crucial work that could have underpinned the analysis, is not cited.

In sum, this is a valuable first step toward a compre-

hensive history of East German political economy, which ongoing studies of related themes should well complement.

RAYMOND G. STOKES
University of Glasgow

JOHN M. McMANAMON, S. J. *Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder: The Humanist as Orator*. (Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, number 163.) Tempe: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies. 1996. Pp. xiv, 221. \$26.00.

John M. McManamon offers a needed biography of Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder, one of the lesser-known figures of the "third generation" (p. ix) of Italian humanists following upon Petrarch and his successor Coluccio Salutati. Examining the range of his writings—orations, letters, political tracts and biographies, an educational treatise (*De ingenuis moribus*, for which he is best known), a Roman comedy (after Terence), an edition of Petrarch's *Africa*, a brief joke collection—McManamon presents a careful study of Vergerio's life and his contribution to the humanist movement.

Born ca. 1368–1370 in Capodistria (Koper), Vergerio probably taught dialectic in Florence and certainly did so in Bologna before completing advanced degrees in the arts, medicine, and civil and canon law in Bologna and Padua. After unsuccessful bids for public office in despotic Padua and republican Venice, Vergerio (probably a cleric by 1404) served in some capacity in the Papal Curia from 1405 to 1409 and again during the Council of Constance. At Constance, his stance concerning the proper resolution of the schism endangered his welcome at the Curia but won him a position at the imperial court of Sigismund, where he would serve for nearly twenty years.

For McManamon, the key to Vergerio's originality lies in his classical and highly visual oratory and in his notion of the humanist rhetorician as statesman. Rejecting Petrarch's contemplative ideal, Vergerio promoted the life of active political involvement in his refutation of Petrarch's condemnation of Cicero's late political career and in his emphasis on rhetoric as a preparation for public life in *De ingenuis moribus*. Symbolic of his heightened awareness of the "orator" was his response to Carlo Malatesta's destruction of a statue of Vergil in Mantua in 1397; whereas others such as Salutati reacted to this event with a defense of the poet Vergil alone, Vergerio added a defense of the orator Cicero, whom Malatesta had also impugned. Though not expressly stating it, McManamon is in part offering a revision of Hans Baron's thesis concerning civic humanism (*The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance* [1955]) in that he locates the crucial turning point from a purely literary to a more political classicism not in Leonardo Bruni but in Vergerio. Vergerio was not, however, the republican ideologue that Bruni proved to be but instead reflected a respect for aristocratic oligarchy that could accommodate either

Paduan princely rule or Venetian republicanism (in both of which states he sought positions via his writings). His civic humanism, then, was more a pragmatic political ideal in which humanists would have gainful employment in and positive impact on the state.

McManamon shows how Vergerio acted on his rhetorical convictions in orations both political and religious. For the Carrara regime in Padua he wrote three (apparently undelivered) orations, including two epideictic speeches illustrating his pioneering recognition of the usefulness of classical oratory to elevate state occasions. McManamon compares one of these, a funeral oration for Francesco da Carrara il Vecchio, to two eulogies actually delivered and argues that, whereas the other orations customarily followed the structured, syllogistic style of preaching models, Vergerio's drew on classical Roman models and relied on pathos and rhetorical embellishment. Perhaps the most impressive portion of McManamon's study is his treatment of Vergerio's sermons on St. Jerome (an edition and translation of which he will provide in a volume to follow). Because of a familial and civic attachment to Jerome as a patron saint, Vergerio vowed to present a panegyric on Jerome every year on his feast day. McManamon shows how Vergerio used these panegyrics (ten of which survive) to convey criticism of the contemporary clergy during the schism and, in the face of hostility to classical studies, to affirm the ideal of the Christian humanist who, like Jerome, turns his classical learning to holy ends.

Detailed and reliable, McManamon's study makes an important contribution to the scholarship on Italian humanism. Given his aim, however, to establish Vergerio's originality and significance in the movement, McManamon needs to locate his thesis more fully and explicitly in relation to Baron and David Robey, whose appraisals of Vergerio are touched upon but not treated in sufficient detail. Likewise, he needs to situate Vergerio more fully in the context of earlier or coeval humanists. Thus, his claim that Vergerio was notable in rejecting dialectical studies for more moral ones needs to be weighed against Petrarch's earlier articulation of such a position (for example, in his *Invektive contra medicum* and *De sui ipsius et multorum ignorantia*). Similarly, various of Vergerio's works warrant contextualizing vis-à-vis certain later humanist writings: his political pieces on Padua and Venice could be related to the political debate found in the *Dragmalogia de eligibili vite genere* of Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna, whom McManamon identifies as Vergerio's "mentor" (p. 64); his panegyric on republican Venice could be compared to Bruni's famous *Laudatio florentinae urbis*; his view of Cicero to Bruni's *Cicero novus*; his view of Petrarch to that found in Bruni's *Dialogi*, dedicated to Vergerio. In a word, a broader interpretive context would have further strengthened the thesis of this already sturdy book.

GEORGE W. McCLURE
University of Alabama

SAMUEL K. COHN, JR. *Women in the Streets: Essays on Sex and Power in Renaissance Italy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 250. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$15.95.

The volume consists of seven essays written over a fifteen-year period. Using data culled from the archival riches (tax records, last wills, and court proceedings) of the Tuscan cities of Arezzo, Florence, Pisa, and Siena and the Umbrian cities of Assisi and Perugia, Samuel K. Cohn, Jr. argues that the status of Italian women progressively deteriorated through the Renaissance. The essays typically begin with an assessment of the strengths and inadequacies of the relevant historiography coupled with inflated claims about the superiority of quantitative methods and comparative history.

Thus, contrary to Jacob Burckhardt's assertion "that women stood on a footing of perfect equality with men," chapter two argues that women's ability to redress their grievances either on the streets or in the criminal courts of Florence was curtailed by the early fifteenth century. Prosecuting crime in Renaissance Florence is equated with law enforcement in so-called "modern ghettos," an absurd comparison. Chapter three includes a discussion of the patrilineal basis of Renaissance Florence, called "the worst place to have been born a woman, at least within central Italy and at least as far as women's control over property was concerned" (p. 1), which is hyperbole. Chapter six treats "sex and violence" on the periphery of the Florentine dominion, offering lurid descriptions of the sexual abuse of young girls and women and the punishment suffered by the offenders. No doubt these horrifying tales are true, but relating gruesome facts devoid of any theoretical framework strikes me as an extension of the victims' exploitation, not an exercise in enlightenment.

Chapter seven deals with the inhabitants of the plains and mountains surrounding Florence. According to Cohn, after suffering from calamitous taxation and population decline, the peoples of the plains and mountains experienced prosperity in the first half of the fifteenth century. Economic prosperity, dependent in part on family limitation, was disastrous for females. "High levels of female infanticide," the abandonment of girls, and the migration of surviving older widows to Florence resulted in a marked deficit of rural women. By contrast, women fared better at the end of the sixteenth century, when the Counter Reformation propelled them into the vanguard of spiritual reform (as discussed in chapter four).

These essays raise as many problems as they attempt to solve. The position of Renaissance Florence as a universal reference point is justly criticized, but that criticism seems empty, given Cohn's penchant for using Florence in making comparisons throughout the volume. More seriously, methods for collecting data are never explained and Cohn fails to cite the specific unpublished sources for the data represented in the figures and tables. These omissions make it impossible

to engage directly Cohn's provocative findings about social change and the decline in women's status; they also undermine the reader's confidence in the book's inferences about causal connections. Confidence in the author's ability to deal competently with intractable archival records is further undermined by carelessness in reporting the contents of published material, such as the Florentine statutes of 1415 and Elaine Rosenthal's findings on women and guardianship (p. 170, n. 44 and p. 182, n. 56).

The tables themselves confuse rather than illuminate. Table 2.1 purportedly gives the percentages of "female crime and prosecution"—that is, "women prosecuted" for the crimes of assault and battery, murder, and theft for the sample years 1344–1345, 1374–1375, and 1455–1466. But we learn in the next table that 46.64 percent of the women represented in table 2.1 were actually victims, not offenders. Another problem is specious statistics: seemingly significant percentages, calculated from inadequate samples and small differences, lead to major but implausible findings. "Say it with figures," encouraged Hans Zeisel, but doing so for the late Middle Ages and Renaissance requires more than a knowledge of basic statistics and a computer. It also calls for text-editing skills, methodological rigor, and constant awareness of the difference between statistical and historical significance. Cohn's desire to use quantitative methods may be laudable, but his execution falls short.

JULIUS KIRSHNER
University of Chicago

JAMES S. GRUBB. *Provincial Families of the Renaissance: Private and Public Life in the Veneto*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1996. Pp. xvii, 344. \$45.00.

Studies of provincial cities and villages in Renaissance Italy have become a growth industry. What makes James S. Grubb's work on Vicenza and Verona an outstanding exception and a book of great importance is that, thanks to his thorough acquaintance with historical work on a number of cities, he compares his findings not just to Venice—the "center" to Vicenza's and Verona's "periphery"—but also to Florence and elsewhere. He decenters the imposing body of work on Florentine families and demography to show how "the social history of the peninsula is more variegated than we would otherwise suppose" (p. xiii).

Grubb's methodological move is to study second-ranking families in second-ranking cities by means of memoirs and accounts, supported by other documentary evidence and read intelligently against the treatises of jurists and humanists. The book contains eight chapters: the first four dealing with household life, two with economic activities, and the last two concerning the more immaterial values of noble status and religion. In the first chapter, he finds that age at first marriage in his families led to a more companionate five to seven-year gap between spouses, in contrast to the thirteen to fifteen-year gap between Florentine

spouses. Veronesi and Vicentines were also willing to marry before they had accumulated capital for a separate household and so remained subordinate to the head of family. Grubb confirms that there was dowry inflation, but larger dowries were not as disruptive to patrimonies as one might suspect, because they were not paid all at once and often took the form of land rents.

Grubb considers fertility patterns, naming patterns, and emotional ties to children, concluding that "there is little evidence that daughters were systematically or exclusively ignored" (p. 56). He also finds that, again in contrast to Florence, the cities he studies were not full of older widowed women; mortality from childbirth tipped the demographic balance to older men. Wealthy families tended to live in larger and more complex households, so that the provincial patterns mirrored those of centers like Venice and Florence while also exposing the peculiarities of Florentine households, which had a high percentage of solitaires. Veronese and Vicentine sons grew up in homes with their fathers, not apprenticing out very much, and paternal authority was further reinforced by local laws that discouraged emancipations. These sons could expect to inherit the lion's share of the patrimony, but it was also true that "deviations from the norm were so constant that they must condition any image of relentlessly patrilineal devolution" (p. 99). Senses of lineage remained less consistent than in Florence, where agnates appeared more frequently in testamentary clauses and were more liable to be one's neighbors.

The more modest provincial economies posed certain restraints on the families Grubb studies. A chronic shortage of money drained off to Venice produced "an economy of debt," in which delays in payment were built into prices, and debts and credits were themselves fungible. Against this backdrop, Grubb advances the case that land did not simply accumulate in the hands of urban folk but that notarial "sales" of land were often concealed loans that were paid off, resulting in land returning to rustics' hands. Land prices, as Chris Wickham has suggested ("Vendite di terra e mercato della terra in Toscana nel secolo xi," *Quaderni storici* 65 [1987]: 355-77), seem to have been based on noneconomic factors. In contrast to a grim sense of peasants crushed by debt in Tuscany and the Veneto, Grubb paints a picture of peasants avoiding debt payments and rarely evicted, often sheltering behind laws protective of dowries.

Patrician status was indistinct in the fifteenth century and therefore difficult to pin down even now, and "positing continuity of elites is not the same as positing continuity within elites" (p. 160). Membership in municipal councils is one barometer of increasing status for these families, but there was no definite path to nobility, nor was activity in trade a disqualifying factor. Honor and a public reputation were important elements in determining nobility, as was the case for the Arnaldi family of Vicenza.

Grubb's Veneto memoirs reveal a religiosity at

variance with more official clerical positions. Devotions were "on the whole, pragmatic and optimistic" (p. 188), aimed at specific problems. Cautions of the learned were ignored in devotions to images; pilgrimages were made with kin to distant sites; preachers rather than their messages attracted attention. The largely foreign (i.e., Venetian) and ill-trained parish clergy drew little loyalty, though not thorough disaffection either.

As Grubb says, "a dozen memoirs from two cities cannot themselves support rethinking of the field" (p. 219). This is the obvious limitation in his work. We can only accept the proliferation of local studies, see how they vary from assumed general patterns, and decry a lack of coherence and overview. But Grubb has made us aware of the weaknesses in the coherence we have assumed to this point, based largely on the Tuscan evidence. Those who have studied Florence have not necessarily been intent on making it stand for all Italy, as opposed to detailing its uniqueness; and studies such as this may make us prize how truly unique and creative centers such as Florence and Venice were in domestic and economic affairs.

THOMAS KUEHN
Clemson University

CLAUDIO POVOLO. *L'Intrigo dell'onore: Poteri e istituzioni nella Repubblica di Venezia tra Cinque e Seicento*. Verona: Cierre edizioni. 1997. Pp. 477. L. 48,000.

Thanks largely to the researches of Gaetano Cozzi, we now know much about the patrician culture and government of the Venetian Republic during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. But much less is known about society and institutions on the mainland ruled by Venice. This complex and suggestive work by Claudio Povoletto is thus particularly welcome.

Venetian policy during this period was changing after the accession to power of a new ruling group known as the *giovani*. After a period of relative stagnation and complacency in Venetian politics, the *giovani* called for more aggressive policies in dealing with Spain, installed in both the north and south of Italy, and (as it seemed to the *giovani*) with Spain's ally, the militant and centralizing papacy. Among the leaders of the *giovani* were two strong doges, Leonardo Donà and Niccolò Contarini; and the Servite friar and future historian of the Council of Trent, Paolo Sarpi, was their chief adviser in ecclesiastical affairs. The policies of the *giovani* led to the papal interdict of 1606-1607, an event followed with great attention by all of Europe.

The accession of the *giovani* also made a difference to the administration of the Veneto. Administrative initiative shifted increasingly from local agencies to the Venetian Senate and Council of Ten, and local courts were reshaped by a novel juridical mentality emanating from the capital. This was an element in the weakening of the old local nobility, who were also increasingly

impoverished by the agricultural depression of the period. At the same time, old Venetian patrician families were moving capital from commerce to agriculture and settling on the mainland. The result was a general disruption of traditional social relationships, for which Povolo has taken as a revealing example the prosecution of a crime committed in the village of Orgiano, south of Vicenza. A young woman of this village had been abducted and raped by a local noble, and two contradictory conceptions of honor were involved: the honor of village women, who were, as elsewhere, often exploited by neighboring aristocrats; but also the honor of young nobles, whose ethos still required demonstrations of prowess, including sexual prowess, unhindered by judicial interference. Alessandro Manzoni's famous novel *I promessi sposi* (1825–1827), on which Povolo has also written, is a fictional account of an episode of this kind. It was usual for the violated honor of village women to be compensated with dowries to make them marriageable again to men of their own class, an arrangement now made increasingly difficult by the straitened circumstances of the nobility. Indeed, in the case of 1605, here analyzed in great detail, the offender was also charged with refusal to pay for goods obtained locally.

In the first section of this book, Povolo describes the major participants in the affair, drawing heavily on the detail provided by court records. Later chapters analyze the situation, skillfully employing sociological and anthropological insights. A concluding chapter briefly describes the outcome of these events. The offender, his case having been brought to the attention of the Council of Ten, was conveyed to a court in Padua in 1607, convicted, and sentenced to life imprisonment in Venice for this and other crimes committed against the women of his neighborhood. In spite of the efforts of his family to free him, he died in prison some eleven years later. The humbler participants in the affair disappeared from sight, including the parish priest, who had been instrumental in bringing the offender to justice. We are not told whether these events had much effect on the conceptions of honor that led to them. For Povolo, however, "the violent actions and prevarications" of the accused "constituted a reply, perhaps unconscious, to a new state of affairs that enables us to glimpse a significant shift in the role of the aristocracy in the rural world" (p. 393).

WILLIAM J. BOUWSMA
University of California,
Berkeley

ANGELO TURCHINI. *Sotto l'occhio del padre: Società confessionale e istruzione primaria nello Stato di Milano*. (Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico, number 29.) Bologna: Mulino. 1996. Pp. 468. L. 40,000.

Thanks to the heroic labors over the last twenty years of, among others, Paul Grendler on the press and censorship in Venice and on the Schools of Christian Doctrine in Tridentine Italy; Eric Cochrane on Renais-

sance Italian history writing; Miriam Turrini on penitentials and confessors' manuals; and Gabriella Zarri and her collaborators on reconstructing the "ideale biblioteca femminile," it is no longer possible to contrast a Protestant culture of the book and pulpit with a Catholic one focused on images and the altar. Angelo Turchini's substantial and impressively documented study of elementary education in late sixteenth-century Spanish Lombardy thus represents a further contribution to what has been a fundamental reappraisal of early modern European religious culture. We are already considerably indebted to the author for demonstrating the rich potential of visitation records as a source for measuring at grassroots level the changes wrought by the implementation of the decrees of the Council of Trent (see, for example A. Turchini and U. Mazzone, eds., *Le visite pastorali: Analisi di una fonte*, 2d ed. [1990] and C. Nubola and A. Turchini, eds., *Visite pastorali ed elaborazione dei dati: Esperienze e metodi* [1993]). So it is appropriate that Turchini continues to mine this rich source in the study under review, this time to reveal the names, gender, and sometimes even the reading matter of those who taught their young charges their ABC.

The main text is divided into eight thematic chapters. After a first chapter devoted to a useful, if largely unoriginal, analysis of the ideology of Christian education as discussed at length by figures such as Silvio Antoniano and legislated for in considerable detail by Turchini's principal protagonist, Charles Borromeo (Cardinal Archbishop of Milan, 1560–1584), chapter two provides the reader with a sometimes confusingly detailed description of the network of schools, including the number of teachers, their geographical distribution within and outside the city (the tables deployed throughout are, incidentally, resolutely not user-friendly). In certain fascinating cases, where surviving inventories and ground plans permit, Turchini has even been able to reconstruct the size of the rooms used and to list the furniture and its probable arrangement within them.

Having situated the schools firmly within the context of a civic culture of charity and good works which, as Brian Pullan and others have eloquently demonstrated, kept early modern towns from tearing themselves apart, Turchini then turns, in chapters three and four, to what is his principal theme: the importance placed by the church on the teaching of the young and the activities of the Schools of Christian Doctrine. For Borromeo, this implied nothing less than turning the world to Christ ("Il ben ammaestrare i putti è un riformare il mondo a vera vita christiana," [p. 166]). After two further descriptive chapters on those who did the teaching (35 percent of whom were clerics or nuns)—one devoted to male preceptors and the other to female (including a useful discussion of the significant role played by the Ursulines)—Turchini returns to his core preoccupation, this time in relation to what was being taught (chapter seven) and how this related to the broader issues of social discipline and confes-

sionalization (chapter eight). These wider themes are picked up and amplified in the introduction and conclusion, where Turchini essentially reiterates the thesis first outlined by John Bossy in the 1970s and subsequently linked directly to the process of state formation by Heinz Schilling and Wolfgang Reinhard in Germany and Paolo Prodi in Italy. He argues that the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches effectively transformed Christendom from a communion of believers to confessions of belief, thereby preparing citizens for obedient membership in the emerging nation states.

Anyone who perseveres to the end of this volume (and those who do not will be deprived of a commendably complete bibliography and list of sources, which are by no means to be taken for granted in the world of Italian academic publishing these days) will certainly learn a lot about the nuts and bolts of primary education in Milan and its environs during this period. Those who wish to understand its wider significance and energizing spirit will feel short-changed by Turchini's opening and closing ruminations, however, which remain essentially derivative and jejune.

SIMON DITCHFIELD
University of York

GÉRARD LABROT. *Quand l'histoire murmure: Villages et campagnes du royaume de Naples (XVI-XVIII siècle)*. (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, number 202.) Rome: École Française de Rome. 1995. Pp. 667.

This is a wonderful, wonderful book. With it, Gérard Labrot has crowned a long and prolific career dedicated to the Kingdom of Naples in the early modern period, particularly to questions that touch at the same time social and urban/architectural history.

All the major themes of southern Italian rural history in the early modern period crowd the pages of this book—the harshness of the land and the paucity of natural resources; the predominant immobilism of village society and the cracks in that immobilism; the ruthlessness of a seignorial system bent on the exploitation of the countryside and the confiscatory policies of war taxation imposed by the unfortunate linkage of the south to Spain and Spanish imperialism.

In general terms, of course, those are familiar themes, but they emerge renewed and revitalized from Labrot's pages, their interconnections and their synergism carefully etched out. Quite new and notable also is Labrot's careful attention to the physical layout of towns and villages, to the structure of roads, the architecture of castles, and the artistic patrimony of churches—elements that flesh out the analysis of rural society and that enliven the narrative.

This book is also innovative and refreshing because it allows us to see a premier historian at work, a master craftsman who is passionately involved with the south and who excels in bringing to life the documents he so intimately knows. Those documents are largely the *apprezzi*, or fiscal assessments of territories in the rural

hinterlands. As Labrot's appendixes show, most of those texts are to be found in one of the richest (though perhaps nearly intractable) series in the great State Archive in Naples—the notarial protocols for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The large number of *apprezzi* used, and the enormous amount of work needed to find, disentangle, and analyze them, are eloquent testimony to Labrot's vast labor of love.

Veritable mines of information, the *apprezzi* chattily engage Labrot (and through him us) on the structural and the conjunctural (but especially the structural), the physical and the psychological, the secular and the sacred. Documents that might have become millstones in the hands of an unimaginative or pedestrian reader come instead to life and to history from the very first to the very last page in the volume, thanks to Labrot's powerful intellect, his deep humanity, his abiding and contagious passion with the historical process.

This is a very cerebral book, in the best sense of the word, and one written along the very best traditions of French historical writing. For its finesse and its intellectual power, the volume is reminiscent of Robert Boutruche's *La crise d'une société* (1947) or Pierre Deyon's *Amiens, capitale provinciale* (1967), and—even more closely yet (and this is no exaggeration)—of Marc Bloch's *Feudal Society* (1939–1940). The sheer strength of its evocative power reminds us at times of the very best of Swann's Way (e.g., pp. 347–48).

This book reflects the changes in the writing of history that have taken place since the late 1970s and the 1980s. Very much the heritage of the *Annales* school of Braudellian fame, the work is indebted also to the strong and fertile new bent exemplified by Paul Veyne and by the practitioners of *mentalité* history, from *Montaillou* onward, or, better yet, from *Feudal Society* onward. It reflects also the careful and imaginative attention to the language and the nuances of the texts that has been one of the most fruitful elements in French historiography, going back of course to the *Annales* school and, earlier yet, to the *École des Chartes*.

Perhaps some readers, nostalgic for 1960s/1970s-type statistical analysis, may fault the book for its lack of extensive quantitative information. For someone who for longer than he cares to think carried the cross of quantitative history, though, this is a real plus. Besides, with its keen attention to themes of daily living and popular culture, with its eye ready to capture the significance of artistic demand and production, its ear ever alert to the nuances of popular religiosity and Counter-Reformation proselytizing, Labrot's book is an eminently successful example of “total history.”

Fortunately, then, Labrot decided to write in prose, so to speak, and he manages to captivate and enthrall even a reader not usually noted for gushing enthusiasm. He has produced a book that should be required reading for anyone interested in the history of Italy. True, there is only the briefest mention here of peasant resistance to, and subversion of, hierarchies, in the form of witchcraft, magic, or heterodoxy of some

sort, no doubt because of the very nature of official documents such as the *apprezzi*.

That is more than made up, though, by the richness of the analysis, the encyclopedic grasp of Labrot's imagination, his keen ear for the "whispers" of history, his important reminders, that, for example, the backwardness of the Italian south must be traced back also to the disastrous warfare of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and to Spain's later anti-urban policy.

This is a brilliant guide to the Italian south (and not just its countryside), indeed to early modern European history and to historical method. The book is generously dedicated to Gérard Delille and Maria Antonietta Visceglia. And only fairly so, since Delille and Visceglia are the two scholars whose studies on demography and mentalities in the kingdom have done the most, after Giuseppe Galasso's and Labrot's own, to legitimize the history of the Italian south for the last generation or so and to bring it to "European" standards.

ANTONIO CALABRIA
University of Texas,
San Antonio

BARBARA MAFFIODO. *I borghesi taumaturghi: Medici, cultura scientifica e società in Piemonte fra crisi dell'antico regime ed età Napoleonica*. (Fondazione Luigi Firpo centro di studi sul pensiero politico, studie e testi, number 6.) Florence: Olschki. 1996. Pp. 336. L. 70,000.

This carefully crafted, detailed monograph explores various themes in the development of medical professionalism in eighteenth-century Piedmont. As Barbara Maffiodo readily concedes, nothing much happened in the history of medicine during this era in Piedmont—no major scientific discovery, theoretical breakthrough, or political upheaval with lasting consequences—so the narrative understandably lacks a sustained plot leading to a climactic moment. Little wonder, then, that scholars have been drawn more to the bright lights of Bologna, Padua, Paris, and London than to the Sabaudian capital of Turin. Nonetheless, here too people suffered through a variety of ailments while their physicians determined who would be treated and with what methods.

Maffiodo's story reveals the conscious construction of a professional class that simultaneously depended on the state for legitimation while reserving to itself a formal and weighty role as part of a scientific milieu that transcended state boundaries and might appeal to universal truths, even when these truths were potentially antagonistic to the reigning political authorities. As to dependency, it was the will of the crown, not some autonomous thirst for new knowledge, that instituted the reforms at the University of Turin in the 1720s that emphasized experimentation, observation, and testing, thus bringing Piedmontese medical training more in line with trends in Padua, Bologna, and Pavia. Courses in anatomy, curricular reforms intro-

ducing clinical experience, and required hospital internships produced modern physicians, men recognizable as forerunners of what we expect from medical practitioners of our own time. Professional academies emerged to define what was or was not scientific and to control who would be credentialed or possibly even recognized for outstanding achievement and who would be drummed out as a charlatan, wizard, or quack.

Still, obstacles to substantial progress in bettering the human condition proved formidable. Anatomical study flourished where there was unrestricted access to cadavers for dissection, not where the Catholic Church, still a power in eighteenth-century Piedmont, found the inevitable disrespect for the human body incompatible with reverence for God's handiwork. Ignorance was coupled with political temerity. Only passing observation and not all that much experimentation were necessary to establish the relationship between poverty, manifested in poor diet and unsanitary public health conditions, and disease. The poor were getting poorer each year, which meant that new scientific approaches to healing, if they were to go beyond standing by helplessly and attending to symptoms without addressing underlying etiology, carried with them a subversive potential that bourgeois doctors ultimately turned away from.

Women suffered most. The modesty imposed on wives, by celibate theologians and possessive husbands alike, made physicians especially ignorant about the female body, leaving many mothers to die unnecessarily in childbirth. Those who survived then faced an onslaught of philosophical and scientific expertise from meddlers like Jean-Jacques Rousseau telling them to nurse their babies. This was good advice for their infants and possibly for mothers as well, but not when puerperal fever, which increased dramatically as poor women were encouraged to give birth in unsanitary public hospices, killed them. The hospices were no filthier than the homes in which poor mothers-to-be lived, and their medical attendants were no more unsanitary than a midwife might have been, but simply putting so many germs in one place increased risks substantially. The patients infected each other, aided and abetted by their unclean healers. Pro-lactation physicians insisted that puerperal fevers were due to retained milk residues in mothers insufficiently willing to engage in their duties as nurturers, invoking explanations that displayed an obtuse ignorance of anatomy and a preference for alchemy over chemistry. Priests duly attended to the souls of the departed.

Other details of the story are more mundane, or at least less deadly. Scientific academies shaped the direction of enhancements in medical knowledge, sharing information more quickly and fully than ever before (even Benjamin Franklin sent inaugural copies of the American Philosophical Society's proceedings). They marginalized competing therapies set forth by mesmerists, naturalists, spiritualists, and Brunonians (followers of Scottish medical theorist John Brown

[1735–1788]), and established the scientific nexus that encouraged Piedmont's physicians to accept the preventive approach to public health heralded by Edward Jenner's advocacy of vaccination. Thus, health care reforms attributed to Napoleonic centralization in postrevolutionary Paris may be traced as well to indigenous developments in the provinces going back at least half a century earlier.

RUDOLPH M. BELL
Rutgers University

IGOR LUKES. *Czechoslovakia between Stalin and Hitler: The Diplomacy of Edvard Beneš in the 1930s*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 318. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$29.95.

The literature on the crisis leading to the Munich agreement of 1938 is immense. This book by Igor Lukes is a useful addition primarily because of the author's extensive use of archives in Prague, including some hitherto either closed to research, utilized only by selected scholars adhering to the Communist Party line, or not considered at all. Lukes has combed them all with care.

Lukes shows why the Czechoslovak government refused to extend *de jure* recognition to the Soviet regime until after Adolf Hitler came to power in Germany but did maintain *de facto* relations. In this connection and throughout his account of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, its relationship with Moscow, and its internal feuds, Lukes makes effective use of police files. The major focus on Edvard Beneš is justified by his central role in the handling of the state's international relations; the author's depiction of Beneš as a hard-working, extremely careful, generally quite determined, but not very inspiring leader carries conviction. The trip of Beneš to Moscow in 1935 symbolized his effort to bring the Soviet Union into the diplomatic arena as a counterweight to Hitler's Germany.

Lukes argues that the shift of the Comintern line from its primary emphasis on attacking social democracy to a popular front against fascism was designed in large part to promote a war between Germany and others in the expectation that such a war would create new opportunities for Soviet expansion. He also claims that the forgeries utilized by Joseph Stalin to launch the purge of Red Army officers were processed through both Paris and Prague; French Prime Minister Édouard Daladier and not Beneš passed them on to Moscow.

Lukes traces the efforts to maintain an alliance structure anchored in Paris and Moscow and then recounts the developments of 1938. There is little new in his account of the impact on Prague of the German annexation of Austria in March, but he offers important insights about the weekend crisis of May 1938. Lukes shows that there was evidently an intelligence agency operation to deceive the Prague authorities into believing a German move was imminent; he has

not been able to identify the nationality of those responsible.

When Lukes covers the summer and fall of 1938, his almost exclusive concentration on Prague misleads him. Although a few French documents are cited, the author has missed the formal French warning of July 1938 that France would not fight, to which Beneš replied with the request that this position be kept secret. As the public posture of France—that it would adhere to its treaty commitment to Czechoslovakia but was held back by Britain—was false but not known to be so in London, the repercussions in London of the discovery of the truth should be easier to understand. This is what was behind Neville Chamberlain's trip to Berchtesgaden, as Lukes does not see. There is, furthermore, no reference to the impact of the policies of the British Dominions. How Canadians and Australians were to see their future tied to Czechoslovakia unless Beneš made a far earlier effort to unmask German diplomatic strategy is never discussed. Neither is the significance of French planning for an invasion of the Italian colony of Libya from Tunisia as the only military operation if Germany attacked Czechoslovakia.

The account of the final days of crisis raises interesting questions. Lukes argues that the Soviet Union was at no time prepared and willing to provide substantial military assistance; Moscow carefully avoided prompt and firm replies whenever Beneš asked. The picture of Soviet policy points to a desire for a war between Germany and the Western Powers, from which the Soviet Union would stand aside except for the possibility of seizing portions of Poland and utilizing the general upheaval for more ambitious aims. The evidence Lukes offers will provoke debate, but he makes a strong case.

The author's use of the unreliable memoirs of the German interpreter Paul Schmidt (in an abbreviated translation) must be regretted. There is no understanding of why Hitler was so angry to hear of Chamberlain's planned trip or why the German leader was disappointed after Munich by what he considered the worst mistake of his career. Since the focus is on Beneš, it would have been important to point out that he had to face the consideration that even if a victorious war had begun in 1938, Czechoslovakia would not regain the Sudetenland. The subsequent German policy of fitting populations to previously determined borders, instead of the prior concept of fitting borders to populations, would enable Czechoslovakia to get back the lands lost at Munich.

It is unlikely that the arguments over the diplomacy of the 1930s will soon fade away. Lukes adds a significant new dimension and provides a reassessment of the diplomacy of Beneš that those engaged in the arguments will need to take into account.

GERHARD L. WEINBERG
University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill

KIERAN WILLIAMS. *The Prague Spring and its Aftermath: Czechoslovak Politics, 1968–1970*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 270. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.

Kieran Williams, in his study of the Prague Spring, describes it as “the liberalization of a Leninist regime,” the aim of which was to preserve and improve, not to destroy, existing institutions. It was therefore not a revolution. In three brief opening chapters, Williams offers some theoretical explanations of the three phases of liberalization, intervention, and normalization. Liberalization, he argues, resulted from the rise of a new intelligentsia that sought to change the system through greater consultation, decentralization, and recognition of diverse interests, while maintaining a consensual unity based on the leading role of the party. In explaining intervention, Williams rejects the bureaucratic model and places in the forefront the images, ideas and beliefs of the Czechoslovak and Soviet leaderships. Finally, Williams defines normalization as the restoration of Communist control and explains it as the result not of a social contract but of an implicit deal, in which popular acquiescence was secured on the basis of the promise and hope of a continuation of reform even after the occupation.

A detailed chronological analysis of the period from January 1968 to December 1970 follows. Chapter four, “The Erosion of Soviet Trust,” analyzes the course of events from January to August 1968 as the Soviet leaders tried to gauge the real intentions of the Dubček coalition. They ultimately decided to use force against Czechoslovak reform as a result of the erosion of confidence in the Dubček team, brought about by repeated violations of the unwritten rules of *nomenklatura* interaction and the contrast between Czechoslovak indices and signals (p. 110). Williams places great emphasis on the failure of Prague to carry out the alleged oral promises made in Čierna nad Tisou.

Chapter five, on the failure of Operation Danube, covers the same period, this time in terms of the preparation of the military invasion, the total collapse of the conspiracy of anti-reform Czech and Slovak leaders to overturn the Dubček leadership, and the attempted rescue of the political side of the operation by the Moscow Protocol.

Alexander Dubček’s normalization, the subject of chapter six, depicts the undoing of liberalization as a result of persistent pressure from Moscow and from pro-Soviet Czechoslovak leaders, notably Oldřich Černík and Gustav Husák. Dubček himself, however, in the belief that he might salvage the reform course, facilitated the restoration of authoritarian rule by conceding to Soviet demands and dampening down public opposition.

Chapter seven describes the ousting of Dubček and his replacement by Husák after months of intense Soviet pressure, including a threat of a second military invasion, and countless conspiratorial actions by pro-Soviet leaders. Chapter eight analyzes the rise and fall,

and the revival, of the security forces during the entire Dubček period.

A final chapter describes the purge of the party, the destruction of the remnants of the reform coalition, the final abasement of Dubček, and the steadily growing conformism of society to the new dispensation. The death of liberalization was due, in the opinion of Williams, not only to Soviet interference but also to the actions of those Czechs who actively ended it and of those who allowed it be killed, including Dubček.

Williams does not attempt to explain the 1968 reform movement in the context of long-term historical or sociological forces but concentrates on a blow-by-blow account of events from January 1968 to December 1970. In doing so, he covers familiar ground and does not offer radical new interpretations of these events. This book is, however, distinctive in its thorough use of Czechoslovak archival sources, which offer striking documentation of the attitudes of the principal actors in the story. The study confirms the strict limits placed on reform by the reform leaders themselves and their efforts to discourage and prevent more radical approaches. It also clearly indicates the degree to which prominent reformers, including Dubček, participated in the destruction of their own handiwork during the post-occupation period. To that extent, Williams presents a strong case for the limited character of the reform movement and its non-revolutionary character. However, as he admits, he places the “emphasis on élite behaviour, at the expense of broader treatment of social action” (p. x). This tends to minimize the more radical aspects of the reform movement and its revolutionary potentialities.

H. GORDON SKILLING
University of Toronto

HANS-CHRISTIAN MANER. *Parlamentarismus in Rumänien (1930–1940): Demokratie im autoritären Umfeld*. (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, number 101.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1997. Pp. 608.

Hans-Christian Maner offers a detailed, thought-provoking assessment of political parties and parliamentary debates in Romania during the interwar era. After briefly introducing the governmental framework—beginning with the constitution of 1923 and the electoral law of 1926—and various political entities, the author focuses on the National Liberal Party (PNL) during its four-year control of the chamber of deputies and senate (1933/34–1937), which was chiefly headed by Gheorghe Tătărescu as prime minister and, to a lesser extent, on the PNL’s major opponent, the National Peasant Party (PNȚ). According to Maner, the PNL lacked the unity, programs, and resolve to effectively meet pressing challenges associated with the Great Depression and to achieve its ambitious promises to the electorate. Moreover, a meddling King Carol II’s vague aspirations to modernize and his indecisiveness eventually combined with the PNL’s bungling to replace democratic institutions by a royal autocracy.

This transition was not the result of Carol's plan for a dictatorship, as suggested by Keith Hitchins in *Rumania: 1866-1947* (1994), but by weaknesses in the parliamentary structure. That is, the overwhelming majority of Romania's population—the peasantry—was absent as electors and representatives, as were laborers and women, all of which reflected the dominance of a masculine elite that was unable effectively to address peasants and laborers' needs, such as educational opportunities and improved health and hygiene. In addition, parliamentary polemics and PNL initiatives weakened the populace's confidence. For example, in seeking to liquidate the state debt, parliament raised already high taxes. Quite unpopular, too, were stopgap measures such as the ongoing martial law in a state of siege and press censorship, along with the absence of a stable administrative hierarchy, forced industrialization by state planning, and an enabling act that allowed the cabinet of ministers unilaterally to issue decrees that might subsequently be considered in parliament. Furthermore, the PNL's successful proposal stipulating that eighty percent of all gainfully employed persons be ethnic Romanians, as well as the PNȚ and other parties' calls for the "romanization" of non-Romanian inhabitants, antagonized the numerous minorities, including Magyars, Germans, and Jews. Another political flaw was the proliferation of parties and the splintering of large ones, which posed a significant hurdle for any party that tried to win the required backing of forty percent of the electorate to form a cabinet. This led to the collapse of the party system in 1938, when no one party gained enough votes to govern. An additional poisonous ingredient was the existence of influential groups outside parliament, such as the banned right-wing Iron Guard; Carol's camarilla of advisers, who sought personal perquisites; paramilitary corps, including one sponsored by the PNL to combat anarchy; and the High Economic Council, which served as a legislative body unto itself without parliamentary supervision. These conditions and endeavors signaled that Romania's democracy was a sham, begetting almost inevitably in 1938 the seizing of legislative power by the king, who replaced political parties and the 1923 constitution with a new authoritarian charter and a Front of National Renaissance (FNR) that included many former deputies and senators plus a few peasants, laborers, and one woman in a fledgling parliament. Carol's subsequent attempt to govern by royal dictatorship, without parliament and the FNR, was followed by the swan song of the monarchy in 1940.

Maner's argument rests firmly on published and manuscript sources. He explored national archives in Vienna, Bonn, and Bucharest. In Romania, he found correspondence and other documents at the Library of the Romanian Academy, Romanian National Library, and State Archives. Among his published tools were local newspapers, memoirs, and speeches. With an abundance of such primary materials, he compiled telescopic profiles of political policies and the ideas of

sundry individuals, revealing corrupt practices and anarchical manifestations. Although his topics lack overall cohesiveness, his explanations and oft-repeated generalizations tie the book's principal themes together, especially in the closing summary.

Maner does not say much about the impact of foreign policy on the functioning of parliament, but he pledges to address this essential component of Romanian history in a future book. He also neglects the role of Romania's Orthodox Christian Church in the public life of the epoch. And, although Maner integrates the views and deeds of right-wing extremists in the general political milieu, he gives relatively little attention to the far left. A comparative analysis of the aims and accomplishments/shortcomings of radicals at both ends of the political spectrum would be illuminating. Nevertheless, this monograph is a stimulating sequel to the *Istoria parlamentului și a vieții parlamentare din România pînă la 1918* by Paraschiva Căncea et al. (1983), which addresses the period from the early nineteenth century to 1918.

FREDERICK KELLOGG
University of Arizona

NOEL MALCOLM *Kosovo: A Short History*. New York: New York University Press. 1998. Pp. xxxvi, 492.

Noel Malcolm has written a timely history of Kosovo, a region whose strategic importance in southeastern Europe today is unquestioned. As in his previous volume, *Bosnia: A Short History* (1994), Malcolm revels in details and anecdotes, taking special care to elucidate the historical controversies that characterize Kosovo's past. This study incorporates an astounding amount of secondary literature in all of the relevant languages of the region as well as some primary research. Malcolm is at his best as a synthesizer, making excellent use of the work of scholars who have gone before him. Beginning with the earliest origins of the peoples of the region, Malcolm takes the reader through the entire scope of the history of Kosovo.

This is a good book. It is a pioneering effort to examine in deep historical context a vexing crisis in Europe today. It also represents one of very few sophisticated historical studies of Albanian history in any form. The reader can only be impressed by Malcolm's ability to bring an unwieldy mass of information into coherent form. He deals fluidly with the two themes most connected to Kosovo in the historical imagination: the nature of the peoples of the region and the mythology that has grown up around them. Given the centrality of the Serbian/Albanian contest for possession of the territory, it is logical that much of Malcolm's book focuses precisely on the issues that separate the two peoples. His chapter on the Battle of Kosovo ("The Battle and the Myth") masterfully navigates the battle itself and the various mythological interpretations to which it gave rise. Malcolm's discussions of the nature of the populations that moved through the region are also well done, if occasionally

overly complex. He loves to debunk historiographical excesses, which run rampant in the Balkans, regarding Kosovo in particular. Although this makes for a dynamic narrative, some of the dragons that he slays have been dead for some time, killed by historians whose efforts preceded his own. Malcolm could have been more forthcoming in acknowledging his debt to work done by others. Nonetheless, his book often feels like a historical detective story, which makes for compelling reading.

The central difficulty that Malcolm faces (he tacitly admits the problem in his introduction) and never quite conquers is that, although no one familiar with the Balkans today would deny the centrality of Kosovo to stability in southeastern Europe, it is difficult to assemble a set of convincing reasons to write a general history of the place in isolation. Malcolm has chosen to write on the Kosovo whose borders were set only in the aftermath of World War II, and his book is testament to the fact that this modern Kosovo is something of a geopolitical afterthought, defined more by its status as a political and ethnic transition zone than its centrality to any people or state. Kosovo is notable more for the populations that crisscrossed it over centuries than for settled civilizations. Today it is not a place of its own; it is a scrap of *irredenta* that Serbs and Albanians fight over. Although Malcolm makes a noble effort to demonstrate the feasibility of a history of this region, ultimately his book stands as evidence that, when studying southeastern Europe, a more coherent approach is to treat the region as a whole. As it stands, this is a book of glimpses—a glimpse of this or that empire as it passes through, a glimpse of one or another ethnic group as it waxes and wanes in the districts that make up Kosovo. To his credit, and in contrast to his book on Boania, in which he attempted to demonstrate that Bosnia was a unique historical entity with an identity of its own, here Malcolm is careful not to press the issue.

Even if the book is conceptually flawed, it is a likeable and illuminating work that will acquaint readers with a literature that might well have remained out of reach to them. There is little written in English that can help the outsider to the region understand the issues surrounding it today, which makes this book a useful contribution.

NICHOLAS J. MILLER
Boise State University

SAMUEL H. BARON and NANCY SHIELDS KOLLMANN, editors. *Religion and Culture in Early Modern Russia and Ukraine*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1997. Pp. viii, 213. \$34.00.

This collection of essays offers valuable, concise, and intriguing reassessments of seventeenth-century Russian and Ukrainian history; a number of the essays pose direct challenges to traditional understandings of Eastern European politics, culture, and religion in the early modern period. The ten contributions are unified

by a pair of shared approaches. First, as editors Samuel H. Baron and Nancy Shields Kollmann point out, existing work on East European culture in the seventeenth-century is often narrowly framed and exceedingly tendentious. Religious studies in particular have frequently been undertaken from a solely theological perspective. These essays help to provide a more balanced outlook, examining the broader social and political framework of religious and cultural development. Second, most of the contributors emphasize the fluidity and variety of cultural allegiances acknowledged by individuals in seventeenth-century Russia and Ukraine. This approach is singularly appropriate to this time and place, when new examinations of Western Christianity, the reform of Orthodoxy, major political upheaval, and the transformation of military and bureaucratic organizations triggered enormous social and cultural changes. The cultural studies model employed by most of the authors not only produces original historical insights but also has the valuable and refreshing effect of distancing the entire volume from the more lamentable nationalist debates surrounding some of this material.

The opening essays, in particular, examine the many and often competing cultural models and perspectives available to early modern Muscovites and Ukrainians, thereby shedding much needed light on some long-debated topics. Janet Martin readdresses the notion of Russian agricultural "backwardness" by examining peasant agricultural practices in the seventeenth century from the practitioners' perspective. With Russia's widely dispersed population, the increasing demands on the enserfed population for non-agricultural labor meant that the additional work necessitated by "more productive" agricultural methods would not always be repaid by more valuable yields. Thus, the "failure" of Russian peasants to adopt more advanced agricultural methods (such as crop rotation) was, in fact, "a sensible response to the realities" of the world in which they lived (p. 31). Kollmann's "Concepts of Society and Social Identity" characterizes the Muscovite state as exceedingly diverse and "minimally centralized" (p. 43), a significant departure from the more traditional statist vision of Russian society. She points out that overlapping, intertwined local communities, defined by place, family, and even religious affiliation, were often at odds with the efforts of the Muscovite state to create a collective Russian whole. For Muscovites themselves, however, these communities were deeply intertwined with, and, indeed, an inextricable part of, the workings of the state and constituted a very stable and supportive society. Ukrainian society, Frank Sysyn argues, had a similarly diverse array of social networks that formed the fundamental affiliations of people's lives. Before 1648, however, these communities were in conflict with one another and with the Polish state. The aftermath of Cossack separation from Poland in the middle of the century destroyed some networks (such as that of the magnates), reinforced others, and helped to create a new, Ukrainian social structure.

David Frick sympathetically examines Meletii Smotrytskii, a Ruthenian archbishop whose activities have often been interpreted as suspect and tinged by treachery. Frick instead sees Smotrytskii and others as having forged a new path through a labyrinth of religious, political, and cultural models. Frick characterizes this experience as a "borderland phenomenon," where an examination of misunderstandings and dissimulations can reveal how new cultural constructs came into being.

This collection of essays also emphasizes previously unappreciated source material, permitting greater understanding of lay and folk culture, which are rarely studied for this period. Eve Levin, for example, examines supplicatory prayers to explore the relatively unstudied area of lay spirituality. At all levels of society, she finds a Christian world view that also incorporated folk ritual and invocations of magical and supernatural power. Although such lay spirituality was increasingly scorned by the official church in the latter part of the century, Levin makes clear that it should no longer be ignored by historians. Isolde Thyret's essay, "Muscovite Miracle Stories," discovers that miracles experienced by seventeenth-century women were distinct from those experienced by men; they frequently involved visions and cures that took place at a distance from holy places, not at the shrines themselves. These female ways of experiencing the holy apparently developed because women were excluded from official shrines and sacred places, which were often in monasteries. (Ironically, women's testimonies were perfectly acceptable to monastic hagiographers writing saints' lives.)

Both Michael Flier and Robert Crummey approach more familiar materials in new ways. Both focus on events deriving from mid-century reforms of ritual and practice in the official church and the subsequent development of the Old Belief. Flier contributes to our understanding of official changes in ritual by examining the Palm Sunday ceremony introduced at court by Patriarch Nikon in 1656. Nikon did not, as is commonly assumed, simply bring Russian ritual into conformity with Greek practice. Instead, he retained some traditional Russian elements while adding historical attributes to this important court ceremony. Crummey, as part of his ongoing examination of the diversity of the Old Believers' movements, considers how Old Believer hagiography was transformed after 1670. He argues that these saints' lives are martyrologies, emphasizing the sacrifices required in defense of the faith rather than the more traditional, Orthodox focus on the performance of miracles.

The two final essays represent a more traditional approach to culture, but both reject the idea that seventeenth-century Russian humanism stemmed from Western European influences. Engelina Smirnova's essay on Simon Ushakov argues that this iconographer's approach was fundamentally that of a late medieval painter, despite his occasional use of Western European artistic concepts. Viktor Zhivov believes

that Russian spiritual reforms of the mid-seventeenth century were instrumental in the establishment of Russian humanism. Thus, the schism itself helped to bring about a greater division between secular and religious life as well as recognition of the individual in seventeenth-century Russian culture.

An intriguing component of this volume is the near unanimity with which its contributors reject the hard and fast delineation of cultural categories in early modern Russia and Ukraine; these categories were neither clearly defined nor unchanging for eastern Slavs. Rather, they were fluid, adaptable, and very often inconsistent. In his afterword, as he lays out an agenda for further research, Edward Keenan suggests that careful historical reexaminations and the marshaling of much new evidence are needed in the study of early modern Russian culture. He characterizes this society as being composed of "speech communities," which left a substantial written record but whose motivations in committing themselves to paper were profoundly different from our own. As one might expect from a collection of this sort, individual essays range from discussions of specific, if illustrative, cases to broad and suggestive reexaminations of Muscovite and Ukrainian history. Collectively they represent some exciting new directions in the early modern history of the eastern Slavs.

CAROL B. STEVENS
Colgate University

VALERIE A. KIVELSON. *Autocracy in the Provinces: The Muscovite Gentry and Political Culture in the Seventeenth Century*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1996. Pp. xx, 372.

This monograph about the social, political, and cultural life of the provincial gentry in seventeenth-century Russia is one of the most important books on the history of Muscovite Russia to appear in many years. Using the gentry of the Vladimir-Suzdal' area as an example, Valerie A. Kivelson has provided the most thorough and thoughtful description we have, in any language, of the world inhabited by provincial military servitors and their families. Although these servitors played a crucial role in Muscovite politics during the century, they have received remarkably little attention from historians in either Russia or the West. Kivelson ransacks all available sources to find evidence on her subject and then uses great ingenuity to tease far-reaching conclusions from this evidence. She provides detailed and ingenious discussions on a variety of subjects from the sociology of the gentry community to marriage, kinship, and landowning patterns and from the relationship of the local gentry to the government in Moscow to the belief systems of gentrymen and how these beliefs influenced behavior. The evidence on which the investigation rests is voluminous and complex, a great deal of it laboriously mined from the archives. Kivelson has found repeated references to some 450 surnames or families and to 3,750 individuals

within these families (p. xvii). The careers, marriages, and experiences of these people are then fleshed out using muster rolls, service registers, family archives, petitions, and even literary works.

This book has a number of virtues. Perhaps most obvious is the solid foundation of evidence on which the conclusions are built. Time and again, a general point is given particularity and poignancy by one or more relevant examples, while numerous tables and genealogical charts provide impressive data to clinch an argument. Kivelson's command of the evidence makes her conclusions hard to dispute. She is also remarkably successful in combining methodologies from the various subdisciplines of history—from historical sociology to cultural history—to create a truly integrated, three-dimensional picture of gentrymen and women. Unlike many other practitioners of socio-cultural history, Kivelson keeps the state constantly in view. Although her exhaustive evidence entitles her to the honorable rank of archive rat, she is more than willing (and able) to take on big historiographical questions, from the nature of the autocracy to the differences and similarities between Muscovite gentrymen and their counterparts further west. To the latter question, she brings an unusual knowledge of the recent historiography of early modern Western Europe, a knowledge that repeatedly allows her to ask fresh questions of her sources and to reframe old questions or resolve false dichotomies that have impeded our understanding. The result is an exceptionally rich, provocative, and energetically presented argument as well as a convincing one. Kivelson writes with considerable but understated humor, a feature that makes this book a delight to read.

Although a short review cannot do justice to the book's complexity, a few of the author's conclusions can be summarized. Kivelson reaffirms the traditional notion that Russia was indeed an autocracy during the period but argues convincingly that the service gentry nonetheless had considerable opportunity to pursue their goals of wealth, honor, and local influence. Indeed, gentrymen (and women) were remarkable successful in using the state to advance their own agendas. Landowning patterns, marriage customs, and legal records all show the concentration of gentry energy on the local scene. Even gentrymen elevated to serve under the prestigious Moscow lists kept their local connections and were glad to return to live in the provinces when, toward the end of the seventeenth century, there was little room for them in Moscow. Kivelson shows in detail how both partible inheritance and the unusual habit of giving daughters large shares of a family's inheritance worked to the advantage of these servitors, instead of fatally crippling them in their alleged struggle with the state as had often been argued.

Arguing against a persisting Whig orientation in the historiography that sets the interests of the gentry against those of the state, she describes on many levels an essentially symbiotic relationship, with the gentry

concentrating on power and wealth at the local level while content to let the tsar and his court run things in Moscow. The boisterous, violent, and independent life of provincial servitors entitles them to the label of "gentry" in Kivelson's opinion, in spite of the vast differences of culture that separated them from their counterparts in the West. Kivelson is particularly effective in dealing with what Edward L. Keenan has dubbed the "why-can't-a-woman-be-more-like-a-man syndrome." Instead of blaming the provincial gentry for why they were not more like the English gentry, she concentrates on what they were and what they did. She shows that they were remarkably successful in accomplishing their goals, often forcing the state to back down if its actions interfered with those goals. Indeed, Kivelson argues that Russia was far more similar to the early modern states of Western Europe that most historians have thought, chiefly by finding in the work of recent historians evidence that systemic personalism and patronage, which previous generations thought had disappeared at the end of the Middle Ages, in fact persisted in the early modern West. My one suggestion for this outstanding book is that Kivelson extend the comparison with Western Europe to culture and ideology. Had she done so, I believe, she would have found an ideology in sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Russia that corresponded not to Renaissance but to early medieval Europe. The gap between culture and society, at least from a European comparative perspective, was on its way to being closed in the second half of the seventeenth century, but its effects were powerful enough, as documented by the author, to be included in the comparative sections of the book.

DANIEL ROWLAND
University of Kentucky

JAMES CRACRAFT. *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Imagery*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1997. Pp. xxiv, 375. \$50.00.

Peter the Great westernized by decree. In the case of icons, the venerated images of the Orthodox Church, as early as 1707 the tsar blasphemously decreed that all icon and portrait painters be registered, that they sign and date their works, and that they paint only in the style of the controversial innovator of his father's reign, Simon Ushakov, "the Russian Cimabue." Henceforth only the new images could be bought, sold, or traded. The old images—and arguably Muscovy had preserved the monastic, orally transmitted, faithfully copied Byzantine tradition longer and more consistently than any other Orthodox community—became the clandestine property of Russia's Old Believers.

The second volume of James Cracraft's comprehensive study of the Petrine cultural revolution echoes the organization and themes of its magisterial predecessor, *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Architecture* (1988), and is subject to the same minor criticisms. The new volume explores the "process whereby contemporary European forms of imagery along with the means of

producing them were deliberately brought to Russia" (p. 4). Formerly the Naryshkin baroque was not a revolution but a crisis in architecture; here the stormy halfway house decisions of the Moscow Church Council of 1666–1667, in which some see the decisive victory of Ukrainian innovation, constitute the only crisis. Reviewers of Cracraft's volume on architecture had difficulty grasping a "revolution" that took place over the better part of a century; here Peter's revolution was only institutionalized by Catherine, and it was documented by William Coxe and Robert Ker Porter, writing in 1778 and 1805 respectively. Observing the time span and using Cracraft's own evidence for the intervening decades, one could argue for a second and quite distinct "revolution" necessitated by society's rejection of the first.

In his treatment of the icon tradition, the author's standards tend toward the painterly and art-historical rather than the theological. A religious historian might argue that he does violence to the Greco-Muscovite spiritual tradition. At several points, Cracraft polemicalizes tediously with art historians, when his own views or footnotes would suffice. Although the book is generously and magnificently illustrated, a few arguments hinge on visual material not available to the reader. The analysis is consistently Great Russian, and historians sensitized to Polonization, or to Ukrainian/Belorussian cultural autonomy will find neither consolation nor allies here. Some specialists will be troubled with the author's homogenized notion of Russia's cultural elite. And, finally, although Cracraft has long been a foe of simplistic notions of "westernization," the language of "invasion" and the commanding roles of Adrian Schoonebeck, Pieter Pickaerd, Carlo Bartolomeo Rastrelli, and Francesco Santi, and even of Simeon Polockij and Theophanes Prokopovych, do give pause. Foreigners may have accounted for only seventeen of the 1,020 painters in Tsar Aleksei's Armory Chamber, but salary scales and the Russian razor of *kto-kogo* (who-whom) suggest that numbers contain few answers.

But one should conclude neither with quibbles nor questions. This book, like its forerunner, is a resplendent volume, learned in the artistic history of East and West, nuanced, bibliographically and conceptually rich. I am personally inclined to minimize not only Peter's revolution, but Catherine's as well. All such intellectual posturing must henceforth confront the brilliant arguments, and the wide range of visual genres, marshaled by Cracraft.

MAX OKENFUSS
Washington University

ALEXANDER M. MARTIN. *Romantics, Reformers, Reactionaries: Russian Conservative Thought and Politics in the Reign of Alexander I*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 294. \$35.00.

Alexander M. Martin offers a well-done explanation of how and why Russia failed to develop a coherent and

politically effective conservatism and an insightful discussion of the long-term consequences of that failure. In recent years, a body of work has grown that focuses on the reign of Alexander I as the formative period for the main lines of modern Russia's development. Martin is thoroughly abreast of this work, which is discussed in his introduction and conclusion, and he makes excellent use of it. His thorough command of the sources, published and unpublished, enriches a study that is a major contribution to understanding modern Russia.

Conservatism, the rejection of the Enlightenment's rationalism and materialism that culminated in the French Revolution, provided Europe with a coherent ideology that effectively opposed the revolution and defended the interests of the Old Regime's elites. Conservative ideology developed in Russia, but Martin argues that "Russian conservatism was crippled at birth by the revolutionary dynamic of the state it set out to defend" (p. 4). Thus, it was unable effectively to oppose revolutionary change or to defend the interests of its "natural constituency," the upper classes. Martin describes three principal currents of conservatism: romantic nationalism, gentry conservatism (often mere reaction), and religious conservatism. Although Alexander I sometimes showed interest in some aspects of conservative ideas, he adopted none consistently.

Given the personal nature of politics and the lack of institutions or social groups of a "civil society," Martin finds that Russian conservatism is best approached in a series of intellectual biographies of representative figures. His book is organized into seven chapters; the first is on Admiral Shishkov and romantic nationalism and the last provides insightful analysis of the career of Aleksandr Sturdza. Every chapter offers a fresh and convincing discussion of figures whose importance, Martin shows, has not been adequately appreciated.

Nonetheless, whether rich and subtle, as with Sturdza, or plain and simple, as with Shishkov, Russian conservatism could not meet Russian needs. Religious conservatives found it impossibly difficult to offer concrete alternatives, while gentry conservatives cherished a static Moscovite past, and romantic nationalists looked forward to change. Moreover, Martin finds little agreement on many issues, let alone fundamentals, within each current. In each, there were some who cherished the peasants as the bearers of true Russian culture and supported emancipation, while others held peasants in fearful contempt and regarded the prospect of emancipation with horror. Thus, the state could find no coherent support among Russian conservatives for almost any specific program to meet pressing current needs.

Perhaps the heart of the book is a brilliant chapter (three) on "The Moscow Conservatives." Moscow was the cultural and social capital. Although St. Petersburg had more resident nobles, they were state servicemen. Moscow had nearly three times as many household serf-servants as St. Petersburg and was the city to which the provincial nobility brought their traditional

Orthodox culture when they flocked in for winter residence and took part in weekly meetings of the "noble assembly." Moscow failed to produce a consistent noble opposition, yet it nourished remarkable independence of thought. Particularly important were two figures, F. V. Rostopchin and N. M. Karamzin, who reflected and shaped noble "public opinion." The great war with France naturally was the focus of discussion. The prospect of mobilizing a mass peasant militia to resist French invaders, to cite just one issue, provoked many hopes and fears. Rostopchin and Karamzin shared much and knew each other well, often carrying on discussions into the wee hours of the morning. In the end, however, they did not agree on policy choices that a reforming state could adopt.

S. S. Uvarov's program of "Official Nationality" instead soon continued the modernization from above initiated by Peter the Great, progressively abandoning parts of the Old Regime and repressing civil society and the intellectual and moral integrity conservatives valued as it did so. Martin describes well the intellectual and moral integrity of many conservatives and their contribution to Russian culture. But they could not overcome the fundamental tension between defending the interests of the postrevolutionary elites and advocating return to prerevolutionary culture. Very well-drawn comparisons with post-Napoleonic France and late imperial Germany, as well as with post-Gorbachev Russia, help Martin to clarify the fundamental issues that the Russia of Alexander I faced in a time of experimentation, when it sought a new guide to reform and found that conservatives could not provide it.

JAMES T. FLYNN
College of Holy Cross

THEODORE R. WEEKS. *Nation and State in Late Imperial Russia: Nationalism and Russification on the Western Frontier, 1863–1914*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1996. Pp. 297. \$32.00.

The historians, publicists, and ordinary citizens of the nations and nationalities within the borders of the Soviet Union would certainly have seconded Ronald Reagan when he labeled it "an evil empire." For the victims, the USSR was not a brave new international order but a totalitarian empire that smothered authentic national expression. The empire of V. I. Lenin and Joseph Stalin was as well a reincarnation and a refinement of an earlier, aggressive Russian nationalism intent on the systematic cultural and administrative russification of its non-Russian populations. The demise of the USSR is an opportunity for a fresh consideration of previous assumptions. Theodore R. Weeks examines imperial nationality policy during the twilight of the multinational Russian Empire from the perspective of official Russia. Although he does not minimize the justifiable complaints of Russia's non-Russian critics and victims, he is more concerned with how the Russian public and bureaucracy saw russifica-

tion of the ethnically and religiously mixed borderlands between Russia and the former Polish Lithuanian commonwealth. For Poles, this is the *kresy* and for Russians the western or recovered provinces. Their direct confrontation for control began in the sixteenth century and continued into the twentieth. With the third partition of Poland in 1795, Russia appeared to have triumphed decisively. If one posits the right of the Russian Empire to exist within its nineteenth-century boundaries, then, according to Weeks, Russian nationality policy appears far less sinister. It becomes an element in the organization of the imperial administration. Its purpose is the empire's unity and integration and the prevention of the denationalization of ethnic Russians residing in these borderlands.

While the definition of Russian national identity and its mission varied among the public, Weeks finds the growing importance of the national issue among all political persuasions. As for official Russia and the non-Russians, opinions ranged between the rising non-Russian national movements in the empire to Russian right-wing nationalists who rallied around tsar, Orthodoxy, and Russian nationality. Official Russia did not aim to melt down non-Russians into Russians but did hope that Russian culture would attract the non-Russians in the borderland in a process helped along by state benevolence. In this pragmatic sense, in terms of efficient imperial administration, the bureaucracy were "russifiers." The question is whether this mentality constituted unqualified, malevolent russification.

Weeks details the borderlands' rich and historic ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity. History, most recently the unsuccessful 1863 Polish insurrection ("mutiny" to the Russians) overshadowed the formulation and implementation of imperial policy. Weeks argues that this policy was an uncoordinated amalgam directed against Poles and Jews, and to a lesser extent Lithuanians and Ukrainians, to protect resident Russians and the Orthodox Church. By century's end, however, diverse national movements were ever more insistent in their dissatisfaction with imperial nationality policy.

The examination of late imperial policy centers on three issues: the protracted discussion over the introduction of rural local government, the *zemstvo*, into the borderlands; municipal self-government for the Kingdom of Poland; and the creation of the Kholm (Chelm) province in 1912. Weeks finds Pyotr Stolypin attuned to the complexities of the borderlands but committed to Russian state interests. Stolypin finally put a circumscribed *zemstvo* in place in 1910 and 1911, but three Lithuanian provinces were excluded because of the government's fear of local nationalities. Stolypin's victory was hollow, especially as the outbreak of World War I rendered moot the question of whether the *zemstvo* could become an instrument of effective imperial administration in the borderlands. The war also rendered moot the government's inconsistent efforts to introduce limited municipal self-government in Congress Poland. The economic imper-

ative of expanding public participation in local government motivated the central government. Russian conservatives were opposed, however, while the proposed reforms contributed to the explosion of Polish-Jewish tensions during the 1912 Duma elections and the subsequent boycott proclaimed by Roman Dmowski's anti-Semitic National Democrats, another factor that poisoned the chances of change. The one victory scored by Russian nationalists was the creation of a new province from an area with large Uniate and Polish populations. The intent was to undermine the region's Polish presence and the influence of the Roman Catholic Church, and the necessary legislation passed with lightning speed and with government support. The move provoked furious nationalist polemics and only worsened Polish-Russian relations. In the end, the Kholm province was "the dubious triumph of Russian nationalism" (p. 172).

In his conclusion, Weeks places the nationality question in the western borderlands in a larger context, asking whether Russia, as a nineteenth-century European empire, could have survived. Empire required efficient, integrated administration. In the age of nationalism, however, non-Russian nationalisms were already too strong to accept exclusion from public life by administrative standardization, such as the adoption of a single imperial language, while public Russia and Russian nationalists could not accept Russia as a multinational empire.

This is an important, valuable addition to the scholarship on nationalism in Russia and Eastern Europe. It is scrupulous and fair in presenting the conflicting national perspectives and thoughtful in examining one bureaucracy's approach to problems of a multinational empire and nationalism. Non-Russian national historians may not agree with Weeks's examination of Russia's nationality problem from the imperial perspective, but one cannot fault the author's appreciation of the complexity of the borderlands, a point illustrated by the very informative chapters on the region and on the Kholm controversy. His sensitivities to the historical, cultural, ethnic, and religious nuances of the borderlands remind the reader of the region's continuing geopolitical significance. Now it is NATO and a post-Soviet Russia that contend for influence over the borderlands.

STANISLAUS A. BLEJWAS
Central Connecticut State University

RUTH AMENDE ROOSA. *Russian Industrialists in an Era of Revolution: The Association of Industry and Trade, 1906-1917*. Edited and foreword by THOMAS C. OWEN. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 1997. Pp. xii, 274. \$66.95.

Ruth AmEnde Roosa's dissertation on the Russian Association of Industry and Trade, written over thirty years ago, has long been known to specialists in Russian business history as a pioneering work exhibiting an enviable mastery of sources and judicious assessment of the activity of the Russian business

community. For many of us who began work in the field at a later date, it was a welcome starting point that shed light on the then obscure subject of Russian business in the years before the 1917 revolution. Although Roosa herself published numerous articles during her lifetime (she died in 1993), and many other scholars have expanded our knowledge of this topic in the past thirty years, Roosa's original work (now revised and updated) still stands as the most important piece of scholarship available on the years between 1905 and 1917. Its belated appearance in book form is undoubtedly due to the sheer bulk of her dissertation, which required considerable editing to make publication practicable.

Although specialists will miss the wealth of detail of the original dissertation, Thomas C. Owen, the editor, has produced a book more appropriate for a wider audience. He has brought into sharp focus the attempts by the Association of Industry and Trade to come to terms with the dilemmas of economic backwardness. While the book touches on the association's relationship with the tsarist government as well as problems in creating unity within the business community, the association's efforts to identify obstacles to economic development and to imagine means by which these obstacles might be overcome occupy the major part of the text.

Created in 1905 to unite and give a voice to Russian industry and trade, the association from the beginning concentrated much of its effort on producing an economic plan for Russia. As Roosa notes, it was not entirely successful in this undertaking. Over the years, it tackled problems relating to virtually every aspect of the Russian economy, but its numerous studies and reports were never patched together into any coherent whole. Perhaps one reason for this was that the association's members and professional staff constantly found themselves enmeshed in contradictions that seemed impossible of definitive resolution. Moreover, the association repeatedly revised its position in response to changing political and economic conditions within the Russian empire.

The contradictions with which the association's members grappled are by now familiar to anyone who has pondered the problems of late-industrializing countries. The pressing need for capital seemed to dictate the courting of foreign capitalists, but such a policy also aroused fears of foreign economic control. The centrality of agriculture in the nation's economic future seemed to dictate direction of greater resources toward its agricultural sector, yet this meant diversion of resources that might be used for industrial development. If the Russian industrialists who dominated the association could arrive at no clear resolution of such conflicts, nonetheless, one cannot help but be impressed by their identification of these problems at a time when few were giving much thought to the dilemmas of backwardness.

To my mind, much of the interest of the book lies in two areas. First, many of the positions taken by the

association clearly foreshadow Soviet economic policies. Although Russian industrialists remained ambivalent about the role of the state, they had to recognize the necessity of state involvement in economic development under Russian conditions. In addition, they accorded top priority to the promotion of large-scale, heavy industry and thought in terms of a producer-driven rather than a consumer-driven economy. Second, their discussion of "actually existing conditions" in Russia and their thinking about how to promote economic growth in such conditions are relevant to any attempt to understand both the problems Russia faces today and Russian responses to these problems. Not unexpectedly, Roosa emerges in Roosa's work as in some ways typical of all countries trying to "catch up," and in some ways so unique among the countries of the world as almost to defy understanding.

Owen and the others who assisted him in getting Roosa's work into print deserve praise for making it available to a wider audience and for ensuring that Roosa will be remembered for a breadth and depth of scholarship only hinted at in her articles.

JO ANN S. RUCKMAN
Idaho State University

VLADIMIR N. BROVKIN, editor. *The Bolsheviks in Russian Society: The Revolution and the Civil Wars*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1997. Pp. vi 333. \$30.00.

This collection is more focused than its vague title suggests. It presents recent research into the most venerable topics in the historiography of the Russian Revolution: the ideas and behavior of socialist parties other than the Bolsheviks, the mistakes of the White "movement," popular responses to the great upheaval, and the character of the Bolshevik dictatorship.

There is some very good work here that shows the enriching effect of the opening of the archives, both to the study of events in St. Petersburg and Moscow, and to the understanding of developments in provincial areas. Michael Melancon provides a persuasive analysis of Left Social Revolutionary (SR) conceptions of revolutionary democracy and of efforts to put together a coalition socialist government based in the soviets before and immediately after the Bolshevik seizure of power. Scott Smith follows with an illuminating discussion of SR responses to the growing unpopularity of the Bolsheviks in the first six months of 1918. There is a very interesting article by Leonid Heretz on the ethos of the White Army at the beginning of the civil war and another by N. G. O. Pereira on Cossack warlords in Siberia. Delano DuGarm offers a careful study of armed peasant uprisings in Tambov province.

Like most collections, however, this one is uneven. The articles mentioned above are models of good scholarship. Others are not so exemplary. They make great leaps from very small bodies of evidence, and they fail to assess carefully the statistical data that are provided. These articles also employ simplistic terminology. The meaning and usefulness of such universals

as "workers" and "peasants," when applied to a polity so huge and diverse as Russia, cannot be assumed but must be argued. And terms fraught with many meanings, such as "state," "terrorism," and "nationalism," must be defined. To cite only one example, Taisia Osipova writes that peasant "rebellions" were occurring in forty-eight percent of central Russia's *uezdy* in December 1918. But she does not say whether "rebellion" is her term or one used by contemporaries. If the latter, then she should discuss which of the several, significantly different Russian words for popular disturbances those contemporaries employed. Osipova should also consider the reliability of her sources, most of which appear to be reports by party workers struggling to cope with the very peasant opposition they are documenting. These people can be expected to exaggerate the difficulties they faced, for a variety of reasons. Those reasons too should be considered. Such care in analysis may not change Osipova's conclusion—that there was widespread peasant resistance to the Bolsheviks during the civil war—but it will add greater nuance and specificity to a generalization that is already well known.

In contributing significant particulars to the established understanding of the Russian revolutionary era, Osipova's article is typical of this collection taken as a whole and indeed of much of current scholarship. The opening of archives has given us information that was hidden from us before. For instance, we now know more than ever before about the political negotiations between socialists ongoing in Petrograd in late October and early November of 1917. The archives also contain the records of the Bolsheviks' inner circles as well as valuable reports on events outside the capitals. But unpublished documents, however intriguing, do not necessarily provoke rethinking by historians, as this collection demonstrates. There is little fundamental reconsideration of the established interpretations of the politics of revolution and civil war in these articles.

It is the task of the editor of a collection to write an introduction that lays out the overarching conceptualization to which each article contributes and into which each fits. Vladimir Brovkin attempts such an introduction, but he succeeds only in diminishing the effect of the collection by making exaggerated claims for its originality and vilifying the work of other scholars. Brovkin attacks leading Russian historians in the United States, claiming that they have written an extended justification for Bolshevik oppression. He mentions none of these scholars by name in the text, and there are no footnotes to the introduction. Instead, Brovkin chooses to refer to such distinguished historians as William Rosenberg, Diane Koenker, and Alexander Rabinowitch by using the titles of several of their books as phrases in his critique.

Such snide innuendo is typical of Brovkin's argument, but it is not its greatest offense. Most objectionable is the ludicrous, if not malicious, characterization as pro-Bolshevik of a body of painstaking work pro-

duced by dozens of scholars over several decades, the chief purpose of which is to move beyond Russianists' longstanding concentration on the evils of Russia's political history and to understand the nation as a complex society of diverse and competing interests, habits, and practices. The very insight Brovkin claims for his collection—that it “demonstrat[es] the degree to which various social groups in Russia defended their autonomy and resisted the imposition of centralized dictatorship” (p. 4)—is in fact a principal finding of the very scholars he criticizes. The historians who have written about trade unions do not present those organizations as strong supporters of the Bolsheviks, as Brovkin charges. On the contrary, those who do Russian labor history are quite critical of the Bolsheviks' highhanded treatment of the unions. Furthermore, it is these careful, thoughtful scholars that have taught us how very divided in its political loyalties the proletariat actually was.

Brovkin is a devotee of Richard Pipes. With his mentor, whom he praises lavishly in the introduction, Brovkin hankers for the early days of the Cold War, when Russian history was written as a simple morality play. The great majority of Russianists, who have taken from the scholarship that Brovkin slanders a more sophisticated and less judgmental understanding of Russia, will find much of value to consider in this collection, the crude introduction and the tendentious articles by Brovkin, Pipes, and Anna Geifman notwithstanding. Those paroxysms they can offer to students as baleful examples.

BARBARA EVANS CLEMENTS
University of Akron

VICTORIA E. BONNELL. *Iconography of Power: Soviet Political Posters under Lenin and Stalin*. (Studies on the History of Society and Culture, number 27.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1997. Pp. xxii, 363. \$48.00.

Victoria E. Bonnell's new book provides fascinating insights into the ways in which Soviet political artists in the years 1917 to 1953 both helped to shape a new world and were themselves influenced by the environment in which they were working. Previous historians have provided innovative accounts of the hagiography of the revolution (Nina Tumarkin's *Lenin Lives! The Lenin Cult in Soviet Russia* [1983] comes to mind) and also of the negative ways the Bolsheviks were able to extend their controls through literacy networks and agitation programs (here one thinks of Peter Kenez, *The Birth of the Propaganda State: Soviet Methods of Mass Mobilization, 1917–1929* [1985]). Bonnell, however, breaks new ground by combining hagiography (of workers and leaders) and demonology (hydra-headed capitalism, vicious spiders, etc.). In her words, she has sought to study the “visual lexicon” of the early Soviet posters, including their syntax and grammar. In so doing, she has given us an important window on early Soviet politics.

Bonnell's book is not the first study of Soviet posters (Stephen White's *The Bolshevik Poster* [1988] is a beautiful and engaging volume, and there are several Soviet studies of political posters). But what is exciting and novel is her attention to the visual political language of the day and the ways in which images of workers, women, leaders, and enemies all changed, sometimes quite dramatically, over the course of these first three and a half decades.

In presenting this material, Bonnell teaches the reader to look for signs and bits of information that otherwise might not be self-evident: whether a peasant woman ties her kerchief under her chin or behind her head (as a woman worker would), whether a male worker gazing off into the distance has dirty fingernails, whether Lenin dominates a particular image or Stalin does, whether a woman peasant is represented in association with male peasants or on her own. Through this close attention to detail, Bonnell is able to convey, for example, the changes in positioning and representation of peasant women from the more backward *baba* of early Soviet iconography to the collective farm worker of the 1930s.

One of the weaknesses of the book is that it was compiled from a series of essays that were published separately. This results in some repetition and doubling back to points already made. A unifying introductory chapter could have given more background on the nature of prerevolutionary visual culture and the ways in which Russian Orthodox icons and tsarist propaganda during World War I highlighted images and colors that carried over into the Soviet period. Bonnell mentions these features but almost always in passing, in reference to a particular poster or epoch but not in light of the whole period.

A second weakness is the discussion of *tipazh* which Bonnell translates rather awkwardly as “typicalization.” Why not translate *tipazh* as “types” or “typing”? Bonnell manages to convey the impression that such typing was an invention of the Bolsheviks in the Soviet period, when in fact the use of types in the course of polemics had a long prerevolutionary history. A background section in the book might have highlighted the extensive use of literary types by the writers N. A. Dobroliubov, D. I. Pisarev, F. M. Dostoevsky, and N. V. Gogol (the most famous example being “Obломovism”). I would also have loved to see more discussion of the juxtaposition of the various types: the good collective farm woman and the bad man (priest, drunkard, kulak), the woman guardian (e.g., the woman collective farmer and the “mother country,” *rodina-mat'*) and the male shirker/deserter, the male scientist and the female peasant, the children who trust in father Stalin and the implied children who misbehave. Bonnell alludes to some of these contrasts but without discussing the ideological implications of a pictorial strategy that divided the population into subgroups. Nor does she give more than scant attention to the words and phrases used on the posters. The wording of one famous poster, for example, makes the Bolshevik

Revolution the subject rather than the women it is allegedly addressing ("What the October Revolution Has Given the Woman Worker and Peasant"); others completely depersonalize the revolution by lauding "the victory of labor," "October," or "May 1"; still others rely on the vaguely inclusive pronoun "we" or put the poster's subject in the passive voice ("The People's Dreams Have Come True").

These small reservations notwithstanding, this is a wonderful volume. The heavy paper on which it is printed make it aesthetically pleasing to hold and to read. The images are clear and extremely well explicated by the author. Reading the book, one has a real sense of change over time and of the artistic developments that kept pace with the political changes in the country. The volume will be useful to specialists and general students alike in giving a sense that Soviet political culture was dominated not only by the written decrees of Lenin and Stalin but also by a panoply of visual works designed to impress and intrigue the viewer.

ELIZABETH A. WOOD

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

PETER H. SOLOMON, JR. *Soviet Criminal Justice under Stalin*. (Cambridge Russian, Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, number 100.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xvii, 494. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$29.95.

This large work on criminal justice under Joseph Stalin is a first-rate book on a difficult subject. It integrates existing literature and research in the formerly closed Soviet archives, addressing both specifically Soviet issues and general questions regarding criminal justice under dictatorship. The contentions that "terror was not the only or even the main form of social control used by Soviet leaders before 1953" (p. 1) and that Stalinist criminal justice formed toward the end of the dictator's rule and was firmly consolidated only after his death may turn out to be controversial. Yet Peter H. Solomon Jr.'s discussion of the Soviet use of criminal justice and its bureaucratization makes a fascinating read.

Solomon argues that even though the juxtaposition of Stalin and "justice" may seem "oxymoronic," Stalin and his successors did take law and justice seriously. In the early Soviet years, there was considerable confusion about the meaning and use of laws in governing the country, often leading to heated controversies among specialists and conflict between professionals and political leaders. Solomon contends that the often-discussed antilaw current or legal nihilism was never a deciding factor even in the revolutionary era. In fact, the Soviet regime rather quickly overcame its ambivalence toward law and came to realize its importance as an instrument of rule.

Solomon addresses two major differing views among Western specialists on the Soviet use of law: one emphasizes the seemingly total subjugation of justice

to political priorities; and the other stresses the "compartmentalization of political justice," or the separation of political cases of special importance from ordinary criminal cases. Solomon states that neither view is wrong because they apply to different periods of Stalin's rule. The former obtained in the collectivization-dekulakization and famine years of the early 1930s. Stalin and his government achieved their political goals through extensive application of terror. In the process, legal procedures and forms were broken, thus undermining the legitimacy of the law and its administration. This led to the compartmentalization of political justice. According to Solomon, the "critical turning point in the development of Soviet criminal justice came not at the beginning of the Stalin era . . . but rather in 1935–1936, when Stalin and his colleagues committed themselves to strengthening the criminal law as an instrument of rule by centralizing power in the legal agencies and educating their officials for careers" (p. 459). Although the process of restoring the authority of law suffered setbacks, as in the years of the Great Terror (1936–1938) and World War II, the process was not reversed and resulted in a relatively stable (if extraordinarily draconian) form of criminal justice, from which political justice was separated. (The long-term trend makes the Great Terror appear almost an aberration, even if the author does not say so.) The formation of compartmentalized justice is not unique to Stalin's Soviet Union, but, in one form or another, is common to dictatorships. The system of justice Stalin created outlived him by several decades. Nevertheless, as Solomon takes care to emphasize, it was never fully bureaucratized (in a Weberian sense) under Stalin or even after his death.

Solomon also discusses some implications of his detailed analysis for the study of Stalinism in general. Among others, he emphasizes the singular importance of the role Stalin played. Stalin personally decided or decisively influenced almost every major political decision. Stalin was a dictator and all-powerful. Stalin's personal dictatorship did not mean, however, that he was able to control provincial and local administration tightly; in fact, Stalin lacked a strong state, at least in the 1930s, which would have rendered his power truly strong and effective. Solomon thus takes pains to try to synthesize various, often contradictory interpretations of Stalinism.

Surely, this is not new. As Solomon maintains, Graeme Gill presented a similar view in *The Origins of the Stalinist Political System* (1990). Yet, unlike Gill's theoretical and general discussion, Solomon's work is amply supported by empirical data. If anything, Solomon's data and analysis tend to support some of the revisionist works (notably those of Gabor T. Ritter-sporn and J. Arch Getty) as far as the 1930s are concerned. Few revisionist historians have denied Stalin's central role in Soviet politics. One of the main contentions of recent revisionist work concerns the constraints under which Stalin had to operate and the fallacy of linear development in Stalinist politics. One

of the major contributions of Solomon's work is to analyze the Stalin era in its whole span rather than narrowly concentrating on the dramatic 1930s.

This brief summary of Solomon's book does not do justice to its richness. Some historians may take issue with his conclusions, but his book demonstrates the complex and contradictory development of Stalinism well. The present book has to be read by anyone interested in Stalinism.

HIROAKI KUROMIYA
Indiana University,
Bloomington

SARAH DAVIES. *Popular Opinion in Stalin's Russia: Terror, Propaganda and Dissent, 1934–1941*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xix, 236. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.

During the Soviet era, scholars very much wanted to understand how the people of the USSR experienced the great transformation of the 1930s and, in particular, the years of terror. But the materials available to us—contemporary newspapers, testimonies of refugees, films, and occasional memoirs—were not sufficient, because the voice of the common people was missing from them. It was impossible to reconstruct their mental world, and all that we could do was to attribute thoughts and feelings—based largely on our own political prejudices—to the seemingly silent masses.

In the case of every new book dealing with the Stalinist regime, the first question to ask is how much the newly available materials contribute to scholarly understanding. What can we now know that was hidden from view in the past? Perhaps not surprisingly, the usual answer is not very much.

Sarah Davies's study of public opinion in Stalinist Russia became possible after the opening of the archives. She worked diligently in state and party archives, and found interesting materials primarily, but not exclusively, in Leningrad. As is clear from her notes, Davies is also well acquainted with the secondary literature that is relevant to her topic. Her work goes at least some way toward satisfying our curiosity concerning public opinion.

Davies argues that "the Stalinist propaganda machine failed to extinguish an autonomous current of public opinion" because "propaganda had to compete with a remarkably efficient network of information and ideas" (p. 183). In making these points, she is in agreement with scholars such as Lynne Viola, Roberta Manning, J. Arch Getty, Gábor T. Rittersporn, Sheila Fitzpatrick, and Robert Thurston who have emphasized that society remained active even in a period of extreme repression and that the power of the central authorities remained circumscribed. Indeed, the evidence presented here shows that the extent and openness of grumbling, anti-regime jokes, and *chastushki* were greater than we had supposed. Other interesting observations also emerge. From memoirs, we have

learned much more about the thinking and behavior of artists and scientists than those of simple people. It is now clear that scholars should not generalize on the basis of the writings of the intelligentsia; most anti-regime jokes and observations, as noted by the political police, came from workers, who appear to have been more courageous than intellectuals in this respect. It is also striking that as the regime stopped taking active measures against anti-Semitism, this ugly prejudice resurfaced in the 1930s. In other respects, the sentiments expressed by the workers are rarely surprising: they were primarily, but not exclusively, interested in material conditions.

Davies is well aware of some of the weaknesses of her primary material. She knows that the NKVD was not a disinterested collector of material concerning public opinion; their reports should not be regarded as some sort of Soviet Gallup poll. She knows that making an anti-Soviet joke did not mean that the person hated every aspect of the Soviet regime and, conversely, silence did not always mean popular support. It seems we will never be able to reconstruct fully the mood and spirit of those troubled times.

In spite of her caveats, I think that Davies still overestimates the strength of her sources. She talks about the existence of a shadow culture in the 1930s and sees that culture as a possible precursor of the era of Nikita Khrushchev and Mikhail Gorbachev. In fact, there is a big difference between telling an anti-Stalin joke and demonstrating on Red Square or composing *samizdat* literature. The totalitarian regime dealt effectively with the heterodox voices of the 1930s; evidence for that is the fact that it took us decades to find out that such voices existed at all.

PETER KENEZ
University of California,
Santa Cruz

ARTO LUUKKANEN. *The Religious Policy of the Stalinist State: A Case Study; The Central Standing Commission on Religious Questions, 1929–1938*. (Studia Historica, number 57.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1997. Pp. 214.

JOUKO TALONEN. *Church under the Pressure of Stalinism: The Development of the Status and Activities of the Soviet Latvian Evangelical Lutheran Church during 1944–1950*. (Studia Historica Septentrionalia, number 25.) Linnanmaa: Historical Society of North Finland. 1997. Pp. xviii, 376.

The history of religion in Soviet Russia is a neglected subject. Western textbooks devote only a few pages to religion during the Soviet period and then usually treat it as a victim of Communist persecution or an insignificant branch of the wider dissent movement. Russian-language historiography since the implosion of the Soviet Union is as bad as Western history books, perhaps worse, despite the fact that there is now no impediment to the study of religion in Russia. Even

studies of Soviet foreign policy, in which the Russian Orthodox Church played a significant role during World War II, minimize the salience of religion.

Perhaps the appeal of secular subjects, the complexity of religion, the lack of training in graduate schools, or the belief that religion and morality are marginal in the modern world or outside the purview of historians help explain why religion in Soviet Russia is bypassed as a subject of serious study. This is unfortunate, because the study of religion provides an important key to understanding Soviet society. It is a complex subject that intersects Soviet domestic and foreign policy and is inextricably intertwined with questions of nationalism, imperialism, legitimacy, propaganda, social stability, self-identity, morality, ideology, political cohesion, national security, and foreign relations.

Two new books that examine Soviet religious policy during the Stalinist era reveal the rewards and pitfalls of studying this complex subject. Jouko Talonen has written a valuable study of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church in Soviet Latvia between July 1944, when the Red Army reoccupied the Baltic States, and March 1946, when Archbishop Gustavs Turs, known by his critics as the "Red Archbishop," assumed control of the church with Soviet support. Based partly on newly opened archives in Latvia and Russia, the book reveals that the church, which had the allegiance of approximately fifty-seven percent of the Latvian population in the interwar period, suffered severely under the Communists. During the first Soviet occupation, from June 1940 to July 1941, the church was fiercely attacked and weakened: its leadership was pilloried, dozens of pastors were killed or deported to Soviet Russia, other clergy were kept under surveillance by the NKVD, church property was nationalized, thousands of believers were deported, and atheism and anti-religious propaganda were pushed vigorously. On the night of June 14, the very eve of the Nazi invasion, the Soviets deported 15,000 Latvians.

The second Soviet occupation, starting in July 1944, saw a return of religious persecution. This time, however, the Communists not only attacked the church but used collaborationist clergy (especially Archbishop Turs) to govern the church. Talonen describes this process and the persecution in detail. He also offers an apology for Turs, arguing that his compromise with the Communists allowed the church to survive.

Although Talonen has produced a solid study, he has failed to analyze some of his own findings and missed an opportunity to explore the complexity of Stalinist religious policy. For example, he does not explain why Stalin changed policies during the second Soviet occupation of Latvia; why religion, nationalism, and Soviet security were so intermixed in Latvia; or why Stalin simultaneously persecuted and selectively tolerated the church. Additionally, if Talonen had approached the subject comparatively, he would have discovered the similarity of Stalinist tactics toward other Christian denominations—particularly the Russian Orthodox and the Ukrainian Uniate Churches—

and provided a more profound understanding of nationalism, religion, politics, and ideology in Soviet Latvia.

Arto Luukkanen's study of Joseph Stalin's Cult Commission between 1929 and 1938 suffers from similar flaws. Its use of a Soviet anti-religious bureaucracy as a case study to understand Stalinist religious policy is done in a vacuum, without reference to the complexity of the religious issue. The result is that we find the Cult Commission was actually the "guardian" of religion (p. 185); that "a kind of restricted rehabilitation of the ROC (Russian Orthodox Church) was in place by the mid-1930s (p. 142); that mediating conflicts between dedicated atheists and believers taxed the Soviet government; and that Stalin was not a Marxist-Leninist ideologue but a successor of the tsars who had to deal with the age-old problem of conflict between Moscow and the provinces.

The book's narrow focus prevents Luukkanen from seeing that, while the Cult Commission was "mediating" battles between believers and atheists, the Russian Orthodox Church was being destroyed. By 1939, the church was a faint shadow of its former self. There was no rehabilitation for Orthodoxy. What saved it was the Nazi invasion and Stalin's subsequent decision to use the church to consolidate control in the USSR's borderlands, to impress his Western Allies, and to stoke Russian nationalism. Furthermore, the conflict over religious issues between the periphery and the center, where the Cult Commission experienced the give and take of Soviet political reality, did not mean that Stalin was not a Marxist-Leninist ideologue. It did mean that Stalin was a powerful but not an absolute dictator; that religion and nationalism were tightly bound in Russia and the non-Russian borderlands; and that the campaign against religion was nuanced, especially on the periphery of the empire, to enable the Kremlin to use religion against anti-Soviet religious nationalists and to discourage alienated believers from joining underground groups. Proof of Stalin's commitment to Marxism-Leninism is found in the simple fact that he never really abandoned his campaign against religion. The Soviet archives show that he was a dedicated Communist and that the Orthodox Church, despite its support of the Soviet state during World War II, was not allowed to rebuild its destroyed churches in Russia and was again brutally persecuted in the postwar period. By the end of the war, as Nathaniel Davies has shown in his excellent study, *A Long Walk to Church: A Contemporary History of Russian Orthodoxy* (1995), there were more Orthodox believers and churches in the newly annexed western territories than in Russia proper. This was a consequence of Marxist persecutory policy and Stalin's tactical use of religion against newly added citizens, who were both religious and anti-Soviet.

In a rather simplistic approach, Luukkanen groups all research on Soviet religious policy into "pre-archival" and "post-archival" categories, arguing that pre-archival historians were by and large hostile to Com-

munism and atheism and therefore biased. Even when they revised their research to take advantage of the new access to Soviet sources, Luukkanen finds, pre-archival historians mainly "verified" their earlier findings (p. 41, n 51). Scholars such as Bohdan Bociurkiw and Dmitry Pospelovsky, who have written the best studies on the Ukrainian Uniate Church and the Russian Orthodox Church, respectively, in the Soviet period, are dismissed as prejudiced despite the fact that Pospelovsky's work was done before the Soviet archives opened. This book proves that it takes more than access to select Soviet archives to produce enduring historical work.

DENNIS J. DUNN
Southwest Texas State University

MARK HARRISON. *Accounting for War: Soviet Production, Employment, and the Defence Burden, 1940-1945*. (Cambridge Russian, Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, number 99.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xxxiv, 338. \$59.95.

This book by Mark Harrison exploits post-perestroika data releases to reconstruct the dynamics of Soviet output and the defense burden during World War II. The main new data is detailed physical output series, but the author also had access to previously unpublished budget and national income accounts. The work follows the tradition of the studies of Abram Bergson and his associates by building up basic macroeconomic aggregates from detailed data on physical output. Previous quantitative knowledge on resource availability and allocation during the war was limited to a very skimpy set of official Soviet claims based on statistics widely agreed to be misleading. The Bergson studies bracketed the war period with detailed studies for 1937 and 1948 and a sketchy picture of the situation in 1940 and 1944. But the detailed dynamics of the period from the invasion in June 1941 and the turning point after the Kursk offensive have been very much in darkness.

The bulk of the book is devoted to statistical reconstruction of gross national product (GNP) and its sub-aggregates from 1940 to 1945. This involves complex conceptual issues and problems of data interpretation, and the work Harrison has performed here will primarily interest those well versed in the Western literature on reconstruction of Soviet GNP. For the readers of the *AHR*, a detailed critique of his handling of all these issues seems inappropriate, and so I offer only summary comments.

Harrison performs his reconstruction with the methodological grounding and painstaking evaluation and reconciliation of data traditional in this literature. He is meticulous in attempting to reconcile conflicting data sources and outcomes and in testing his results against alternative interpretations. His effort will be respected by all who work in this field, despite some quibbles. For the general reader, the more interesting part of the book will be Harrison's reflections on the war's impact on the Soviet Union and his effort to put

the Soviet experience into a comparative and long-term context.

Harrison's findings dramatize the magnitude of the invasion blow. GNP fell in 1942 to two thirds of what it had been in 1940. Consumption fell even more sharply to about half, although given the reduced territory, per capita decline was less drastic. An interesting table compares the share of defense expenditure in GNP for the major powers involved in the war. The peak share of defense in Soviet GNP (sixty-one percent in 1942 and 1943) was exceeded in Germany (seventy-one percent in 1943) and was not egregiously above that for the United States (fifty-four percent in 1944) and Great Britain (fifty-five percent in 1943). But given the low level of prewar output per capita and the precipitous fall in the first stage of the war, this meant extraordinary deprivation. At the low point in 1942, "insufficient resources were left available for subsistence or replacement of either the human or the physical stock; living standards collapsed, and people starved" (p. 170).

Harrison asks how crucial Allied aid was to the Soviet survival and recovery from this close brush with collapse, a question long disputed between Soviet and Western commentators. He is able to provide a well-grounded answer by fitting aid into the overall picture of the availability and allocation of resources, concluding that trade and aid added, net, about ten percent to domestically produced GNP during the war years. Given that resources are fungible, it is difficult to say to what extent this addition went to relieve the drastic pressure on household consumption rather than increasing the resources available for prosecuting the war. Harrison comes to a reasonable conclusion that it did both and that its contribution to strengthening the Soviet war-fighting capability has to be seen in qualitative as well as quantitative terms. Lend-lease provided crucial inputs that enhanced mobility and the production base, hastening the Soviet recovery of territory and the drive to Berlin.

One part of Harrison's agenda is to understand the ability of nations to survive the economic trauma of war. He is impressed that the Soviet Union held together and recovered, but he sees the war as having a longer lasting effect on it than on other participants. Although other nations managed to return in later years to their long-term growth track, he finds that the Soviet Union did not and concludes that the war experience dealt Soviet society a permanent setback in its growth prospects. Beyond the destruction of physical and human capital, vitality was further sapped by the systemic and structural distortions of the war period: the hypertrophy of the defense industry, its isolation from the rest of the economy, and higher internal and external barriers to the flow of information and technology.

ROBERT CAMPBELL
Indiana University,
Bloomington

PAUL R. JOSEPHSON. *New Atlantis Revisited: Akademgorodok, The Siberian City of Science*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1997. Pp. xxii, 351. \$39.50.

Akademgorodok has a special place in Soviet history. Founded in the late 1950s, some twenty-five miles to the south of Novosibirsk in Western Siberia, Akademgorodok heralded a new era in Soviet science. Leading academicians and their cadres of researchers were to be attracted to this new town where, it was believed, science and technology could be applied with greater effect to Siberian resource development needs than was possible in the research centers and laboratories of Moscow or Leningrad. As a new city, Akademgorodok was to embrace the latest advances in Soviet town planning. As Paul R. Josephson's admirable study reveals, however, both the physical development of the city and the behavior of its citizenry soon challenged, and sometimes contradicted, prevailing Soviet principles and values.

This book is less a history of the city than it is a history of the politics and personalities of the science that was conducted there. The history of Akademgorodok itself is outlined in chapter one. In order to attract academicians and researchers of distinction to a new town located in the harsh Siberian environs, some hallowed Soviet town planning principles were breached. The most controversial example of this was the construction of spacious detached and semi-detached "kottedzhi" with sizable gardens for the scientific elite. Separate from the residential districts of the typical multistory apartment buildings into which the other, less distinguished members of the scientific community were customarily crammed, many of the houses in this bucolic neighborhood would not have looked out of place in a London suburb. Although housing allocations had long been differentiated to reward those with power and connections, rarely were class differences so evident as in Akademgorodok. Josephson suggests that the shoddy construction of housing there may have been related to workers' resentment of privileges accorded the academic elite, but poor quality materials and sloppy workmanship were typically dispersed everywhere without much regard for the social class of the intended occupants. Still, this special housing for a scientific elite was resisted by Communist apparatchiki and workers alike, and it is testimony to the connections and connivance of the distinguished mathematician Mikhail Lavrentev, the driving force behind the creation of Akademgorodok, that such housing and much more besides was created. The history of the science conducted in the twenty-odd research institutes that ultimately constituted Akademgorodok is inextricably linked to Lavrentev's talented use of political power and persuasion.

How science was conducted in Akademgorodok is the subject of most of the book. Given that Josephson's main research interest is in the history of Soviet science, it is in chapters two through six, which discuss

Akademgorodok's role in high-energy physics, genetics, computer science, environmentalism, and selected social sciences (econometrics, regional economic development modeling, and sociological surveys), that the book's most significant contribution lies. Josephson's detailed account of the personalities, and always the politics, involved in the emergence of these disciplines is based on archival research, extensive interviews, and a wealth of other primary and secondary sources. The central and unifying theme running through these chapters is the struggle between the mostly freethinking intellectuals who came to be associated with Akademgorodok and the stultifying conformity that the state's administrative structures, especially but not exclusively the Communist Party, tried to impose. What went on in Akademgorodok often challenged the prevailing values of Soviet society. What went on in the research institutes was not infrequently at odds with what were perceived as scientific truths. This tension is especially evident in the chapter dealing with genetics. Although Soviet genetic "science" was debased and ultimately discredited as a result of the state's long-standing official support of Lysenkoism, the situation doubtless would have been worse were it not for the wisdom, and the courage, of the intellectual elite in Akademgorodok, who surreptitiously supported some fundamental research in biology during those dark days. Chapter seven provides an insightful assessment of how the Communist Party attempted to control and direct the science undertaken and the values and behavior of Akademgorodok's scientists.

Josephson's account deals mostly with issues and controversies from the late 1950s to the early 1980s. Post-Soviet developments thus do not get much attention. Notwithstanding the excellent account of the difficulties faced and mostly overcome in the development of the city, there still is much about Akademgorodok as a place that is obscure. The linkages between Novosibirsk and Akademgorodok, for example, remain murky, and one cannot look to Josephson's account for details of the social class or demographic structures of Akademgorodok itself. But the book is full of insight into the history and politics of the science conducted in Akademgorodok. Well-researched and well-written, it is a compelling and insightful read. I recommend it highly.

JAMES H. BATER
University of Waterloo

R. W. DAVIES. *Soviet History in the Yeltsin Era*. New York: St. Martin's, in association with the Centre for Russian and East European Studies, University of Birmingham, Great Britain. 1997. Pp. viii, 264. \$69.95.

Restricted access to information and a highly ideological and politicized writing of history were hallmarks of the Soviet system. Beginning in the late 1980s, that system began to change. In this book, R. W. Davies chronicles the destruction of a single official version of the Soviet past, emphasizing the importance of histor-

ical arguments in struggles for power and reform in the era of Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin, and the emergence in the 1990s of new opportunities for serious historical work. He has divided his book into three sections: the first covers the politics of Soviet history from 1988 to 1992, the second the battle to open archives, and the third focuses on key issues that have been illuminated by archival research.

In the late 1980s, when Gorbachev was in power, revelations about the dark side of the Soviet past were pressed into political service to help discredit, first, a particular political elite and then, the Stalinist system as a whole. As one of Gorbachev's key advisors put it, "the truth about Stalinism is a sentence on the system it created" (p. 2). By 1990, V. I. Lenin and the entire Communist enterprise were under attack as popular newspapers and journals published archival documents revealing the scope of arrests, false accusations, spying, and executions that had marked the Communist way of doing business from its beginnings. By 1991, a majority of leading politicians and Russian citizens agreed that the October Revolution had been a terrible mistake. These developments are well known to specialists, but Davies provides a useful account of how arguments from history were used to undermine people, including Gorbachev himself, who clung to Leninist principles and the Communist Party.

Of greater interest to Russia specialists will be Davies's account of the ongoing battle for access to the state archives that contain materials on the Soviet period. Many have been opened and have proved enormously rich, with everything from stenographic records of Politburo meetings to Joseph Stalin's memoranda and handwritten notes and detailed KGB reports. Other archives are being opened unevenly and sporadically, with some sensitive material available for brief periods and then withdrawn, and/or made available only to a few favored scholars. The whole process is complicated by the material poverty of the archival system and continuing political controversy over what should be known or remain unknown.

Most interesting for the non-specialist may prove to be Davies's discussion of the ways in which archival revelations either confirm or challenge accepted understandings of particular events. It is interesting to learn that Lenin, distinguished for his ruthless suppression of any sign of opposition and drive for central control, pushed through the New Economic Policy in the 1920s against the advice of many leading party members, and that Stalin was personally involved in the decision to murder the Polish officers in the Katyn forest in 1941. There is also more hard evidence for estimating the losses of life from famine and political repression in the 1930s. Robert Conquest's widely accepted estimate of seventeen million people proves to be too high; the actual figure is probably closer to ten million. Furthermore, the notorious 1937 census that was suppressed and whose organizers were killed has been found. Surprising, too, is that, between 1971 and 1990, the Communist Party of the USA received

forty million dollars, compared with a mere thirty-four million for the French. No evidence has been found that the murder of S. M. Kirov, or of John F. Kennedy, was other than the work of lone gunmen. For the moment, the intrigue is in the details. Thoughtful integration of the new evidence into general scholarship will take time. In the meantime, Davies's engaging and well-informed account gives a hint of what is to come.

JANET G. VAILLANT
Harvard University

MIDDLE EAST

JOSHUA PRAWER and HAGGAI BEN-SHAMMAI, editors.
The History of Jerusalem: The Early Muslim Period, 638-1099. New York: New York University Press. 1996. Pp. xvii, 443. \$75.00.

The shelf life of scholarly articles varies widely, but it is not terribly long when the subject is Jerusalem, where scholarship is rapidly overtaken by an unending stream of new books and news reports, some breaking new ground on an old subject and others rearranging old material in new ways. The work in hand suffers from a near fatal case of such obsolescence as well as another equally unfortunate malady.

Although not numbered so, the present work is one volume—the first of three on the medieval era—in an ambitious multivolume plan to write the history of Jerusalem. The whole undertaking is a collaborative venture, as is this volume, which contains thirteen essays, each a free-standing study of some aspect of the city's life and history. The overall plan for the history was formulated in the 1970s by the distinguished Israeli publisher Yad Izhak ben Zvi and went forward under the direction of the late Joshua Prawer and Haggai Ben-Shammai. The work was to be published in Hebrew (the contributors are all Israeli scholars) and an English edition was apparently a rather late afterthought. Thus, many of the articles here were written in the early 1980s, published in Hebrew in 1987, and now appear in English.

Collaborative history rarely provides a coherent vision of a time or a place, and this assemblage of pieces is no exception. The essays themselves are, however, of uniformly high quality, as one might expect from the very best Israeli scholarship on medieval Jerusalem and Palestine. The collection includes Moshe Gil's three essays on the political history of the city and the Jewish community, Ben-Shammai on the Karaites, Prawer's on Christian attitudes toward and visions of the city, Izhak Hasson on Jerusalem in Qur'an and *hadith*, Myriam Rosen-Ayalon on the buildings and art, Yaakov Meshorer on the coins. But they have all published on these matters before and many of them more fully and perspicaciously since. Not only are they dated; the cited material in the notes and the annexed bibliographies, most in Hebrew, have been neither updated nor revised. Consequently, we

are told nothing of Amichai Elad's important work on Muslim liturgies on the Haram, Heribert Busse's studies of the conquest, Oleg Grabar's or even Rosen-Ayalon's own new work on the Dome of the Rock.

Since the bulk of the work was so familiar, it was not particularly illuminating, at least to me; what I did find new and instructive were two essays by Avraham Grossman: "The Yeshiva of Eretz Israel: Its Literary Output and Relationship with the Diaspora (pp. 225–69) and, particularly, "Jerusalem in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature" (pp. 295–310), with its reflections on the ongoing messianic tradition.

There is another flaw here, and it is the publisher's or editor's. In a city whose rulers and patrons in this era were Muslims, and the bulk of whose population was still overwhelmingly Christian, the content is rather obviously weighted toward what must have been the very small Jewish community. Given the original readership, the temptation to do so is perhaps understandable—and this is after all the period when the Geniza documents come into play—but it should have been somewhat more stoutly resisted in a work with such a title.

F. E. PETERS
New York University

MICHAEL BROWN. *The Israeli-American Connection: Its Roots in the Yishuv, 1914–1945*. (America-Holy Land Monographs.) Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press. 1996. Pp. 396. \$39.95.

Focusing on the North American dimension of the careers of Vladimir Jabotinsky, Chaim N. Bialik, Berl Katznelson, Henrietta Szold, Golda Meir, and David Ben-Gurion, Michael Brown argues "that these six leaders and their compatriots oriented the *yishuv* (the Jewish settlement in Palestine), and eventually the state into which it developed, in the direction of America" (p. 246). Brown observes, correctly, that the relationship between the United States and the Zionist project assumed a recognizable shape well before the Holocaust, Israel's War for Independence, and the Six-Day War, which often serve as jumping-off points for discussing Israeli-American relations. Two features of the book distinguish its contribution to the literature on American Zionism: it pays needed attention to fundraising, and it underscores the degree to which Zionists sought to build bridges with non-Zionist, Jewish movements and institutions beginning in the 1920s. Surely Brown has enhanced the biographies of his main subjects.

This book is the result of a decades-long labor of love. Not surprisingly, Brown has amassed a wealth of fascinating material. But even if one favors biography as an organizing principle, as a work of scholarship it has severe problems. Brown's very choice of the six figures, each of whom occupies a chapter, is highly idiosyncratic. The author's own analyses of Jabotinsky, Katznelson, and Bialik may be used to discredit the

notion that they were among the most critical interlocutors between the *yishuv* and the United States. Brown accepts the superficial, if not inaccurate claims of Zionist historiography that Louis Brandeis was distant and dispassionate and that Chaim Weizmann's Anglophilia overwhelmed his dealings with America. Despite the bitter quarrel between Brandeis and Weizmann, both men had a greater impact on Zionism in America than did any of the characters identified by Brown. A strong case also may be made for Manya Shochat, Judah Magnes, Julian Mack, and Albert Einstein to have a place among the upper echelon for molding American-Zionist bonds.

Szold was, indeed, among the preeminent mediators between the United States and the *yishuv*, but Brown's handling of her role is marred by his neglect of the voluminous Hadassah Archives in New York. In general, Brown does not convey that each of his subjects had symbolic and substantial roles, which might have been explicitly delineated. For example, Brown did not realize that Katznelson, the ideologue of the kibbutz movement, on the U.S. stage, was revered more as a type—a New Jewish or Zionist Man—than as an ideologue. Although he cites all the others as foils to Jabotinsky, Brown does not directly engage Zionist revisionism's affinity with fascism.

Individual personalities aside, Brown gives short shrift to the 1897–1914 era. The American foment in those years is to be found, in no small part, in German-language sources which are at least as significant as much of the Hebrew material assiduously mined by Brown. But a more grievous distortion stems from Brown's failure to see that Zionism transcended personalities as its ideology and organizational impulses became embodied in institutions such as the Jewish National Fund, the Palestine Foundation Fund, Hadassah, the Zionist Congress, and the Zionist Organization itself, which came to be considered sacrosanct. There was not simply a two-way street between the United States and Palestine but a confusing network of channels, often mediated in bureaucracies and party organs in Central Europe or Britain. The fact that many Zionist institutions in the United States have persevered until nearly the end of the twentieth century, even after the so-called normalization of the Jewish state, is a remarkable feature of Jewish-American ethnic-mobilization.

By comparison, Brown's achievement falls between the insular American Zionist histories of Melvin Urofsky, Marc Lee Raphael, and Abraham Karp and Aaron Berman's more prescient *Nazism, the Jews and American Zionism* (1990). None of these works, however, approach the breadth and analytic rigor of Derek Penslar's *Zionism and Technocracy* (1991), which is missing from Brown's bibliography, on the extraterritorial influences on Zionist settlement in Palestine. In the end, Brown reveals more about the inner worlds of his characters than he does about the distinctive

contours of American Zionism and its repercussions in Palestine and Israel.

MICHAEL BERKOWITZ
University College London

AFRICA

ONAIWU W. OGBOMO. *When Men and Women Mattered: A History of Gender Relations among the Owan of Nigeria*. Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 1997. Pp. x, 220.

Onaiwu W. Ogbomo has made an ambitious attempt in this book to reconstruct precolonial gender relations in Owan, Nigeria, a group of Yoruba-related villages. More specifically, he has focused on how gender relations were implicated in the establishment and expansion of settlements in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and on the transformation of gender relations brought about by patrilineal Benin immigrants and Islamic and Christian influences. His thesis is that, before 1500, there were strong matriarchal influences and practices in the area, which were then driven out or submerged in the historical record by increasing male dominance. Matriarchy, he says, was not like autocratic patriarchy but more egalitarian. Two of its features were matrilocality and matrilinearity, the former being more important to the maintenance of female authority.

Ogbomo makes his arguments by the creative use of oral historical texts, collected by himself and others, and by the analysis of totemic and goddess beliefs. Owan was a rare acephalous area surrounded by peoples with centralized political organization or chiefship. Its inland remote location, away from main trade routes, and its acephalous political conviction, which Ogbomo argues was consciously asserted against incursions of centralizing influences partly in the effort to maintain female authority, meant that written travellers' accounts and the kind of unitary oral traditions characteristic of monarchies and chiefship are not available. Thus, the author's efforts are particularly noteworthy, given the difficulty of the enterprise. He was forced to do a great deal of creative extrapolation from sources. A few of Ogbomo's conclusions do not seem warranted by the evidence, but most are intriguing and seem well-founded.

There are other problems. Ogbomo gives us statistics based on a survey of totemic beliefs, but nowhere are we told who the respondents were or how they were selected. Nor are we given more than hints about the author (not Owan himself) in a situation where the researcher's situation often has a vital effect on the results. Ogbomo adopts the omniscient author approach and makes no assessment of his own biases. These are evident when he takes potshots at "Western" feminists and ethnographers, often citing early works, while omitting any critical reference to historians of African descent, who still more often than not routinely ignore any considerations of gender and

women. This omission once again marginalizes African historians of African descent, who should be brought into the discussion as more than just references cited.

Ogbomo's focus on gender is laudable and puts him into the very small category of male historians of any nationality who focus primarily on gender and who critique male dominance in local traditions (a male informant told him that "men are the custodians of history" [p. 189]). Nonetheless, he has not completely overcome his unexamined subject position. In an excellent appendix on methodology, Ogbomo informs us that he could not meet his goal of interviewing many women (he interviewed over 200 men and only forty-two women) because husbands forbade him access to their wives. His research shows that he would have had better luck had he asked to interview their sisters and mothers. Ogbomo apparently (he does not tell us the gender of his assistants) did not employ any women as unpaid interpreters, which might have helped him overcome this barrier. Thus, the information about women is less developed in some ways than that about men.

Nonetheless, this book contributes to reopening the debate about whether or not patriarchy was universal by providing cogent evidence and a thoughtful position that challenges current assumptions. That Ogbomo is doing so from a Nigerian male subject position is particularly noteworthy. Women did matter, he shows us, particularly in the formation and perpetuation of acephalous polities. The book is a challenge to Africanist scholars to pay serious attention to gender and women in history, and to assimilate and analyze critically traditions held by males. It is also a much needed contribution to precolonial African history and to the difficult history of acephalous societies. Ogbomo's efforts are serious, highly commendable and thought-provoking.

CLAIRE C. ROBERTSON
Ohio State University

ANN O'HEAR. *Power Relations in Nigeria: Ilorin Slaves and Their Successors*. (Rochester Studies in African History and the Diaspora, number 1.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. Boydell & Brewer, Rochester, N.Y. 1997. Pp. x, 338. \$65.00.

The central problem addressed in this coherently written monograph is the historical development of socioeconomic and political relations between an urban-based aristocracy and the surrounding agrarian communities in one of the provinces of northern Nigeria. The period covered is about two hundred years long, from the late eighteenth century to the 1980s. It is a story of oppression by the aristocracy and the various mechanisms employed by the oppressed—the cultivators in the agricultural villages—to create space for themselves.

The history of the Ilorin emirate in the nineteenth century described by Ann O'Hear contains elements with which students of medieval European history will

be familiar: successive emirs granted land around the city, Ilorin, to subordinate officers; the latter settled bonded and free cultivators on these lands; agents were appointed to ensure the effective collection of tributes in products and labor from the cultivators; these tributes were distributed among the various levels of the urban-based aristocracy, from the lowest up to the emir, and ultimately to the central authorities in Sokoto. The oppressive demands of the aristocracy and its agents provoked reaction by the cultivators, both free and bonded. In the twentieth century, British colonial administration created conditions that did very little to change things. From the late colonial period, the structures created by the decolonization process offered opportunities for the oppressed agrarian communities to express their reaction through the ballot box. These structural changes were further extended in the postcolonial era, encouraging the oppressed peasants to focus on political mechanisms to bring about positive changes in their condition.

This is a refreshing class analysis of the historical process in a Nigerian sub-region by a non-Marxist historian. Although the area is predominantly Yoruba, O'Hear's account shows that class interests, rather than ethnic considerations, have shaped political behavior in the area in the more recent past, and this can only be properly understood in the context of the region's history from the nineteenth century. This focus on the long-term political dynamics of servitude clearly distinguishes O'Hear's study from most studies of servitude in Africa.

Like all good books, however, it is not without areas of discomfort. In an ascending order of discomfort, I start with the title, which is likely to mislead readers not sufficiently familiar with Nigerian history. Although the evolution of class relations in Ilorin described in the book is basically similar to that of other emirates of the Sokoto Caliphate in the greater part of northern Nigeria, nothing like it happened in much of southern Nigeria, where land was widely held by lineages and, therefore, no landholding aristocracy evolved. *Power Relations in Northern Nigeria* would, therefore, have been more appropriate. The second area of discomfort is the neglect of new factors that emerged in the politics of the area of study in the late 1970s and 1980s. Without sufficient attention to these new factors, which space does not permit me to enumerate, the changing dynamics in the peasant-aristocracy struggle cannot be properly understood.

What I find most unsatisfactory, however, is the imprecise use of terms in the treatment of servitude. This, of course, is a problem that is clearly visible in much of the literature on slavery in Africa. Implicit in O'Hear's account are at least two distinct groups of bonded people. "In the nineteenth century, successive emirs gave out land around the city as what the British later termed 'fiefs' . . . Fiefs, once granted were held on a hereditary basis. The fiefholder or his agent went about the business of settling the land with slaves or free tenants or both. Tribute from the lands was passed

upwards from agent to fiefholder to emir" (p. 29). O'Hear describes a second group (in all probability much smaller): "Informants agree that they [fiefholders] preferred the slaves on the farm than elsewhere. Not all, however, were actually settled on the land. Some went out only temporarily to the farms, and lived mainly [with their owners] in the city" (p. 30).

Students of medieval European history, with their commitment to precision in the use of terms, will certainly agree that we have here two clearly distinguishable groups of bonded people: one living in agricultural villages, physically separated from their lords (by the account the vast majority), and the other living in their masters' compounds in the city. From O'Hear's evidence and from what we know of tribute paying servile populations in the Bida emirate (just to the north of Ilorin) during the same period, the socioeconomic conditions of the tribute-paying bonded people in the agricultural villages would appear to approximate more those of serfs in medieval Europe, while those of the second group conform more to those of slavery as understood by medievalists. O'Hear does not distinguish between these two categories of servile people in her area of study. She treats them as a single group and calls them slaves. The questions she put to her informants similarly failed to draw any distinction. This may help to explain the apparent contradictions in the answers she got, as different informants may be referring to different servile populations. Her difficulty with the accounts of the nineteenth-century European explorers and those of the British colonial officers—both of whom frequently used the terms serfs, fiefs, and slaves in a confusing manner, but whose accounts show that serfs, rather than slaves, is the more appropriate term in most cases—may be similarly explained.

What compounds the difficulty is the fact that O'Hear's account of the treatment and status of the bonded people and what happened in the transition to free peasants appears to center on the city population alone. For example, it is inconceivable that the tribute-paying rural population "were given food by their owners" (p. 40). The statement that "They were also allocated separate quarters in their owners' compounds" (p. 40) confirms the point. Implicit in the account is the idea that the city servile population, the true slaves, moved into the agricultural villages after freedom and were transformed, along with the pre-existing rural populations, into semi-free peasants, all heavily burdened with the remnants of feudal obligations. Read in this way, several of the contradictions and ambiguities may be eliminated without any damage to the refreshing class analysis that is the main strength of the book.

JOSEPH E. INIKORI
University of Rochester

THOMAS SPEAR, *Mountain Farmers: Moral Economies of Land and Agricultural Development in Arusha and Meru*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of Cali-

fornia Press. Mkuki na Nyota, Dar es Salaam. 1997. Pp. x, 262. Cloth \$48.00, paper \$17.95.

This book is a history of the political struggles over land, the changing practices of production, and the social transformations that emerged during the colonial period on Mount Meru in northern Tanzania. A section on precolonial times serves as an introduction to the two ethnic groups that migrated to, and now occupy, the slopes of the mountain. They are the Arusha and the Meru. The Arusha are related to the pastoral Maasai, who live on the plain. The Meru branched off long ago from the Chagga people of western Mount Kilimanjaro. Thus, Thomas Spear has taken up the interesting puzzle of comparing the colonial experiences of two peoples of quite different linguistic and cultural origins as they faced first German and then British colonial administrations.

Wanting to tell the African side of the story, Spear reviews the preoccupations of historians writing about Africa in the 1970s and 1980s. He emphasizes that development and dependency theories were central to the discourse at the time. "African historical actors were largely relegated to subsidiary roles in the development of capitalism and the world economy. Now," he goes on to say, indirectly describing his own perspective, "the focus is shifting once again to seeking to understand African actors on their own terms as they struggled to adapt and give meaning to the wider forces impinging on their lives" (p. 6). In fact, anthropologists and some historians and political scientists have always written about Africa from this point of view, so that Spear's angle is not a new one, but the particular detailed history he has assembled about the colonial experience on Mt. Meru has not been put together before. It is a valuable addition to the literature. Spear goes far beyond the conventional archival material found in colonial and missionary records to integrate information from a great variety of other sources—linguistic, geographic, demographic, economic, and anthropological—and also includes interview data.

Two related narrative themes run parallel in his account from start to finish: the changes in the political economy, and the changes in the social and cultural inventory. Within the theme of political economy is the ongoing story of African demographic increase. Once all the cultivable land on Mt. Meru was occupied, and the colonial administration limited expansion to a fixed area, an intensification of African agricultural production and changes in the mode of stock-keeping followed. The introduction, growth, and ups and downs of the African cash-cropping of coffee in competition with coffee production by settlers was an important parallel development. All along, European attempts to control African affairs and ongoing European appropriations of land, needs for labor on European estates, and other direct economic interventions were sources of strain.

The second story, that of the changing cultural

inventory, has in part to do with cumulative African knowledge of a changing set of agronomic and political possibilities. Africans developed many new agricultural practices through their own experimentation, among other things by varying their investments of time and labor in various crops and installing modifications of technique in their husbandry of cattle. Over time, they were also deeply influenced by European institutions—by the administration, the missions, the schools—and by the presence of the European settlers, but they integrated elements of these institutions into their lives in a selective manner. Some African Christians became teachers and community leaders. A few even became comparatively large-scale capitalist farmers and cattle-owners. Africans joined together to found the Arusha and Meru Native Planters' Association and for years struggled valiantly, through that organization and others, to resist administrative attempts to control their affairs.

The book ends with an account of the well-known Meru Land Case. In the early 1950s, the British attempted to evict and resettle a group of Meru in order to provide settlers with ranching land. This provoked concerted resistance. The Meru fought back and carried their case to the United Nations. They lost in that forum but gained in political strength, and at long last they eventually recovered their land. In some ways, the by-product of this struggle, the consolidation of African organizational capability, epitomizes the way that battles over particular resources, even when lost, can lead to political transformations. Spear's carefully documented historical account makes one wish that the book had continued into the socialist era and beyond, when Spear was doing his research. As he well knows, the fight for autonomy and control over resources in the Mt. Meru area did not end with the end of the colonial period. The story continues today, and the relevance of the historical background is patent. Spear's work is an important contribution.

SALLY FALK MOORE
Harvard University

IVAN EVANS. *Bureaucracy and Race: Native Administration in South Africa*. (Perspectives on Southern Africa, number 53.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 403. \$55.00.

Scholars know surprisingly little about the state in South Africa. The state's dominance in all aspects of society, rural and urban, is in inverse proportion to scholarly analysis of its bureaucracy and rule. This exemplary book by Ivan Evans helps restore the balance.

Four preliminary points shape the book's thesis. First, Evans notes that approaches that assume the illegitimacy of the state fail to consider the complex history of rule. The author argues that it is important to combine a discussion of the daily practice of the state with an analysis of its changing institutional structures; in so doing, Evans makes bureaucrats in-

teresting subjects of historical study. Second, because "state structures possess interests which are unique to themselves" (p. 18), the history of the state cannot be reduced to the story of the demands of capital. Evans introduces a welcome neo-Weberian perspective to earlier materialist certainties about the relationship between the state and the economy. Third, apartheid was much more than the blending of Afrikaner nationalism with earlier British colonial policy. Last, and more controversially, the regnant model of African resistance may obscure as much as it reveals about how subjects understood the state that forded over them. Indeed, given the state's role in the enormous social and economic changes in this century, Evans wonders why there was not *more* resistance.

One of the book's great virtues is that it covers "Bantu administration" in rural and urban South Africa. Evans thus analyzes comprehensively a literature composed mainly of narrowly focused studies. He first analyzes urban administration from the 1923 Urban Areas Act through the 1950s and the rise of apartheid. This period saw massive black urbanization, especially in the region around the city of Johannesburg. Evans argues that throughout the 1920s and 1930s, disagreement and confusion characterized urban administration. There was little consensus among bureaucrats as to their general mission and, more specifically, as to "the nature and direction of segregation policy" (p. 27). Some bureaucrats clung to an earlier British paternalist tradition of the "civilizing" mission; others found authoritarianism attractive. The relationship between municipalities and the central government proved especially difficult. The ambivalent and at times contradictory actions of the state produced discord within its own ranks and, not surprisingly, conflict in the state's relationship to white farmers, urban employers, and African township dwellers.

In the 1940s and particularly in the 1950s, a relatively weak and disorganized bureaucracy became more orderly and authoritarian. Evans provides a fascinating history of the different personalities involved in this transformation, arguing that understanding personnel issues is important to grasping fully broader institutional change. This institutional change involved four processes: centralization, bureaucratic suspicion about the capitalist market, the idea of administration as a science, and a concern with getting Africans to pay for urban policy.

The second half of the book shifts attention to the impoverished rural reserves. Here Evans charts a history that parallels his discussion of urban South Africa and the ways in which authoritarianism "leeches . . . into civil administration" (p. 9). But unlike the situation in urban areas, bureaucrats in the reserves confronted intricate African political institutions. In the early era of liberal paternalism, the state politically emasculated the institution of chiefly rule. Then, in the twentieth century, bureaucrats reconstructed African chiefship within an increasingly bureaucratic and, in the end, authoritarian state. Again

Evans demonstrates the local character of early rule followed by the centralization of authority and increasing uniformity. He provides fascinating insight on the temptations proffered by a well-funded bureaucracy, especially for more liberal-minded bureaucrats who were nonetheless critical of the rise of an authoritarian state. Evans also deftly analyzes the difficult and shifting position of chiefs, a group central to the implementation of apartheid, in the context of the introduction of the Bantu Authorities Act and the outbreak of violent resistance throughout much of the Transkei. Greater attention to the local history of ethnicity and to generational tensions within rural households would have strengthened his analysis of broader changes in the structure and daily practice of rule. But this is a minor quibble about what is a very admirable study with much relevance to contemporary problems in South Africa.

CLIFTON CRAIS
Kenyon College

ASIA

JOAN R. PIGGOTT. *The Emergence of Japanese Kingship*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1997. Pp. 434. \$55.00.

On the whole, Western scholars of Japan have preferred to steer clear of the very earliest parts of its history. There are good reasons for this avoidance, the chief of which probably lies in the limited nature of the sources available. The two major compilations, the *Nihon shoki* and the *Shoku nihongi*, which together purport to be a record of events from the Age of the Gods up to the year 791, were commissioned by the royal house for purposes of its own, few of which seem to have been compatible with historical objectivity. The story they tell is an edifying one of growing royal preeminence, of the imposition of peace upon the land, of rebellious tribes brought into the orbit of civilization, of the quelling of unscrupulous rivals. Apart from literary and ecclesiastical collections, other evidence is fragmentary at best, and, with the exception of a handful of gazetteers, almost totally concerned with the royal court and its preoccupations. To work in so constricted a field, a historian needs to be both adept at reading between the lines and more than usually tolerant of ambiguity.

Clearly Joan R. Piggott, the author of the work under review, possesses these qualities and more. She deserves congratulation for what is an ambitious attempt to explain how Japan's monarchy emerged over a period stretching from the third to the eighth centuries: from Himiko, the regional shamaness described by Chinese observers, to Shōmu, the metropolitan patron of Buddhism and builder of the enormous temple complex at Tōdaiji. In between these two polar figures she deals, as briskly as the subject matter permits, with other key sovereigns such as the notoriously concupiscent and irascible Yūryaku, Suiko the

female ruler, Tenji, Temmu, and Jitō, another woman. Together with her analysis of their political and religious influence, Piggott also traces the emergence of the Yamato region as a center of political authority. Throughout this long and impressive book, she makes intelligent and discriminating use of the work of large numbers of Japanese archeologists and historians. What results is a comprehensible and largely credible picture of the way in which early Japanese kingship developed.

Throughout this work, Piggott shows herself ready to take issue with previous Western scholarship; both George Sansom and John Hall, for example, are gently corrected. But one of her boldest strokes is a terminological one. She does away, hopefully for good, with the misleading and inappropriate term "emperor" (pp. 8–9). It may suit figures as diverse as Hadrian, Charlemagne, Charles V, Napoleon, and Franz Joseph, but it sits oddly on the shoulders of the Japanese monarch, for whom Piggott prefers other designations: most successfully the Sino-Japanese term *tennō*, or heavenly sovereign, from which she strips the italics and which she capitalizes. Shōmu *tennō*, for example, becomes Shōmu Tennō. For this she is to be applauded. From time to time, she employs other terms: monarch, of course, but also paramount, and, rather less successfully, especially when applied to female rulers, Great King. Great King Temmu, with its echoes of Henry VIII and Louis XIV, may not be that much of an improvement on Emperor Temmu, but Temmu at least was male. The appearance of Great King Suiko (p. 13), however, who happened to be a woman, nudges this reader, if only momentarily, into a parallel universe. *Tennō*, which implies much more, and also much less, than any of these, is surely the way to go.

Piggott has given us the most thorough account of early Japanese kingship available in English. Her book covers archeology, religion, foreign affairs, law, administration, and the ebb and flow of factional politics at court in satisfying detail. For that alone, it would deserve a warm welcome. But the book offers more. This work is also a valuable contribution to one of the enduring questions of Japanese history: that is, how far was early Japan able to move in the direction of centralized authority? Opinions vary from quite a long way, on the one hand, to hardly at all, on the other, and the absence of anything like incontrovertible evidence encourages both views. Piggott, at the mercy of materials that are preponderantly metropolitan, is often inclined to give centralization the benefit of the doubt. Ultimately, however, she comes down rather sensibly somewhere in the middle, describing a state that was "segmented rather than vertically subjugated" (p. 8), in which regional elites were happy to accept symbolic status and prestige from a distant authority and equally content to offer symbolic respect and tribute in return—as long as nothing more concrete was asked of them. It was, as Piggott makes very clear, a state built

by negotiation, indeed founded on compromise (pp. 169, 203). Not surprisingly, it, too, was compromised.

HAROLD BOLITHO
Harvard University

ANDREW EDMUND GOBLE. *Kenmu: Go-Daigo's Revolution*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 169.) Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, distributed by Harvard University Press. 1996. Pp. xxi, 390. \$49.00.

Andrew Edmund Goble has written an impressive study of a key event in medieval Japanese history. Emperor Go-Daigo (1288–1339, r. 1318–1339) is famed for his attempt to revive the fortunes of Japan's imperial family that had been compromised, first in 967 when a regency became permanent and later in 1192 when a military leader took the title of shogun, establishing a rival government in the provincial town of Kamakura. In 1333, with the aid of warrior allies, Go-Daigo toppled the shogunate. Just two days after its last leaders committed suicide, he dismissed the regent and inaugurated a period of direct imperial rule, commonly known as the "Kenmu Restoration" ("Kenmu" being the era name that Go-Daigo adopted the following year). His restoration proved short-lived, for he was driven from the capital in 1336 when a new warrior lineage, the Ashikaga, claimed the title of shogun, selected as emperor a prince from a rival lineage within the imperial family, and restored the regency.

This is not an episode of merely antiquarian interest. In prewar Japan, Go-Daigo was glorified as a precursor of the Meiji emperor, and unorthodox interpretations of his achievements were risky. Today, when Japanese historians are free to interpret the past as they choose, his role as instigator of a major political transition makes him an object of scholarly debate. One measure of his importance is that Goble's is the second book we have on the subject in English, a rarity in the study of traditional Japan. The earlier book, Paul Varley's *Imperial Restoration in Medieval Japan* (1971), largely followed what had long since become the conventional interpretation by suggesting that Go-Daigo was an anachronistic incompetent, doomed from the start. Goble, in contrast, sees Go-Daigo not merely as a clever leader but, as his title indicates, as a revolutionary.

Goble bases his analysis on a careful reading of an extraordinarily wide range of sources, both primary and secondary. Complete translations are provided for some key documents, leaving readers to wish for even more examples. Japanese scholarship, which is apt to be quite narrowly focused, is skillfully placed in a larger analytical framework. Goble presents a close look at Go-Daigo's policies and in almost every case can offer a plausible explanation for them. Although in hindsight some seem to have been foolhardy, Goble calls our attention to conditions at the time and demonstrates the logic behind policies, even those that

ultimately failed. His interests are wide ranging. He treats social and economic issues, notably Kyoto's growing importance as a commercial center. In the intellectual realm, he stresses Go-Daigo's clever use of Buddhist institutions and Confucian ideas, this in contrast to traditional views associating Go-Daigo with Shinto nationalism. Goble shows how Go-Daigo attempted, initially with some success, to manipulate rivalries among warrior leaders to his own advantage and to establish control over distant regions. Any reader of Goble's book will come away with a new appreciation for this uncommonly vigorous emperor. Clearly, Go-Daigo was not the decadent, effete figure we are apt to associate with the medieval Japanese court. The story of his life is fraught with exiles and astonishing escapes from near disaster. He seems to have mixed easily with warriors, and his own sons took to the battlefield. There was more to him than is suggested either in old hagiographic accounts or more recent dismissive biographies. Goble has put Go-Daigo in a new light as a man who, along with his policies, deserves to be taken seriously.

Much though I admire Goble's book, it is not beyond criticism. Despite its dust jacket's claim that Go-Daigo was a sexual adventurer, the book's strengths lie in its analysis of his policies, and, presumably for lack of sources, we learn little of his personal life, sexual or otherwise. Also, Goble chooses to keep his focus on Go-Daigo and his times. For the fascinating story of his legacy, readers will still want to consult Varley. These, however, are minor points. A more serious question is whether Go-Daigo was a revolutionary. Goble's portrayal, it seems to me, is ambiguous. Often he tells us of institutional continuities: for example, that potential rivals were shunted aside but "not publicly demeaned" (p. 176), and that Go-Daigo insisted rituals "accord exactly with 'old practices,'" (p. 178). Certainly in modern times, revolution would imply bolder steps. Perhaps a clearer definition of "revolution" might have strengthened Goble's argument. Based on the material presented, Go-Daigo would appear to have been a man who displayed flexibility, tenacity, and imagination well beyond what we would expect of a medieval Japanese emperor. Still, given the continuities that Goble also notes, we may wonder whether this was revolution or merely reform. Since Goble's book has so much to offer, my advice is to read it and decide for yourself.

ROBERT BORGEN
University of California,
Davis

TAKASHI FUJITANI. *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan*. (Twentieth-Century Japan: The Emergence of a World Power, number 6.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 305. \$40.00.

SHELDON GARON. *Molding Japanese Minds: The State in Everyday Life*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1997. Pp. xvii, 313. \$24.95.

Takashi Fujitani and Sheldon Garon explore the making of modern Japan from two perspectives: the creation of imperial symbols and pageantry to back the centralizing power of Japan's modernizing state, and the use of social management and moral suasion campaigns to mobilize the Japanese people into a modern interactive nation-state. The authors share a common concern: the development of participant subject-citizens in and by a modernizing and Westernizing political regime. If, in the West, the arrival of the masses onto the stage of history was the result of capitalism and the Industrial Revolution, both Fujitani and Garon suggest that, in Japan, the masses were summoned onto the stage of history by modernizing elites both inside and outside the government. Both studies are richly documented and finely textured, with enriching historical comparisons to Western nations as well as judicious theoretical applications (e.g., Michel Foucault's "social disciplining"). Both also demonstrate how sensitive Japanese elites were to Western historical events and trends in theoretical knowledge, consciously referencing and manipulating "the West" in the creation of modern Japan. Fujitani focuses on the Meiji period (1868–1912), while Garon deals with the entire sweep of modern Japanese history from 1868 to the 1990s. Finally, both authors are concerned with issues of historical continuity and discontinuity. Fujitani concentrates on discontinuities and the invention of imperial "traditions," Garon on continuities in Japan's hortatory and didactic style of governing from the Tokugawa period (1603–1868).

Enlarging on Basil Hall Chamberlain's 1912 essay, "The Invention of a New Religion," and Carol Gluck's *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period* (1985), Fujitani provides greater detail, striking new source material, and a more extensive and expansive interpretation of the new and reconfigured imperial symbolism in Meiji Japan—often with acerbic wit. Having set forth his thesis and approach in the preface and introduction, he proceeds to a fascinating account in part one of the extensive imperial tours ("court in motion") undertaken to make the emperor visible to all the Japanese people and vice versa, and then to the establishment of two permanent imperial capitals in the 1880s and 1890s. A dilapidated Tokyo was massively reconstructed to be the venue of imperial ceremonies expressing Japan's modernizing and progressive aspirations. Kyoto was reshaped as the mnemonic site of Japan's "nationalized past" (p. 86). Japan's two capitals were a far more dynamic and successful harnessing of the past to a modernizing present than were Moscow and St. Petersburg in Russia at that time.

Part two is an impressive detailing and analysis of imperial ceremonies and how they reinforced the regime's mobilizing power: the "unprecedented ceremony" promulgating the Constitution of 1889; the completely invented twenty-fifth imperial wedding anniversary of 1894, in direct imitation of Western jubilees; the utterly nontraditional marriage of the crown prince in 1900; enshrinement ceremonies at the

newly created Yasukuni shrine; the 1905 naval review, viewed by a million people; the 1906 triumphal military review; the 1912 funeral of the Emperor Meiji, also an "unprecedented ceremony" that linked the mortal emperor to the immortal emperorship in a Japanese adaptation of the Western theory of the "king's two bodies." The pattern for almost all imperial ceremonies was the "invisible" performance of rituals in the palace sanctuaries followed by "visible" public ceremonies. Such "mystifying swirl[s] of analogous signs, meanings, and values, as well as their opposites" were to "fashion an image of the monarch as Overseer" (pp. 103, 104).

Part three assesses, again with humor and bite, the interaction between imperial pageantry and the people: pageants as national communions and as vehicles for mobilizing the masses (not always successfully). Modern technology and modern monarchy reinforced each other, blending popular folklore and the official folklore of the regime and transforming both. Fujitani's epilogue is a tantalizing, but in my opinion unacceptably cursory, survey of the imperial institution's ceremonies from 1912 to the present. No mention is made of the Emperor Taishō's debilities and how they might have affected imperial pageantry from 1912 to 1926. Given the kaleidoscopic nature of politics and society at that time, the popular "voyeurism" that Fujitani sees as replacing the "imperial gaze" after 1945 might well have surfaced during Taishō's reign. One hopes for a sequel in which Fujitani deals with imperial ceremonies after 1912 in the same masterful way that he has done for the Meiji period.

In chapter five of his book, Fujitani comments on the challenges posed by two new religions to the regime's efforts to monopolize imperial symbols. Garon deals directly with the new religions in prewar Japan (excluding, however, the Sōka Gakkai) and the efforts of the established religions (including Christianity) in collaboration with the state to control "heterodoxy" (chapter two) and to manage spiritual life in postwar Japan (chapter seven). These two chapters are part of a larger historical analysis of social management and moral suasion campaigns involving welfare and the roles of women from the Meiji period to the present. While Fujitani points to the role of the "vast network of governmental institutions and nationalizing local elites" (p. 214) in mobilizing the people, Garon analyzes how this was done, particularly after the arrival of the masses onto the stage of history at the turn of the century increasingly prompted massive state-society efforts to integrate the people as active participants in a modern nation state. Discovering the roots of moral suasion techniques in the Tokugawa period, Garon persuasively argues that they were reshaped into massive national efforts between 1868 and 1945 (part one) and that moral suasion campaigns were effectively revived in postwar Japan, particularly during the Allied Occupation (1945–1952) and the ensuing economic miracle (part two).

Stressing continuities rather than discontinuities,

Garon argues that "modernization and Westernization reshaped, rather than eliminated orthodox norms in Japan following the Meiji Restoration" (p. 6). For example, the Home Ministry's Local Improvement Campaign of 1906–1918 employed the emphases on diligence, thrift, mutual assistance and "self help" promoted by the Tokugawa reformer Ninomiya Sontoku (1787–1856). That campaign and subsequent Japanese-style welfare policies were based on critical evaluations of British poor relief and Otto von Bismarck's social policies, among others. Women were to become active as "good wives and wise mothers" in welfare and other community campaigns. Garon's analysis chronicles the enhanced and changing but highly gendered roles of women as participants in Japan's modern transformation, a seriously neglected area of modern Japanese history. Along with "local notables," women in prewar Japan increasingly served as "relief" and then "district" counselors and "unpaid volunteers" in prewar government campaigns that assumed monumental proportions under Home Ministry direction after the undeclared war with China began in 1937. Women, cooperating *and* contending with the state, were and continue to be major actors in modern Japan, more as social managers than as officials and politicians holding formal offices in the male-dominated Japanese state. The established religions in prewar Japan had a similar interactive relation with the state.

Garon relentlessly pursues his theme of an interactive state in all its historical manifestations as Japan coped with the severe community disruptions caused by urbanization, population growth, and industrialization—perhaps too much so. Social management was revived after 1945 (e.g., the New Life Campaigns under Katayama Tetsu in 1948 and again in 1955 [pp. 167–72]). However, the all-powerful Home Ministry that had spearheaded social mobilization, backed by its extensive police and thought control mechanisms, was abolished in 1947. Moral suasion campaigns were entrusted to a much weaker Ministry of Education (p. 157). After the economic miracle, Japan has maintained extensive state and society interaction, but with far less state "guidance" and far more energetic socio-economic input "from below." And if Yamazaki Masakazu (*Individualism and the Japanese* [1994]) is right, the vertical fictive family organizations (*iemoto seido*) that were so effective in mobilizing a modernizing Japan, including Japan's spectacular recovery from defeat in World War II, are now dysfunctional in a fully modern but still very Japanese Japan. Egalitarian associations, unleashing individual and collective creativity, are increasingly salient and government increasingly reactive in providing arenas for society's initiatives rather than the state's.

Garon notes that state-religion relations have undergone "the clearest signs of rupture with the pre-surrender past" (p. 296). The 1995 revision of the 1951 Religious Corporations Law, both a far cry from prewar controls, was stimulated by Aum Shinrikyō's

subway terrorism in March 1995 (pp. 211–15). State control over murder committed by a new religion is vastly different from the savagery visited by the state upon Ōmotokyō in 1935 (pp. 72–78) and “[i]t is difficult to fathom what it was about these hapless [prewar] new religions that so threatened the state” (p. 76).

Perhaps, to exaggerate more than slightly, in today’s Japan it is the state that is becoming “hapless.” The “emperor’s gaze” no longer disciplines. “Administrative guidance” is no longer effective in mobilizing society. Japan remains Japan, as both Fujitani and Garon demonstrate. But the vectors of the prewar state-society relation, however interactive, have been reversed, and social relations themselves appear to be undergoing marked change, Japanese style. Prewar imperial rhetoric is all but gone. And moral suasion by the government may be becoming little more than rhetoric.

DAVID A. TITUS
Wesleyan University

GI-WOOK SHIN. *Peasant Protest and Social Change in Colonial Korea*. (Korean Studies of the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 234. \$40.00.

This book is a work of sterling scholarship—original, thorough, meticulous, sharply focused, cogently reasoned, and precise in expression. Despite its slender size, it is a weighty and groundbreaking study that not only illuminates many aspects of the history of modern rural Korea but also questions and alters some well-known perceptions relating to the role of peasants in shaping their own history.

Gi-Wook Shin’s work is part of a salutary new trend in Asian historiography that has been gaining momentum during the last two decades. Loosely referred to as “subaltern studies” (although Shin does not use this expression himself), this new method of inquiry offers a much-needed corrective to “bird’s eye-view” visions of history that have often stressed the roles of grand ideologies, structural factors, great leaders, and elite forces. The subaltern-studies approach rather mobilizes a combination of ground-level experiences and data to demonstrate, through finely honed analyses, that, contrary to conventional narratives, many of the upheavals in the recent past of Asia have been the handiwork of very ordinary people with very ordinary goals. This new focus demands inclusion and completeness, diversity, and nuance.

Shin does a splendid job of adding such inclusion and nuance to the narratives of peasant protests in colonial Korea as well as during the immediate years following Japan’s defeat and Korea’s liberation and division. Employing a confident yet non-strident tone born of his mastery of unimpeachable data gathered from statistics, laws, official reports, newspaper coverage, and some private recollections, he walks the reader through all sub-periods and important locales

of early twentieth-century Korea to show the voluntarism of peasant groups as forceful and compelling agents of change on their own behalf. They were never passive forces susceptible to mobilization by either the moderate nationalist elite or the radical Marxist elite but often made rational choices based on their own complex class and local economic interests.

Depending on period and geographical context, peasant groups took action on issues as narrow as rent terms and tenancy contracts directed against Korean and Japanese landlords and as broad as modern social and political rights directed against the colonial state. As each situation warranted, they used defensive or offensive strategies and violent or legal means to gain their objectives. Their motives and choices were not entirely devoid of an ideological, especially leftist, coloration, but their overall orientation was local and pragmatic, not national or abstract.

Several other important conclusions emerge from Shin’s investigations. First, although the peasants developed a strong class consciousness, it was based on a complex class differentiation. Tenants, part-owners, and middle peasants were, for example, discrete groups, not indistinct constituents of “the broad masses.” Second, with support from the colonial state, at least until the start of the war, against both Korean and Japanese landlords, peasants achieved much success in their campaigns for rent decreases and secure tenancy contracts. Through this process, they contributed much to the colonial-era reduction in the size of the landlord class and its virtual elimination later through postwar land reforms. (This discovery of the colonial government’s pro-peasant and anti-landlord stance is sure to vex both the Marxist and “nationalist” historians on the peninsula.) Third, it was not the risk-averse poor peasants who often led or actively participated in protest activity but the relatively better off and literate middle peasants able to make bolder choices who spearheaded the campaigns. Shin completely demolishes the theory, at least as applied to early twentieth-century Korea, that pauperization inevitably turns peasants into revolutionaries.

The sense of efficacy and confidence experienced by Korean peasants over an extended period of time during the colonial era naturally made them active champions of full-fledged land reform after liberation. The successes and tragedies marking that story have been examined before, but Shin adds excellent historical depth for a fuller understanding.

Although the book has other virtues that could be mentioned here, space limitations require me to mention two problems that weaken the power of this otherwise stimulating study. First, one wonders why, in a work on peasant rationality and voluntarism, there are few extended human profiles; the book is too heavily geared toward statistics and charts. Second, the author’s insistence on mathematical precision in analysis at times produces sentences that not only tax one’s patience in the extreme but also transform his prose into a vacuous form of mathematical reductionism if

not intellectual gobbledygook. Here is one representative example: "First, logic coefficients of both the dispute number and success become statistically non-significant at $\alpha = .10$ after introducing the organization variable (the radicalism effect non-significant at $\alpha = .20$)" (p. 165).

I'll take my $E = mc^2$ physics any day over this kind of mathematical sociology! Still, the rest of the book remains a work of lucid ideas.

VIPAN CHANDRA
Wheaton College,
Norton, Mass.

MARK McKENNA. *The Captive Republic: A History of Republicanism in Australia 1788–1996*. (Studies in Australian History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 334. \$64.95.

BRUCE SCATES. *A New Australia: Citizenship, Radicalism and the First Republic*. (Studies in Australian History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. vii, 261. Cloth \$64.95, paper \$22.95.

Mark McKenna concludes the first scholarly history of Australian republicanism with the suggestion that his book is really an account of the prehistory of republican Australia. It has, he tells us, always been assumed in debate that one day Australia would be a republic, as the child nation became adult. McKenna clearly believes that Australia will become a republic in the twenty-first century; the vexed question is, what sort of republic will it be? Will the political reform that Australians are to vote on in the new century introduce a "minimalist" or a "maximalist" republic? The protagonists of "minimalism," which would replace the queen with an Australian president and change the constitution only to that extent, seem to have won out. In Febvrian fashion, McKenna's pathbreaking research began with this question. He expected to find that what Australians called republicanism would be a minor theme in Australian history, but he found instead that it was much discussed in the nineteenth century, albeit in a particularly idiosyncratic fashion. Using a wide definition based on the multiple uses prevalent since white settlement in 1788, McKenna shows convincingly that republicanism has been a major theme in political debate throughout Australian history, even when silenced on the principle of *quieta non movere*, or, in its contemporary version, "if it ain't broke don't fix it."

McKenna identifies two types of republicanism in Australian history. The first republicanism was a drive to obtain political rights that were anti-tyrannical rather than anti-monarchical, rights that had been obtained by Britons in 1688 and not in 1776 or 1789 or even 1848. Once these were apparently obtained in the colonial constitutions of the 1850s, a second republicanism, which focused on the assertion of independence from the crown, emerged and endures to this day. The classic concern for institutions of government

that guarantee the common good is not central to the second type.

McKenna begins his history in New South Wales, with the tale of John Boston's pig. Boston was a republican whose pig was shot in 1795 in the course of depredations of an army officer's garden. Supposedly it had engaged in "levelling" practices. As McKenna informs us, thereafter the Australian solution to political reform was "to borrow from the example of the American revolution, even threaten separation [from Britain] . . . but maintain your faith in the principles of the English constitution" (p. 17), which did not endorse levelling. The object was to make Australia a New Britannia. Henry Parkes, father of federation, harked back to 1649 as a firebrand youth but excelled in professions of loyalty to all things British as he made his political career. By 1901, the choice of the name Commonwealth of Australia for the federation caused controversy because of the Cromwellian overtones.

The French and American examples of what a republic required in practice were extolled in Australia only by isolated figures like John Dunmore Lang, whose *Peace and Freedom for the Golden Lands of Australia* (1852) was the most sophisticated text on the political theory of republicanism to be written in the nineteenth century. Lang's concern to establish the institutions and practices necessary to secure "power from below," which Hans Kelsen identified as essential to any vision of a non-tyrannical modern state, was unusual. In the second half of the nineteenth century, republicanism became associated with many positions taken against the status quo and above all with a growing sense of national identity. This was exemplified by the imperial interdiction of Queensland's pretensions to occupy New Guinea.

Despite the deficiencies in Australian political institutions, republicanism did not generate a real debate about the adequacy of such institutions to ensure the common good. Even the occasional call for separation, heard since the 1890s, usually ended practically with measures like Gough Whitlam's repatriation of the monarch (who, since 1973, is officially queen of Australia). McKenna sums up the feeling throughout this century about people who wanted more than national independence in epithets (used about such republicans in 1977) such as "ratbags," "larrikins," "louts," "Marxists," "rootless intellectuals," "mental midgets," and "pseudo academics" (p. 234). By the time a majority of Australians declared themselves in favor of a republic in 1991, the debate had been reduced to whether Australia should have a monarch or a president.

McKenna's book is essential reading for students of the comparative history of republicanism who wish to understand how little can hide under a noble concept. It reveals how Anglocentric and provincial Australian political debate has been and still is. McKenna does not discuss at length the sources of inspiration of republicans and anti-republicans, although he has a sophisticated understanding of the wider issues which that debate raises. It is striking, however, that the

political myopia that limited early republicanism to attaining the rights Britons had attained by 1689 meant revulsion against French political principles and only a unilateral understanding of the American Federalists. Thomas Jefferson does not appear in the index, and although Thomas Paine does, most references are to passages in which he is reviled.

In contrast to McKenna's book, Bruce Scates focuses on the socialist sects of the 1890s. His book is a social history of these sects that examines their sources of inspiration (Scates attempts to trace their reading rather unsatisfactorily), their contradictory professions and practices about gender difference, and their failed utopian experiments in farming. Scates provides much interesting and little-known information about socialist village settlements like those at Kardella and Murtho. He rounds off this rather eclectic history with a chapter on the lives of unemployed socialists.

The material discussed is too disparate to form a coherent history. Scates genuflects too often to local and international luminaries. This results in an irritating stylistic—"as so and so has said"—whose deference hides more than a little political correctness. Unfortunately, however, the views of Scates's subjects cannot always be reconciled. Finally, Cambridge University Press has overlooked too many typographical errors. Scholarly standards suffer when such well-known figures as Ralph Miliband and Charles Tilly become "Milibrand" and "Tilley."

ALASTAIR DAVIDSON

Swinburne University of Technology

VERITY BURGMANN, *Revolutionary Industrial Unionism: The Industrial Workers of the World in Australia*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995. Pp. xii, 346. \$59.95.

Pat, a Wobbly I once interviewed, had worked as a cook on freighters between the wars. He had been a member of one of the Industrial Workers of the World's (IWW) most powerful unions, the Marine Transport Industrial Union, and had traveled the "red route," the legendary port cities of the IWW's foreign administration scattered across the globe. Pat's stories were about shipping out of Tampico and the ports between Mexico and Sidney. His stories revealed the range and reach of the IWW in its heyday as well as the postwar years and depression. For the most part, this side of the IWW history is virtually unknown. Few scholars have tackled the history of the IWW's foreign administrations. Verity Burgmann's book addresses this gap; drawn from personal papers, memoirs, notebooks, prison letters and "a Wobbly scrapbook unearthed from a garage in Sidney" (p. 10), the book makes an important contribution to the historiography of the Australian IWW.

Burgmann brings new material and a fresh perspective to the study of industrial unionism by examining the important differences between the Australian IWW and the American IWW. In contrast to the

situation in the United States, Australia lacked a large body of unorganized unskilled immigrant workers; it had a working class organized, for the most part, into craft unions, a powerful labor party, and an elaborate system of arbitration courts. These differences influenced the ways that revolutionary industrial unionism affected the Australian labor movement, rendering "the Australian example more modern and relevant to the experience of working-class and other activists today" (p. 7).

Burgmann uses the comparative perspective she develops to examine issues of race, gender, and nationalism within the Australian IWW. She argues that the IWW prompted Australian socialists to reconsider their attitudes toward working-class racism and encouraged for the first time within the Australian labor movement a coherent, anti-racist viewpoint. Burgmann sees this viewpoint extending to "other divisive ideologies such as imperial patriotism and nationalism" (p. 86). Yet while much anti-racist rhetoric expressed regret for the plight of Aborigines, the IWW wrongly judged the issue as lacking industrial significance. Although critical of the IWW's "unconscious gendered political personality" (p. 110), Burgmann argues that the IWW has been criticized to the point of obscuring its anti-sexist side. She essentially argues that it was industrial unionism that initiated these changes in the Australian labor movement but unfortunately does not elaborate on the ways that the IWW expressed an oppositional masculinity, nor does she analyze IWW attitudes toward Australia's aboriginal population in any depth.

Burgmann's use of a comparative perspective is both the strength and weakness of this book. The role played by anarchists and the struggles between syndicalism and anarchism that were so central to the development of the Chicago IWW are dispensed with quickly. "The I.W.W. Manifesto," Burgmann writes, "clearly reflected a Marxist world vision, which IWW theorists such as Trautmann and Hagerty had derived from books" (pp. 43–44). Thomas J. Hagerty, an anarcho-syndicalist and early architect of industrial unionism, had worked tirelessly in defense of the Haymarket martyrs. At the IWW's founding convention, Hagerty emphasized the Spanish example of industrial unionism, invoking the wider movement's debt to European anarcho-syndicalists. Hagerty as well as the other anarchists who played instrumental roles in the development of the industrial union movement in the United States saw the IWW as the rebirth of the "Chicago idea."

Burgmann's study is in fact quite critical of anarchism and of the role of anarchists in the industrial union movement. "Unlike the anarchists," Burgmann concludes, "the Wobblies aspired to be organized" (p. 111). Burgmann does not see the important role played in the IWW by groups like *Tierra y Libertad*, *Germinal*, and *Gruppo Diretto all'Esistenza*. Groups like these formed the backbone of the IWW's foreign-language locals, maintained contact with their home

countries, and were anarcho-socialist, anarcho-syndicalist, or anarcho-communist. Some had developed unions based on anarcho-syndicalist principles well in advance of the IWW. Anarcho-syndicalists, notably Carlo Tresca, Arturo Giovannitti, and Joseph Ettor played prominent roles in the IWW.

Although Burgmann adds much to the historiography on the Australian IWW, her book unfortunately repeats many of the misconceptions concerning the role of foreign influences in the American IWW and the impact of anarchists, not only on the birth of the revolutionary industrial union movement but also as architects of the IWW. Her study would have been strengthened by extending her comparative analysis to ask why anarchism was so important to the development of the revolutionary industrial movement and to the IWW in the United States but not in Australia. In reducing the IWW's political ideology to an expression of Marxism, Burgmann misses the complexity of that ideology. She also loses sight of the IWW's commitment to a revolutionary pluralism that was inclusive of many ideological tendencies, sometimes ones that engendered great conflict. This conflict was part of what ultimately made the movement so fiercely democratic and oppositional.

SALVATORE SALERNO
Macalester College

ALISON MACKINNON. *Love and Freedom: Professional Women and the Reshaping of Personal Life*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xvii, 298.

In her excellent study, Alison Mackinnon extends to Australia a literature that examines the lives of early women college graduates and their entrance into professional life. Mackinnon not only adds the experience of Australian women to that of the early graduates of Wellesley, Mount Holyoke, and Bryn Mawr Colleges in the United States, but she also adroitly pursues questions of subjectivity and the radical personal negotiations that characterized the lives of women in the early twentieth century.

An early chapter discusses the decline of the birthrate among educated, middle-class families and the resultant anxiety about the role of the "new woman." In an astute critique of the New South Wales Royal Commission report on the decline of the birthrate and the mortality of infants (1903), she illuminates the social biases it contained against emancipated women. She points to the specter of race suicide and other forms of decadence that the report raised and argues persuasively that women rejected these categories of selfishness and formulated their own counter-discourses, which emphasized autonomy and freedom, even as they bought into the idea of a racially pure Australia.

Mackinnon follows her analysis of the ideological assumptions of early twentieth-century male elites with a discussion of contemporary demographers' explanations of the decline of the birthrate in that period.

Mackinnon challenges their exclusive emphasis on economic forces and their total inattention to cultural factors, especially women's desire for self-determination and their deliberate actions to enhance control of their own fertility. According to Mackinnon, the claim of some educated women to self-determination—including the right to sexual expression, freedom from marriage and child-bearing, and a new balance of power between the sexes—was indeed a radical discourse that had a causal impact as significant as industrialization and urbanization in explaining a major shift in family size.

To explore women's subjective ideas, she uncovers the voices of women who fought adamantly for access to higher education, the right to develop effective careers, and the possibility of economic independence. In the period between 1880 and 1939, there was an intense reexamination of marriage in Australia, England, and the United States. Educated women led the debates, embarked on new forms of relationships, and developed the language by which women and men could discuss the new landscape of personal relations. The bulk of Mackinnon's book examines the Australian pioneers and their influence on women's renegotiation of love and freedom.

Education, paid work, and economic independence all furthered the possibility for some women to find meaningful lives outside of marriage and motherhood. The first generation of college graduates had the lowest marriage and fertility rates in the history of Australia. About half never married, and one quarter of the married women remained childless. Mackinnon's archival research revealed women who opted for a celibate life and others who developed lifelong romantic friendships with other women.

By the 1920s, the situation changed as educated women began to explore the possibility of combining careers and marriage. Mackinnon delineates the ways in which women had to create the language to rewrite their life scripts. Although there were a few successful pioneers, the language and structures for reinventing gender relationships were barely on the horizon and most women found the challenge overwhelming. Yet Mackinnon argues that the success of a privileged few left a blueprint for others to follow.

Mackinnon effectively analyzes the complexities in the changes that surrounded women's lives and is unwilling to accept easy answers. Her book contains a fine discussion, for example, of the consequences of sexology, the modern study of sexuality that became so popular after World War I. She points out that the work of the leading sexologists had the unfortunate effect of pathologizing homosexuality and challenging the acceptability of woman-centered relationships. But she also recognizes the positive consequences of the new sexology. "On the one hand it forced unmarried women on to the defensive. On the other it provided a language in which heterosexual women could voice demands for their sexual pleasure" (p. 151).

The book's final chapter, which focuses on the

contemporary period, addresses the challenges for young women who seek to combine fulfilling, egalitarian marriages with meaningful personal autonomy. Mackinnon reminds us that today's women "are free to live within or outside marriage, to bear children in or out of wedlock, to walk away from an unhappy partnership . . . But can they escape, as many confidently expect to do, the pitfalls of romantic love, the tug of children's tears, the intransigence of our institutions?" (p. 243).

Mackinnon has made an excellent contribution to women's history and to the history of work and family. Her book is significant for all who are interested in the lives of women in the Anglophone world. The questions she raises about marriage, motherhood, and autonomy remain as relevant today as they were a century ago.

PENINA MIGDAL GLAZER
Hampshire College

ANNE KILLALEA. *The Great Scourge: The Tasmanian Infantile Paralysis Epidemic 1937-1938*. Sandy Bay: Tasmanian Historical Research Association. 1995. Pp. x, 165. \$A20.00.

This book by Anne Killalea is an account of a severe epidemic in a small, relatively isolated community and the medical, political, and parochial issues that the epidemic engendered. The epidemic was poliomyelitis, the place Tasmania, and the time 1937-1938.

The book starts with a background account of polio: the history of the disease, the etiological agent, and its clinical features, treatment, and management. Special mention is made of the "Kenny Method" utilizing "controlled exercise" as opposed to "enforced immobilisation" (p. 9). Next, an overview is given of Tasmania and why it was at special risk at that time. It was, in fact, the ideal setting for such an outbreak. This sets the scene for the arrival of the disease and the community, political, and medical issues that predated the actual outbreak of the epidemic in late 1937.

Killalea's account is fascinating in that many of what were then medical controversies (such as the actual extent of the infection as opposed to the number of clinical cases diagnosed and the high intrafamilial rate of infection) can be understood in retrospect with the advantage of medical knowledge gained in later years with respect to the virus, its transmission, and the use of serology to determine the extent of subclinical cases in a community. It is also interesting that similar parochial North-South attitudes in relation to medical services and other issues bedevil the island of Tasmania to this day.

The book next moves to the actual epidemic, described by the author as "almost the largest in the world" (p. 42) with a case rate of 421 per 100,000 and a death rate of 8.1 percent (p. 43). Killalea looks at the epidemic through descriptions of the medical facilities of the day, the community response, and the personalities involved. She analyzes the epidemic and its

after-effects, covering the great dedication of some and the self-seeking attitudes of others in relation to fund raising. She describes the postrecovery problems experienced by the victims of polio on their return home, often with severe debilitating physical problems and, in recent times, the "post polio syndrome" (p. 133).

Overall, the book is well researched, referenced, and illustrated with period photographs. The study is timely in that some of the people involved are still alive, allowing personal accounts to be incorporated. As Killalea says, bearing in mind the extent of the epidemic, it is surprising that such an in-depth study took so long to appear. As an addendum, it is worth noting that, in the 1950s, Tasmania was the first state in Australia to introduce the Sabin oral polio vaccine.

JOHN M. GOLDSMID
University of Tasmania

MICHAEL N. PEARSON. *Pilgrimage to Mecca: The Indian Experience, 1500-1800*. Princeton: Markus Wiener. 1996. Pp. x, 272. Cloth \$34.95, paper \$16.95.

For over a millennium, the pilgrimage to Mecca has been the world's largest routine gathering of people for any purpose. Yet despite repeated calls for a study of the significance of Islam's central rite for South Asians, who comprise a third of the world's Muslim population, this book by Michael N. Pearson is the first monograph to address the topic. Its chronological limits extend from the early sixteenth century, with the rise of Portuguese sea power and Mughal land power, to the decline of the Mughals in the late eighteenth century. An economic historian, Pearson describes himself as a "sympathetic *farangi* [Westerner]" (p. 6) who would stress the pilgrimage's religious basis while challenging Orientalist stereotypes of the *hajj* as primarily a great market. This is tricky, however, as Pearson's sources are mainly European and, as Pearson admits, either indifferent or hostile toward all things Islamic.

Chapter two surveys the principal rites of the pilgrimage and estimates that 15,000 Indian Muslims annually made the *hajj* during the three centuries covered in this study. Chapter three explores the institution's various religious effects on returning Indo-Muslim pilgrims. Significant here are references to Muslims who sailed from Mecca to Malabar in the sixteenth century and preached among Indians whom Jesuit observers described as culturally "almost *tabula rasa*" (pp. 74, 76). This would suggest that, here as elsewhere in South Asia, Islamization occurred not among classes already well integrated into the formal Hindu socioreligious order but among those only partially or not at all so integrated.

Chapter four examines the politics of the *hajj* from three perspectives: that of Mecca, whose *sharif* claimed descent from the Prophet's son-in-law 'Ali and who reaped enormous personal profits from his control of the city; that of the imperial Ottomans, who from 1516

patronized the pilgrimage in order to enhance their own claims to political legitimacy in the region; and that of the various naval powers on the Arabian Sea, especially the Portuguese. Pearson convincingly shows that despite the Catholic Church's anti-Muslim rhetoric, Portuguese secular authorities never interfered with the passage of Indian pilgrims to Mecca, preferring to tax rather than to prohibit such traffic (pp. 94–99). Nonetheless, Mughal rulers perceived Portuguese maritime hegemony as threatening pilgrimage routes between Gujarat and the Red Sea, and the otherwise liberal Emperor Akbar even proclaimed the need to destroy “the Feringhi infidels” (p. 102). Chapter five explores how Indo-Muslim rulers patronized both pilgrims and Arabia's holy cities, and especially how they used the *hajj* institution for disposing of real or potential dissidents at home.

Finally, chapters six, seven, and eight examine the economics of the pilgrimage, arguing that although the Meccan economy was thoroughly dependent on the pilgrimage traffic, religion and commerce did not coincide in the larger, maritime Islamic world. Inasmuch as the sailing seasons were governed by the monsoons (and hence the solar calendar) and the pilgrimage season by the lunar calendar, “the sea trade simply could not fit the times of the *hajj*” (p. 165). The inference: *hajj* traffic must be explained on religious, not economic, grounds.

Pearson concludes by probing the religious meaning of the *hajj*. Here he disputes Victor Turner's understanding of the religious pilgrimage as some sort of free-floating, liminal state that transports participants beyond their normal social norms, arguing instead that social distinctions were in fact observed in Mecca, where “each national group has its own broker who guides the pilgrim through the strictly defined rituals” (p. 197). This important observation—drawn not from the premodern period, however, but from evidence from the 1990s—would suggest that national or regional mechanisms served to mediate Islam's most central rite. Yet Pearson's critique of Turner is ironic. Even while rejecting the anthropologist's structuralist arguments respecting the meaning of religious pilgrimage in general, Pearson's method of citing evidence reflects his own structuralist and hence ahistorical understandings of the *hajj*. Shuttling back and forth through time and indiscriminately citing sources datable to anywhere between the eighth and twentieth centuries (even though the book is purportedly confined to the period 1500–1800), Pearson seems to suggest that nothing respecting the *hajj* ever changed at all. It is this lack of a sense of movement or dynamics that is most troubling in Pearson's interpretation of the *hajj* as a historical phenomenon.

Lesser problems also mar the study, which would have benefited from maps indicating overland and maritime pilgrimage routes, as well as an index and sources for the illustrations that accompany each chapter. Nonetheless, this book should stimulate fur-

ther research and more comparisons with other forms of pilgrimage.

RICHARD M. EATON
University of Arizona

SHAHID AMIN. *Event, Metaphor, Memory: Chauri Chaura 1922–1992*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 256. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$15.00.

How does a historian who wishes to avoid constructing or contributing to “the master narrative” write history? To this ambitious question, Shahid Amin directs his analysis of an anti-police riot that occurred, during the Indian 1922 nationalist movement, in a small north Indian urban center called Chauri Chaura. The event “Chauri Chaura” figures large in nationalist history, as it prompted Mohandas K. Gandhi to judge Indians not yet “ready” to demand independence nonviolently. As Amin puts it, “the interest of my story lies in the entanglement of a local affair with the affairs of Indian nationalism—as ideology, as practice, as history” (p. 11). Among the most creative intellects of the founding collective of the subaltern school, Amin illustrates in this work both the challenges and the pitfalls of his pioneering methodology.

Innovation begins with the very structure of the book. Brief contextualization takes place in the first two of five sections, where Amin discusses multiple viewpoints and the place of the event at Chauri Chaura in nationalist history, recounts the events themselves, and analyzes the market town's emergence in the late nineteenth century. Part three juxtaposes a number of constructions of the event, beginning with rumors and newspaper accounts and moving through contradictory nationalist versions (shaped by whether they reflected local interests or all-India ones). Part four examines the way the prosecution shaped the case to argue that this event was a criminal—not a political—act. Central to that strategy was use of the “approver,” a participant in the event who can be shown to be fully implicated, who then testifies for the government. Also key is the story constructed by the prosecution, with its selection of particular starting and ending points and its focus on certain actors, causes, and outcomes. The longest section, part five tells the story from the viewpoint of family members of the “otiyars” (a creolized pronunciation of “volunteer”), illustrating the variances within the localized understanding of the event and between that viewpoint and the state's and nationalist's versions.

As this description suggests, the project's presentation, methods, selection of source materials, and analysis are highly original. The very ambitiousness of the effort no doubt prompts me to ask tougher questions than would a more modest project. Nevertheless, Amin undermines many of his goals by his very strategies of presentation, and because these relate to the larger scholarly issues animating the project, they are worth dealing with at some length.

Perhaps the most troublesome shortcoming is that the author makes no effort to bridge the gap between his material and his audiences. A paperback print-run suggests two audiences in America: undergraduate readers and/or those historians who work on other regions. Amin's unwillingness to explicate the larger context of modern Indian history or the significance and meaning of specific points he makes, as well as his wild chronological swings from short chapter to chapter, make it difficult even for those familiar with South Asia to contextualize the material. For those who are unfamiliar, the task is even more intimidating. Amin's refusal thus undermines the very point of his project, because it is only possible for readers to treat these issues with sophistication when they have knowledge and pointers from which to work.

Related to this shortcoming is the fact that Amin does not explicate in direct, clear language the issue of multiple narratives. Much attention is devoted to the attempts by the state, and by the leaders of the nationalist movement, to impose a single understanding on the events at Chauri Chaura. Amin also identifies contradictory constructions of the events by local nationalists and, at least later, by the relatives of the participants. But neither these latter two versions, nor the implications of the interactions of all four versions, are explored explicitly enough to convey (especially to American undergraduates) the larger analytical point of the study.

One suspects that this last failing is not coincidental but intrinsic to the very nature of the subaltern school's project. From the beginning, readers have been asking the collective, "just where is the subaltern voice?" When one seeks the answer to that question in Amin's study, one finds little that helps. The implication in Chauri Chaura is that the *otiyars* (and, presumably, their families in the ensuing decades) are subalterns. But it is their voice that is most muted, most neglected. Amin pulls his punches each time he might truly grapple with these actors. For example, what are the implications to Amin's search for narratives of the fact that many *otiyars'* relatives, while telling the author their stories, simultaneously sought from the state a newly offered form of compensation to the families of those executed?

Overall, then, one comes away from this book with strong interest and stronger disappointment. Unsuccessful with American undergraduates (in ways that the article that serves as the basis of chapter eleven was not), the book will also be hard work for nonspecialists. Regrettably, the promise of its conception, goals, and methods was not fulfilled in its execution.

SANDRIA B. FREITAG

American Historical Association

UNITED STATES

ROGERS M. SMITH. *Civil Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in U.S. History*. (The Yale ISPS Series.)

New Haven: Yale University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 719. \$35.00.

Rogers M. Smith believes in a multiple traditions view of American political development in which political actors have always promoted civic ideologies that blend liberal, democratic, republican, and inegalitarian elements in various combinations designed to be politically popular. American citizenship laws have emerged as none-too-coherent compromises among the distinct mixes of civic conception advanced by the more powerful actors in different eras. Citizenship laws are responses crafted by aspirants to power to foster myths of civic identity that express ideology while embracing their constituents.

Smith's historical treatment of citizenship and ideology begins in the colonial period and concludes with America in Theodore Roosevelt's times. He believes that, after the Progressive period, more freedom and equality were posited for those who were worthy, while women, the poorer classes, and the nonwhite races were to be subordinated for the foreseeable future. Inegalitarian doctrines of race, gender, and cultural superiority maintained their vitality. Reformulated like the nation's liberal and republican traditions in light of contemporary developments, they continued to provide powerful narratives of distinctive national worth and successful conceptions of civic identity throughout the twentieth century.

Smith analyzes the views of Alexis de Tocqueville; the claim of Louis Hartz that American thought has always been dominated by a liberal political ideology resembling the thought of John Locke; and the argument of Bernard Bailyn, Gordon Wood, J. G. A. Pocock and others that the United States has been shaped by traditions of republicanism instead of Lockean liberalism. He also analyzes the communitarian theory that modern America is dominated by an individualistic liberal philosophy but that republican traditions are a better basis for an American public philosophy.

Smith decided to study citizenship laws to assess how well definitions of American citizenship and who may possess it conformed with any of these ideologies. Patterns of citizenship laws might show how liberal, republican, or communitarian American political culture really has been during different periods. Based on his research, Smith concluded that although many different elements were visible, much of the history of American citizenship laws fit none of these formulations. Rather, American law has long reflected forms of second-class citizenship, denying personal opportunities and liberties for political participation to most of the adult population on the basis of race, ethnicity, gender, and even religion. There were elements in liberal and republican thinking, particularly the republican stress on a homogeneous and martial citizenry, that Americans used to justify some forms of civic inequality. But many of the restrictions on immigration, naturalization, and equal citizenship seemed to

express views of American civic identity that did not feature either individual rights or membership in a republic. They manifested passionate beliefs that America was by rights a white, Protestant nation whose true citizens were native-born men with Anglo-Saxon ancestors.

Smith essentially takes a long and winding road to the conclusions—already documented by historians—that myth and stereotypes have been effectively used by those who have the power to define and confine groups of people. He adds to the discussion an analysis of about 2,500 cases and the statutes concerning citizenship collected, in part, through the computerized databases of Lexis and Westlaw. He analyzes citizenship laws contextualized in various periods of history to show the doctrines routinely utilized to express what constitutes America's civic identity.

Smith's conclusion that multiple traditions account for the decisions and statutes he surveyed and not just republican, liberal, or communitarian ideologies does not deprive liberalism, however. He advances a defense of liberal ideology and institutions that does not engage either the theories of Martha Fineman and other feminist legal scholars or the path-breaking work of Carroll Smith-Rosenberg and other historians on citizenship, race, gender, and class, which has documented the inherent illiberalism of liberal ideology. Instead, Smith comfortably theorizes that it makes better sense to see liberalism and patriarchal beliefs or racial ascription as separate systems of ideas. These notions permit him to emphasize the material and moral attractions of liberal democratic ideals and institutions in checking the power of inequality. He argues for a civic identity built on the notion that Americans are a people with powerful liberal and democratic traditions and achievements of which they can justly be proud, but with many conflicting behaviors. He cites examples from Jacksonian Democrats who appeared racist, radically libertarian, and militantly republican to Reconstruction reforms such as schools arising along with resurgent black suppression and white racism. Smith's monumental work is well worth reading for its analysis of citizenship case law alone. In addition, any believer in multiple causation, as surely we all are, cannot help but find his multiple traditions theorizing persuasive.

MARY FRANCES BERRY
University of Pennsylvania

GREGORY S. ALEXANDER. *Commodity and Propriety: Competing Visions of Property in American Legal Thought, 1776–1970*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1997. Pp. x, 486. \$39.95.

This important and generally well-executed book by Gregory S. Alexander follows the development of theories of property rights in the United States from early nationhood until 1970. The structure is topical, with intense coverage of some subjects, such as the Married Women's Property acts and Fugitive Slave

law, but virtually no coverage of such things as distribution of western lands, the development of landlord-tenant law, or intellectual property. Although a central feature of this book is the relationship between individual property rights and state power, there is no systematic treatment of eminent domain or the variety of regulatory takings cases that began to engage the Supreme Court soon after the Civil War.

Alexander is a thoughtful writer, and his work is full of rich insights. He faults the theory of property rights that prevails in the United States today for unselfconsciously treating property as a commodity to be bought and sold but rarely to be regulated, and certainly not for some generalized notion of the public good. He observes that the Republican vision of property rights was notable for its hostility toward feudalism and its use of a theory of property in defense of expanded political participation. Property ownership was an expression of individual virtue for the benefit of the community. For example, Thomas Jefferson believed that the unequal ownership of property in England had accounted for much of that nation's political decline. By contrast, Federalists such as Alexander Hamilton tended to see property as a commodity whose principal purpose was to produce wealth, whether by production or exchange.

The strongest part of Alexander's book covers the early nineteenth century. He explains how Republican virtue-through-ownership and Federalist property-as-commerce were welded together in the increasingly technical writing of the 1810s and 1820s. Although the Republican vision always emphasized the good of the community, the result was never as radical as socialism or even more limited forms of common ownership. Rather, the emergent regime emphasized legal rules that encouraged the free alienability of land and limitations on the "dead hand," or the ability of a person of wealth to keep it in the family after his death. Indeed, the solution that emerged was to look for equality in the market, which particularly Jacksonians saw as the abiding equalizer. If everyone had the same unrestrained ability to buy, use, and sell, feudal special privilege would be abolished. But as Alexander points out in a variety of contexts, simply making property more readily transferable does nothing to ensure that it will be evenly distributed. Indeed, free transfer might simply accelerate the acquisitions of the rich.

Alexander's rehabilitation of James Kent is a brilliant and effective remedy for anyone who sees Kent as the sometimes Tory, ultra-conservative, and generally uncreative reactionary that he is often presented to be. He was, of course, conservative, particularly in his views about democracy and the state. His views on property largely rejected the civic, public-regarding notions of the Jeffersonians. But his emphasis on marketability and transferability prepared the way for the market revolution that took off in the 1820s. For Kent, marketability and the free alienability of land

were the key to historical progress and the sign that the nation had broken free of its feudal origins.

Alexander's chapter on the Married Women's Property acts is a fairly conventional but well done discussion of the numerous secondary authors who have analyzed them. The chapter on slave law does an admirable job of focusing the property rights theories of the two sides of the abolition debate. The Old South's defense of slavery lay in an essentially Republican vision of property as an expression of community and individual virtue—in this case, the public-regarding slave holder doing what is best for owner, free white laborer, and slave alike. By contrast, the antislavery rhetoric emphasized the slave as commodity to be purchased and sold at the master's will. When property in slaves came to be regarded as nothing more than commodification, then slavery itself became politically unacceptable.

The second half of Alexander's book faces the same problem that all legal and other intellectual historians confront: the recent landscape is both too rich and too cluttered. One must become more selective, and identifying a wax that binds seemingly diverse strands is difficult.

For all of its discussion of the role of economics, Alexander never develops the role of marginalism in American legal thought in the twentieth century. Marginalism revolutionized Anglo-American economics in the 1870s and now generally forms the boundary between what we call "classical" and "neoclassical" economics. It influenced legal thought significantly during early Progressivism, and many of the people whom Alexander discusses, such as John R. Commons, Richard T. Ely, and later Adolph Berle, were marginalists. Marginalism provided significantly greater coherence for American thought about policy than this book acknowledges. It at once explains the collapsing faith in the market, the revitalized interest in distribution of wealth, and the increased tendency to classify markets into those that could be expected to perform competitively and those that required governmental intervention.

But that criticism aside, this book makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the intricate and often enigmatic role that conceptions of property rights have played in our understanding of the state and democracy, of the individual and the community, and of wealth maximizing and public virtue. Anyone interested in one of these topics should read it.

HERBERT HOVENKAMP
University of Iowa

JAMES W. CEASER. *Reconstructing America: The Symbol of America in Modern Thought*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 292. \$30.00.

Three subjects vie for attention in this book, but they do not make for a satisfactory whole. James W. Ceaser takes as his subject the presentation of America by European thinkers over the last two and a half centu-

ries. He wants to show and to account for the prejudices that have placed America in so bad a light. He uses the Comte de Buffon, for example, to introduce the theme of degeneracy in the eighteenth century. As will often be the case, Ceaser locates and describes the American respondents, Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton in the case of Buffon. His extended discussion of the French and American revolutions turns up more prejudices, as the Europeans, and especially leftists, attributed a greater significance to the French Revolution. Ceaser also focuses on Arthur, Comte de Gobineau and his American disciples; Oswald Spengler; Martin Heidegger; and Jean Baudrillard.

There is much of interest in this treatment. Ceaser helps us to understand why different phases of intellectual history—the Enlightenment, romanticism, postmodernism—made different constructions of America. The discussion of Heidegger, a critical figure in the contemporary polemics, is particularly informative. Ceaser also provides a useful thematic structure for this part of the book. We move from America as degeneration, with a focus on environment and race, to the United States as modernity, emblem of science, technology, and materialism. Finally, in postmodernism, the United States becomes a metaphysical principle. To Heidegger, it represented the culminating defect in the Western intellect, traceable to Plato.

Ceaser, however, wants to pursue larger quarry. The parties he judges guilty of maligning America all have taken recourse to large cultural constructs. They have fashioned varieties of "metaphysical America" or "symbolic America." Vast distortions of reality result, he believes. Ceaser accuses the intellectuals of appropriating symbolic America for use in their own ideological and historical agendas. America thus assists in Gobineau's elitist and racist program or in Heidegger's assault on technology. These projects will always elevate culture, usually some aspect of American modernity, to primacy above all other aspects of American history and life. A shortsighted, prejudicial, and unrealistic presentation invariably follows, and Ceaser reacts with indignation.

Against these dangerous habits, Ceaser offers the antidote of "political science." But the term is used with an annoying vagueness throughout the book. We get the clearest sense of its meaning in the discussion of Alexis de Tocqueville and his case against Gobineau. Political science, it turns out, directs attention to the immediate and practical business of government. Ceaser thus poses "civilization" against "politics." One leads in the direction of grand, theoretical narrations and the other to the flux of experience and the imperatives of its successful management. Presumably, this opposition yields the positive picture of the United States as a liberal democracy that has fared well and endured. For Ceaser, the political and the cultural, as strategies of investigation, seem a rigid dualism. One excludes the other.

Why Ceaser bristles so at the cultural theorists

becomes clear when he turns his attention to the third subject in this book. Cultural analysis, he laments, has gained an ascendancy in the intellectual community and in the academy, triumphing over political science, and the heirs of the cultural critics of America are today's multiculturalists. Race and ethnicity have become the bearers of culture and its critical differentiations. Multiculturalists, Ceaser argues, have reestablished race as the central vehicle of American history and of personal identity, and "racial thinking" has reemerged as the common currency of intellectual discourse.

Ceaser's case has some merit; both liberals and conservatives have lamented the recent politics of race and ethnicity and the curricular restructuring that has marked its entry into higher education. But there are also problems with the argument. Ceaser assigns multiculturalism a place in the postmodernity project. Its partisans, he says, have joined in the case against the Enlightenment and its essentializing habits, its normative ideals that leave out or marginalize "the other." Focusing on the "victims" in society, the multiculturalists credit them with a superior perspective on conditions, a holistic advantage that brings all to light.

Ceaser misconstrues the real issues here. Instead of inveighing against postmodernism, he should invoke it. What could be more effective in deflating the pretensions of the large and overwrought theoretical projects and the metanarratives that this study deplores than the linguistic turn, the poststructuralist undertaking of the last few decades? "Political science" cannot, and need not, carry the singular burden of critique against the modern ideologies. Deconstruction, after all, put academic Marxism out of business in France. Ceaser has enemies worthy of his wrath, but he needs a larger arsenal to slay them. Lacking it, he offers only a diatribe in conclusion to this book.

J. DAVID HOEVELER, JR.
University of Wisconsin,
Milwaukee

PAUL A. C. KOISTINEN. *Beating Plowshares into Swords: The Political Economy of American Warfare, 1606–1865*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1996. Pp. xv, 376. \$39.95.

PAUL A. C. KOISTINEN. *Mobilizing for Modern War: The Political Economy of American Warfare, 1865–1919*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1997. Pp. xiii, 391. \$45.00.

As the dust jacket proclaims, Paul A. C. Koistinen has undertaken an ambitious task. In a projected five volumes, he seeks to provide a comprehensive study of the economics of American warfare from the colonial period to the present. The first two volumes, reviewed here, indicate the direction, the sources of information, and the interpretation intended for the whole work. Volume one treats the colonial, early national, and middle periods. Volume two picks up after the

Civil War and concludes in 1919. Volume three will cover the years between world wars (some scholars may question devoting so much space to that single period). Volume four will treat World War II, while a final volume will discuss everything since 1945 (organizationally sound, but perhaps too much ground to cover given the "militarization" of America in that period). As his standard introductory chapter in all the volumes will suggest, Koistinen focuses on several themes: the three defined stages of economic mobilization and the role of elites in economic mobilization.

Koistinen wants his project to stand as the definitive work on a complex subject that, until now, has been superficially treated or completely ignored. Koistinen himself has written a variety of essays and books on aspects of this subject in preparation for his multi-volume study. How appropriate for him now to finish his work during the post-Cold War downsizing of the so-called "military-industrial complex." It is also an era of relative peace, as America traditionally re-creates a "hollow" military establishment. Therefore, it seems to be a time for reflection if not re-education on what has made (to borrow Russell F. Weigley's appropriate phrase) an "American way of war." Koistinen will not focus on traditional military history of battlefields and commanders (or even the new social military history). Rather, if these two volumes are an indication, his field of strife will be what he defines as "the means the nation has employed to mobilize its economic resources for defense and hostilities" (*Beating Plowshares into Swords*, p. xi).

Current Department of Defense wisdom broadly embraces all of this under the rubric of "logistics." Koistinen's work relates far more to the development of resource elements of national power than to tactics, strategy, or resupply. Using a variety of sources (although more from available literature than the original data that he plumbed so well for previous essays and studies), the author analyzes how America has prepared and sustained itself for conflict. He correctly argues that to comprehend the process fully one must study the complex interrelationships among economic, political, and military institutions within the context of relentless modernization and technological innovation. Few people would dispute that argument, although to date, the immensity of the task has daunted all but a few like Koistinen. It may continue to do so, even for this author, when he reaches the fifty-year post-World War II period. (It certainly did William H. McNeill in his otherwise insightful *The Pursuit of Power* [1982]). Koistinen may wish to reconsider the proportions as his work progresses.

For now, however, we have two solid volumes in hand. The pre-industrial, emerging industrial, and prototypical military-industrial phases of Koistinen's story were hardly simplistic or any less interesting than the late twentieth century. In the first volume, he suggests that America's "preindustrial" situation forced the country to fight defensive wars of attrition like the Revolution and the War of 1812. In fact, he

suggests that the Revolutionary War bore a striking resemblance to the twentieth century in that war mobilization had a dramatic and lasting effect on the nation in both eras. Civil-military relations were painful, and economic mobilization (however dwarfed by comparison to that of the period since 1917) created numerous threats to and problems for society. All of this began to change by the mid-nineteenth century as a gradually maturing economy permitted more offensive-minded strategy, as shown in the conflict with Mexico. In fact, claims Koistinen, economic mobilization for the Civil War was relatively easy because civil-military relations remained stable and the post-war endowment for harnessing the economy for war was small.

The first volume concludes with one of the most welcome elements of the work: an exhaustive examination of the Civil War that manifested both signs of similarity as well as differences from so-called total wars of the later industrial era. Koistinen is of the school that believes the Union relied on enormous economic power to overwhelm the Confederacy. He also suggests that the Confederacy badly bungled its own strategy of attrition by failing effectively to mobilize a less developed economy. This interpretation alone should provide stimulating repartee not only in the halls of academe but among that ever-increasing body of citizen-experts on the Civil War. So, too, will Koistinen's view of the Civil War as representing a transition between the first (pre-industrial) and third (industrial) stages of America's economic mobilization. Military technology still had not experienced dramatic change, he argues, since weaponry remained basic and "economic mobilization required only expanding and diverting civilian production, not economic conversion" (*Mobilizing for Modern War*, p. 3).

Koistinen may be at his best in handling the years from the end of the Civil War to the aftermath of World War I. Having devoted so much of his career to this period, he is on more solid ground. It is in this third stage of economic mobilization that Koistinen has always found the seeds of the later military-industrial complex (although in the present volume he is closer than in his previous work to other scholars who date the proto-military-industrial complex to the naval developments of the late nineteenth century). It was most certainly here that the partnership was born between government and business to prepare for and conduct modern warfare. Koistinen is good at discussing the evolution of that partnership. But the emergence of a new steel navy was not enough to prepare a political economy for the totality demanded by war in the twentieth century.

So, after devoting roughly one-third of his second volume to Progressive era developments, Koistinen perceptively moves to World War I period, where he is the most comfortable. The emergence of the War Industries Board and other bureaucratization as the model for subsequent industrial mobilization planning, the intrusion of Big Government and implementation

of Progressivism and the rather blighted attempts of the Wilson administration to forge an arsenal of democracy for war are his forte. Koistinen's second volume shows how the wedding of military and civilian sector centralization, professionalization, and economic interdependency left "an indelible imprint on national life" (*Mobilizing for Modern War*, p. 297). This, then, is the natural segue to the author's future volumes treating the interwar and World War II periods.

Koistinen's work is important for the similarities he finds between the first (pre-industrial) and third (industrial) stages of economic mobilization, including centralized control over a planned economy (government intervention) and the blending of civilian and military, private and public activities for common cause. These are lacking in the transitional period where market forces in a strong competitive economy held sway (perhaps a lesson for our present entry into the twenty-first century?). Rather, Koistinen believes that rapid industrialization after the Civil War ushered in the final stage of mobilization, which he claims has a certain aura of permanence about it. This contention will unnerve many defense community futurists, who see passage into the Information Age as another revolution where denial of the very term "mobilization" is *de rigueur* and the three hundred years of experience covered by Koistinen's opus are largely if not completely irrelevant.

Many of Koistinen's conclusions and premises will perhaps be disputed. Yet the soundness of one of his observations makes this project required reading. Since the late nineteenth century, he contends, "political, economic, and military elites have been absorbed in creating and refining planning structures to cope with the ongoing weapons revolution," a revolution that "has comprehensively affected the way that America prepares for and conducts warfare" (*Mobilizing for Modern War*, p. 7). Whether or not the centrality of this theme holds more for this century than the previous two may be debated. Koistinen's project will go far in synthesizing ideas from the monographic literature (which he ably recounts in substantive endnotes and an expository bibliographic essay). His contribution will prove invaluable to civilian as well as military professionals in the classroom and the public sector.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN COOLING

*Industrial College of the Armed Forces-National Defense University
and the U.S. Department of Energy*

CHARLES HUDSON. *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando de Soto and the South's Ancient Chiefdoms*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1997. Pp. xxii, 561. \$34.95.

Hernando de Soto was schooled in conquest by the brutal Pedr  rias de   vila. He had already sold Indian slaves in Nicaragua and participated in the conquest of Peru when he paid 50,000 ducats for the right to

conquer eastern North America, then called Florida. Accounts of the Soto expedition (1539–1543) show Europeans at their worst, taking a hard-eyed look at the looting possibilities of a non-Christian world. How well can scholars see that world through their eyes?

While writing *The Southeastern Indians* (1976), anthropologist Charles Hudson was struck by the discontinuity between the moundbuilding Mississippian cultures of the late prehistoric period and the eighteenth-century coalescences of Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Catawbans that followed the collapse of chiefdoms. Histories of the South omitted the protohistoric period between first encounter and date of first settlement: 1565 for St. Augustine, 1670 for Charleston. To reconstruct the social geography of the silent centuries, Hudson determined to link the body of archaeological information to the historical information about the Soto expedition found in four sources: Rodrigo de Ranjel's diary, preserved in Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo's *Historia general* (1535); a report by factor Luis Hernández de Biedma; a relation by the anonymous Fidalgo de Elvas; and a long secondary work, *La Florida del Ynca* (1605), by the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. He dismissed as pedantic questions raised by Hispanic literature specialists about intertextuality, rhetoric, pseudohistorical genres, and the utility of "dot-to-dot" itineraries. Historians' skills were more to Hudson's purpose, as evidenced when he published a cache of place-naming documents translated by Paul Hoffman in *The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Exploration of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566–1568* (1990).

Hudson's principal claim in this new book is that it sets forth a route that approximates the one the expedition followed, quilting early history to late prehistory, site by site. Previous attempts to pin Soto's and Luis de Moscoso's river crossings, battles, and winter camps to known places had proven inconclusive. Ethnologist John R. Swanton's *Final Report* (1938) of the U.S. De Soto Expedition Commission, charged to commemorate the invasion's 400th anniversary by erecting highway markers, had given archaeologists something to refute for fifty years, as they advanced in research design, dating precision, regional analysis, and sixteenth-century diagnostics. As the 450th anniversary approached, historic research management personnel promoting heritage tourism and archaeologists seeking research funds addressed the route at the state level with task forces and symposia. In 1986, ten southern governors appointed a regional trail commission to work with the National Park Service. Hudson, who with Chester DePratter and Marvin Smith had been working on sections of the route since 1980, was given one year to propose a complete route on which the public and the archaeological community could comment. Predictably, the new route encountered stiff Chamber of Commerce resistance, and the project was jettisoned. In 1990, Congress authorized a second De Soto Expedition Trail Commission, then denied it an appropriation. Granting agencies lost interest. Amer-

ican Indian responses to the Columbus quincentenary had made old-style celebrations of rapine impolitic.

This long-awaited book is the Hudson route refined and the Soto story retold in the form of a composite text, with the sources reconciled in seventy-two pages of notes. But Hudson does more than track 600 Spaniards, 220 horses, a herd of pigs, and several hundred male and female porters from the Appalachians to Texas and then half as many Spaniards, without horses, pigs, or porters, down the Mississippi and around the Gulf to Mexico. Braided into his narrative are strands of geographical, archaeological, and ethnological explication, taking up questions of plant use, climate, language, kinship, warfare, the Mississippian transformation, the rise of paramount chiefdoms, and the impact of epidemic disease. The reader learns, for instance, that Spaniards could build a *piragua* in four days, and that the optimal radius of a chiefdom was 12.5 miles.

Free of disciplinary jargon, this book reads like historical fiction for the science-minded, with matters of interest mainly to scholars, such as the author's spirited defense of his methodology, consigned to the afterword. The book is handsomely designed. Although it has no bibliography and the notes are hard to navigate, the citation style is unobtrusive and the maps and figures admirably clear.

AMY TURNER BUSHNELL
College of Charleston

JAMES AXTELL. *The Indians' New South: Cultural Change in the Colonial Southeast*. (The Walter Fleming Lectures in Southern History.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 102. \$22.95.

This small book by James Axtell is based on the fifty-eighth series of Walter Lynwood Fleming lectures delivered in April 1996. In the long history of that series, Axtell's lectures are the first to examine the Indians of the Southeast as more than minor characters. He reiterates James H. Merrell's argument that the arrival of Europeans and Africans in America created a "New World" for the Indians as much as it did for the newcomers. Whether European, African, or Indian, all were caught up in this New World's relentless appetite for change. At the same time, Axtell makes the contrary argument that, during the period between 1492 and 1792, both the native peoples and the colonial South remained "Indian." Creeks, Choctaws, Cherokees, Alabamas, Tunicans, and Apalachees, he says, retained their "ethnic identities" throughout.

Arguably the most significant advances in southeastern Indian studies in recent years have been in the era of Spanish exploration. These advances are based on several decades of archaeological research on the late prehistoric era that have enabled scholars to sketch out both the locations and the social and cultural characteristics of the many chiefdoms scattered across the southern landscape. With this information, it has

become possible to reconstruct the activities of Spanish explorers such as Hernando de Soto, Tristán de Luna, and Juan Pardo with increasing confidence. Axtell presents a synopsis of the major events of the sixteenth-century Southeast and he summarizes some of the major social and cultural changes, such as the collapse of the native chiefdoms in the half-century or so following the Soto expedition.

Axtell next summarizes the founding of the Spanish mission system in the South, first by the Jesuits and then more successfully by the Franciscans. He makes it clear that the Indians both gained from the mission system (the Apalachee chiefs, for example, made a point of inviting in the friars) and also suffered, rankling under the harsh discipline of Spanish ranchers and, at times, clergy. This Spanish hegemony got its first faint challenge with the founding of the Roanoke Colony, and with the Jamestown colony in 1607, the Spanish came into competition with a people whose first priority was not to spread Christianity but to make money. The Spanish were first discomfited by English traders coming down from Virginia to trade with Indians in the southern interior. But it was in 1670, with the founding of Charleston and the trade in deerskins and Indian slaves, that the real challenge came. The Spanish missions came under English attack in the 1680s, and after 1704, the contest was essentially over. Spain was relegated to the sidelines of the colonial South.

It is likely, as Axtell argues, that the southeastern Indians would have had a truncated existence had not the French colonized the Mississippi Valley to challenge the English. With this, the better positioned southeastern Indians could hold the balance of power between the French and the English. But the Indians of the colonial South were never free to do just as they pleased because they became dependent on European goods, such as guns, ammunition, cutting tools, and cloth.

Many teachers of colonial southern history will find this to be a useful book. It is clear in exposition, and the book's endnotes will be a boon to serious students. Those who have visited Indian gaming establishments (and especially those who have been fleeced in them) may not agree with Axtell that the Indians enjoy "moral priority" over other Americans. And some may argue that a case can be made for examining the Indians not merely in a "New World" but in terms of the historical and economic forces that have shaped and reshaped non-Western peoples all over the world—those whom the anthropologist Eric R. Wolf has termed "the people without history."

CHARLES HUDSON
University of Georgia

SARAH H. HILL. *Weaving New Worlds: Southeastern Cherokee Women and Their Basketry*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1997. Pp. xxii, 414. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$22.50.

Baskets usually take a backseat to pottery and projectile points both in the public perception of what is important and in scholarly scrutiny by archaeologists, ethnologists, and others who delve into the fascinating world of material culture. Historians, usually oblivious to such evidence, tend to ignore them altogether, which is what makes Sarah H. Hill's complex study so intriguing. By examining, in detail, the most basic manufacture of Cherokee women, Hill manages to illuminate not only Cherokee women's history but that of the entire nation, from the dawn of the Cherokee world until the present day. Hill's modest assertion that she used three kinds of sources—written, woven, and oral history—belies her intricate and imaginative use of such diverse records as Cherokee myths and language, accounts of traders, travelers, and missionaries, government documents, oral interviews, business records, and baskets both historic and modern, as well as a variety of secondary literature on ecological and botanical subjects.

Baskets were the quintessential Cherokee domestic manufacture, serving as vessels for storing, serving, sifting, sieving, and cooking, as well as central elements in myth and ceremony and as trade goods. In addition to examining their many uses, Hill examines their manner of construction, use of dyes, and the characteristic forms of historic Cherokee basketry. For Hill, basketry is everything. "It includes landscapes where weavers collect materials, the social environment of basket production and use, and the cultural complex that encompasses the past as well as the present. Baskets provide a way to examine Cherokee history because of their antiquity, persistence, and importance among Cherokees. Baskets and changes in traditions of basketry serve as metaphors for historical transformation in subsistence practices, rituals and beliefs, exchange networks, social conditions, and ecological systems" (pp. xvii-xviii). Tracing southeastern Cherokee history from the early historic period through the present, Hill identifies four major basketry traditions—rivercane, white oak, honeysuckle, and red maple—each of which is firmly linked to a specific chronological period.

Rivercane was the earliest and most common medium used for not only baskets but for the omnipresent mats used by Cherokees to cover benches, beds, walls, and floors and to serve other purposes, including that of final shroud. As white settlers began moving into Cherokee lands, they brought cane-destroying cattle and horses and set fire to the canebrakes in the spring to stimulate new growth for grazing, creating further damage. In fact, notes Hill, "by the end of the eighteenth century, the destruction of canebrakes became a marked of civilized settlement" (p. 91). The American civilization policy of the nineteenth century was, in Hill's words, "lifetaking" (p. 90), and adoption of its tenets changed many basic elements of traditional culture, including subsistence patterns, gender roles and the belief system. And as cultural patterns changed, so too did ceremonies, inheritance laws,

settlement patterns and—not surprisingly—basketry. Cherokees continued to rely on rivercane as their primary basket material until removal, however, thereby pointing out, according to Hill, the “extraordinary resilience of women’s culture and values, even in the face of disastrous social upheaval” (p. 115). Concomitantly, adoption of a new basket material, white oak, pointed to the “profound change” (p. 115) taking place within southeastern Cherokee society in the late nineteenth century.

White oak baskets sported new shapes and decorative patterns and had distinctive traits, such as attached handles and lids. Form, notes Hill, reflected function. The large rivercane burden baskets necessary for the completion of the communal harvest virtually disappeared as communal fields gave way to those of small nuclear families. Moreover, as traditional ceremonies faded from memory, so did the baskets of ceremony. By the end of the nineteenth century, new dyes and an entirely new material and way of using baskets emerged. Honeysuckle, an introduced plant material, came to be used to manufacture very light and delicate baskets designed strictly for decoration and, hence, for use as a trade medium. In Hill’s words, “the ancient, sometimes sacred, and always functional basket became an artful item made for someone other than the weaver” (p. 185).

In the early twentieth century, the arts and crafts movement and the Indian reform movement converged in Indian boarding schools to produce the final basketry tradition: red maple baskets created in new forms and shapes to appeal to tourists visiting the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. These brightly colored and often very ornate red maple baskets signaled not only the profound ecological change that had resulted in a scarcity of both rivercane and white oak but also an attempt by modern Cherokee women to attain economic independence while still maintaining their Cherokee identity. Hill concludes her study with a discussion of modern weavers and their role in Cherokee cultural and economic life. Thoroughly researched, well-written, well-documented, and sympathetically presented, this history of Cherokee women—their beliefs, their life work, and their impact on tribal history—should be read by anyone with an interest in ethnohistory, Southern history, women’s studies, or material culture. The book contains five maps and is amply illustrated with over 100 photographs of Cherokee women and their baskets.

KATHRYN E. HOLLAND BRAUND
Dadeville, Alabama

CHRISTOPHER VECSEY. *The Paths of Kateri’s Kin*. (American Indian Catholics, number 2.) Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1997. Pp. xvi, 392. \$40.00.

This is the second volume in Christopher Vecsey’s “American Indian Catholics” trilogy, and it is as impressive as it is ambitious. While *On the Padres’ Trail*

(1996) “examined the heritage of Spanish Catholicism passed down among the Indians of the Caribbean, Mexico, and the American South” (p. xi), this second phase “addresses different but related circumstances, evolving from the foundation of New France in North America” (p. xii). The author’s controlling metaphor is Kateri Tekakwitha, a Mohawk orphan who converted to Christianity in 1675 and earned a formidable reputation for self-denial and mortification at the Jesuit mission at Kahnawake, near Montreal, before expiring during Holy Week in 1680, largely in consequence of her devotional sacrifices. Although Kateri has not yet been canonized—a disappointment to many Catholic Native Americans—she has become the focal point of a cult widespread in North America.

Vecsey guides the reader along the path of Kateri’s followers in a series of geographically structured chapters. The first, on seventeenth-century Jesuit missions to the Huron (Wendat) and Montagnais, is followed by a lengthier one that covers the evangelists’ labors among the Iroquois and proceeds to their modern efforts on the Atlantic coast from Canada to Maryland, as well as among the Choctaw in Mississippi and the Houmas in the bayou country of Louisiana. This pattern—beginning the story in earliest contact period and bringing it down to the 1990s—is repeated more briefly in other chapters that deal with Central Algonkians and Native Americans on the plateau and north-west coast. Throughout, Vecsey blends wide reading of secondary works with selective use of archival sources and an impressive amount of oral history, a considerable part of which he collected. Apart from a tendency to accept Jesuit and Oblate missionaries’ accounts too much at face value, Vecsey’s deployment of his evidence is impressive.

And what discoveries await the pilgrim who explores the twists and turns along this path? First and foremost, the experiences of Native American Catholics are diverse, both religiously and otherwise. There are modern-day Native Catholics who bridle at efforts to indigenize liturgy with additions of Native decoration and practice, while others have virtually syncretized aboriginal and Christian ritual. At Akwesasne, on the St. Lawrence River, Catholics who for over two centuries had used only Mohawk and Latin resisted the introduction of English in the mass after Vatican II. By contrast, among some Algonkians and Puget Sound Natives, the evolution of the Midewiwin ritual and the Shaking Tent respectively incorporate both Christian and Native observances. Among Catholic Potawatomi, it is difficult to tell where the influence of the drum ends and Christianity begins. In the case of the Houmas of Louisiana, Catholicism and its secular associations have almost transformed and obliterated Native identity.

A trip along the historical path, especially the latest portion of it, shows dramatic shifts on the part of missionaries, too. While there are some Catholics, lay and clerical, whose attitudes to any deviation from orthodox Christian practice are narrow, there are

others, such as the Jesuit Patrick J. Twohy, priest at Swinomish on Puget Sound, who has incorporated indigenous practices and who virtually co-celebrates the mass with a Native American layman. Significantly, Twohy has been extremely successful in renewing Native observance of Catholicism in his mission, although some of his parishioners apparently regard him with a combination of amused sympathy and affection (p. 340).

Although this book lacks a conclusion (Vecsey no doubt intending to sum up what this diverse experience means in his final tome), the theme of ambiguity runs through much of the second volume. Near the end, Vecsey notes that relations between Catholic missionaries and Native Americans, as in the instance of Twohy's mission, "are more ambiguous than the pioneer missionaries would have wanted. This is an era—truly a new ambiguous age—in which large portions of popular culture esteem traditional Indian spirituality more highly than they do the mainline faith of the missionary fathers" (p. 348).

Ambiguous the history of Catholic missions to Native Americans might be; there is no doubt, however, that Vecsey explores the subject with skill and insight.

J. R. MILLER

University of Saskatchewan

COLIN G. CALLOWAY, editor. *After King Philip's War: Presence and Persistence in Indian New England*. (Encounters with Colonialism: New Perspectives on the Americas.) Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England. 1997. Pp. vi, 268. \$19.95.

As the new century approached, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas Jefferson Morgan hazarded a prediction about the future of American Indians. "The great body of Indians, he imagined, 'will become merged in the indistinguishable mass of our population.' One hundred years ago, there appeared to be ample reason for Morgan's assumption of assimilation. The "Indian wars" had been concluded; the superintendent of the U.S. Census had declared the closing of the frontier. Indian land bases seemed to be shrinking by the hour. The founder of Carlisle Indian Industrial School pledged to "kill the Indian" within his male pupils and "save the man." Photographer Edward Curtis captured images of what he termed "the vanishing race;" ethnologists raced westward to collect vestiges of Native cultures before they disappeared.

The conventional wisdom dictated that the remaining "real" Indians lived west of the Mississippi. Soon after King Philip's war in the late seventeenth century, the native peoples of New England were consigned to the past. The 1900 census counted five Indians in Vermont. As they did elsewhere, however, Indian communities in New England refused to accept oblivion as their inevitable destiny. This collection of essays edited by Colin G. Calloway helps us to understand how individuals and groups maintained their identities

as Indians and why their eventual revitalization could occur.

Over the past fifteen years, no scholar has done more than Calloway to broaden and deepen our appreciation for the place of eastern Indians in British colonial and American national history. In such recent books as *New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America* (1997) and *The American Revolution in Indian Country* (1996), he offers valuable overviews of continuity and change within the Indian East. This new work brings together the best of contemporary scholarship to document a largely untold story. Following Calloway's perceptive and well-documented introduction, essays by Evans Haefeli, Kevin Sweeney, David L. Ghere, Daniel Vickers, Ruth Wallin Herndon, Ella Wilcox Sekatau, Jean M. O'Brien, Barry O'Connell, Ann Marie Plane, Gregory Button, Thomas L. Doughton, and Harold E. L. Prins present a persuasive reinterpretation of both Native New England and New England itself.

The book emphasizes what Calloway terms "surviving the Dark Ages," the era that followed that war and that preceded the recent period of resurgence. Only the Dutch anthropologist Prins ventures into the still largely uncharted terrain of twentieth-century New England in his examination of Mi'kmaq (Micmac) people as seasonal laborers in the potato fields of Aroostook, Maine, from 1870 to 1990. This era, more than two centuries in its duration, offered severe challenges. Native peoples were forced to make drastic and frequently unwelcome changes as they responded to the unprecedented demands of the new day. As O'Brien argues in her fine essay on the survival of Indian women in eighteenth-century New England, the English "did not fully succeed in 'divorcing' Indian women (or men) from the land. Even though they quite successfully dispossessed Indians," she argues, "Indians remained in the homelands that continued to sustain their kin, community, and sense of place. Indian women and men found creative solutions for resisting displacement and surviving as Indian people in a milieu theoretically designed to erase their difference completely" (pp. 156–57).

Historians seeking to learn more about those creative solutions will have to be equally creative in their methods. They will have to employ sources such as the records of courts and town councils, and they will have to take Indian oral history seriously if they are to begin to piece together complicated and elusive stories. They will have to reconsider basic assumptions, not only about gender but about class and race as well. Doughton, for example, notes that Natives Americans did not disappear from central Massachusetts but rather were farmers, plumbers, washerwomen, mariners, chair bottomers or chair caners, herb doctors, barbers, shoemakers, domestic servants, baggage masters, itinerant entertainers, day laborers, railroad engineers, mill operatives, specialty bakers, broom and basket makers, housewives, and stage coach drivers (p. 209). Herndon and Sekatau demonstrate that Narragansett history

must be understood in the context of prevailing Anglo-American attitudes about race and the blurring of lines between and among American Indians and African Americans.

This volume suggests avenues of inquiry for students of other sections of the United States, especially the South, where the presence and persistence of Indian peoples have also been denied. Ultimately, as Callo-way observes, we need to be less concerned about last stands and more concerned about everyday life. As a new century nears, we no longer assume that Indians will disappear, but scholars have a lot of work to do in regard to the central role of Native peoples in the New England and national past. This book charts promising new directions for future research and interpretation.

PETER IVERSON
Arizona State University

ERIC HINDERAKER. *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673–1800*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 299. \$49.95.

This is a well-crafted and sophisticated examination of the impact of France, England, and the United States in the Ohio Valley from first contacts to 1800. The emphasis is very much on the region itself, rather than on the forming of policy in Paris, London, or Philadelphia. Eric Hinderaker draws a sharp contrast between the empires of commerce and land of the French and English and the “empire of liberty” of the Americans. He argues that while the French and British governments acted as restraining influences in the Ohio Valley, the government of the United States allowed individual enterprise to dictate its future.

In writing of the French and British empires of commerce, Hinderaker develops the theme that he reiterates throughout the first two parts of the book: the difficulty the French and British governments encountered in maintaining control of events. Individual colonists and Indian tribes pursued their own ends, often to the detriment of the imperial systems. Hinderaker offers a particularly effective discussion of the impact of trade on the Indians. He delves into ways in which the new trade opportunities created challenges to tribal tradition and to tribal elders, empowered younger Indians, and brought a new interest in intra-tribal linkages. He argues that individuals and Indians were more effective than the French and British governments at gaining advantages from the trading situation in the Ohio Valley.

In discussing the French and British empires of land, Hinderaker again emphasizes the inability of the two powers to achieve what they wanted. He argues that the hopes of creating privileged systems collapsed both in French Canada and in Pennsylvania (the British colony with the most direct involvement in the Ohio Valley). In French Canada, a major problem was chronic underpopulation; in Pennsylvania, difficulties were created by unexpectedly large population growth. The shared world that the Indians and French created

in the Illinois country is contrasted to the disruption caused by the rapid population growth in Pennsylvania. In the years directly prior to the American Revolution, the British tried and failed to achieve a limited, controlled growth. Speculators and other adventurers aggressively ruined the British attempts to limit the antagonisms between Indians and Euroamericans.

Hinderaker argues that the Revolution brought a new situation to the Ohio Valley by unleashing the land hunger of the western settlers, so that both federal and state governments began to follow rather than control the activities of the frontiersmen. The model of an empire directed from the center was inverted. “While this inversion has been lauded for its capacity to unleash the creative energies of ordinary people,” Hinderaker writes, “in the Ohio Valley violent and destructive impulses were unleashed as well” (p. 186). This in turn led to a great increase in racial hatreds and conflict. As Euroamericans in the Ohio Valley united in support of an aggressive nationalism, Indian autonomy was rapidly overcome.

Readers will perhaps find both more and less than they expect from the title—more about the Indians of the region, less about the shaping of national policies. The author is at his best in discussing the detailed impact of Euroamerican activities in the Ohio Valley, particularly in the century before the Revolution. He devotes less attention to the making of policy, and the considerable chronological sweep of his work means that he does not have the space to examine ways in which the sharp contrast he draws between the empires before and after the Revolution can, in some degree, be modified. It can be argued that although the leaders of the post-1789 American government ultimately succumbed to the land hunger and racial antagonisms of frontiersmen, they desired an ordered frontier advance. In the early 1790s, Henry Knox attempted to devise policies to control the excesses of western settlers and to mediate between Euroamericans and the Indians. Like the French and British governments, the American government had difficulty achieving the policies it desired in the Ohio Valley.

This is a well-argued and thoughtful book, and Hinderaker supports his arguments with an impressive array of both primary and secondary sources.

REGINALD HORSMAN
*University of Wisconsin,
Milwaukee*

KIMBERLY S. HANGER. *Bounded Lives, Bounded Places: Free Black Society in Colonial New Orleans, 1769–1803*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 248. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$16.95.

In this impressive study, Kimberly S. Hanger makes the case that the “complex [and] ambiguous” (p. 1) world of free people of color in the Spanish era in New Orleans has been largely overlooked by scholars who have focused on the nineteenth century and projected back.

France was glad to unload its unprofitable colony of Louisiana to Spain in 1763. Louisiana remained an economic backwater until the late eighteenth century, when it experienced a period of rapid development. The most spectacular growth occurred in New Orleans. In the booming city, black people, free and slave, provided an essential labor force. Most were "hewers of wood and drawers of water," but a significant minority worked in skilled and semiskilled trades. Many slaves used the situation to their advantage and bargained for their freedom.

In some cases, freedom came as a "gift" from a white lover or father, or as a "favor" after years of diligent labor. Freedom was also a commodity to be bought and sold. In purchasing one's freedom or the freedom of a family member there were many variables to be considered. In the case of a slave family, whose freedom would it be most advantageous to buy first? Should a *libre* trade his or her labor for a term of years to buy an enslaved spouse or child? One important advantage slaves in Spanish Louisiana had was the legal right to force the issue. If an owner refused to bargain, the slave could ask the courts to intervene. Arbitrators would determine the slave's worth and oblige the owner to enter into an agreement. In the case of sale to a new owner, the slave would be credited with the amount he or she had already paid. By 1803, *libres* accounted for one-fifth of the population of New Orleans.

Once free, most *libres* continued to work at their old occupations. Most started with very little; their freedom had cost them everything they had. There were those who did well, however, generally as a result of a skilled trade learned during slavery or ties to influential members of the white community. They invested their wealth wisely, passing it on to their heirs. "Many of those who made up antebellum New Orleans' famous Creole of Color elite could trace . . . the foundations of their prosperity back to free blacks living in the Spanish colonial era" (p. 86). Significantly, those *libres* who had the means to do so bought slaves.

Although some *libres* owned slaves, others had children, spouses, and parents who were still in bondage. They could not turn their backs on the slave community, any more than they could distance themselves from whites who were their kin or their neighbors. Regardless of legal provisions that aimed at the separation of peoples of different phenotypes and classes, free and slave, black, white, and "pardo" intermingled. They worshiped together, socialized, drank, and gambled, and embarked on sexual liaisons, some fleeting and others lasting a lifetime.

Like the French before them, the Spanish turned to men of color to help defend their colony. Among the officer corps in particular, military service "promote[d] group cohesiveness and identity" (p. 109). They were proud of their status and loyal to their brothers in the corps. Officer status gave these men what was, in theory, the prerogative of white men, "honor," and they used that honor to advance their families. For free

people, however, there were tensions born of the ambiguities of their situation. For Pedro Bailly, those tensions came to a head in the early 1790s when, according to his accusers (men who were *libre* officers and slaveholders like himself), he spoke admiringly of French egalitarianism and angrily of what he perceived as Spain's contempt for its non-white citizens.

What Bailly and his fellow *libres* could not know was that their situation would deteriorate with the transition to French and then almost immediately to United States rule. The *libre* militia did not vanish overnight—it would make a spectacular showing in the battle of New Orleans—but its influence dwindled. Their ranks diminished by the slower pace of manumissions and their status threatened by a very different set of laws and customs than those they had known, free people of color increasingly withdrew into themselves, struggling to hold their ground in a society that had less and less use for them.

Hanger's book succeeds on two levels. It illuminates the experiences of a hitherto largely neglected class of people, and it is a compelling account of a remarkable city at a crucial point in its history.

JULIE WINCH
University of Massachusetts,
Boston

CHRISTOPHER PHILLIPS. *Freedom's Port: The African American Community of Baltimore, 1790–1860*. (Blacks in the New World.) Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 350. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$21.95.

In a book that is extensively researched, informative, and interesting, Christopher Phillips "traces the societal transformation of [Baltimore's] black population" from a "city of transients" to a "community of commitment" (pp. 2–3). The 1820s served as a watershed in this process of maturation. By the middle to late antebellum period, Baltimore's free African Americans had coalesced as an entity united in many respects by common poverty and dark hue, with fewer divisions by class and color than other free black communities in Charleston, New Orleans, or Philadelphia, Phillips's primary cities of comparison. Overall, Phillips argues for Baltimore's uniqueness in that it "reflected both southern and northern urban black experiences"; it was the port where an "anomalous confluence" of slave met free, North met South (p. 4).

The book opens with an overview of Baltimore's settlement, colonial history, and the origins of slavery there and proceeds primarily chronologically through the antebellum era. Almost from its beginnings, commerce and merchants rather than staple crops and planters dominated Baltimore's economy, polity, and social hierarchy. Slaves, free blacks, and poor whites provided the manual labor to grow wheat, build ships, transport loads, and manufacture buildings and goods. A port city through which people of many ethnicities moved and in which slavery was important but not essential to the economy, early Baltimore reflected an

ambivalence toward racial boundaries. From this degree of racial tolerance emerged a substantial free black population, the largest of any state in the union from at least 1820 on. A few owners freed their slaves outright, but most opted for a form of less disruptive and expensive "quasi freedom." They effected gradual manumission with compensation through the use of term slavery, a process Phillips traces to the Dutch "half-freedom" (p. 42) but which more likely derives from Iberian *coartación*, or self-purchase through installments.

By 1810, free blacks outnumbered slaves in Baltimore. In terms of occupation, activities, and material condition, they closely resembled the slave population from which most came: unskilled field workers, dark in phenotype, short, young, and equally male and female (at least until 1860, when females came to outnumber males three to two). They took surnames, formed "traditional" nuclear families, lived among whites and slaves, and acquired property. Economic crises and increased competition for jobs, along with reaction to the Nat Turner revolt, worsened race relations during the last three decades of the antebellum era. This hardening racial divide unified the free black population and forced it to coalesce into a self-identifiable community centered around the church, as was typical for blacks in U.S. cities. Phillips gives agency to Baltimore's African Americans, portraying in a positive light their struggle to maintain autonomy. Their organizational abilities fostered "group solidarity and identity" (p. 213) and put them in a strong position to resist growing discrimination; as a group, most free blacks opposed colonization, the domestic slave trade, slavery, and efforts to reenslave free blacks in the late 1850s. They were successful.

Phillips is somewhat less successful in producing a stellar tome. His book adds little to the existing historiography on antebellum free black communities, is filled with contradictions and unlikely comparisons, slights women, and offers few major revelations. Baltimore was indeed unique when contrasted to the northern metropolis of Philadelphia and the Deep South cities of Charleston and New Orleans, but how typical was it of other Upper South municipalities? With the exception of an occasional reference to Richmond, Norfolk, and St. Louis, Phillips does not place Baltimore's free black community in its logical context; he compares the proverbial apple with oranges. Women also receive only an occasional reference. Phillips does not mention the major impact gender analysis has made on the study of slaves and free blacks in his historiographical introduction or include such works in his bibliography. Following several pages that examine men's occupations, one finds a mere paragraph describing women's roles. One must conduct extensive research beyond the more readily available census data to find women, but they do exist in the records of most cities—especially church and court documents—and presumably in Baltimore, too. Contradictory statements too numerous to

detail here, as well as frequent use of the antiquated term "Negro," abound, detracting somewhat from a substantial book that reinforces, even if it does not add significant new insights to, our understanding of urban antebellum African-American communities.

KIMBERLY S. HANGER
University of Tulsa

DAVID S. SHIELDS. *Civil Tongues and Polite Letters in British America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1997. Pp. xxxii, 348. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$17.95.

David S. Shields begins his study of eighteenth-century discourse and society with a literary question. What accounts for the initial popularity of belles lettres—a term that before 1760 meant literature written to give social pleasure—and the decline of interest in the genre after the eighteenth century? What once gave life to writing that now seems dead? The literary question leads Shields to a historical answer. Writers of belletristic poetry and essays, commonly called polite letters, nurtured a particular form of sociability that has now largely disappeared. Literature, as Shields shows in this fresh and illuminating book whose virtues I cannot praise enough, was interwoven with social rituals: the tone and spirit of polite social gatherings, their aesthetic preferences, and even the architecture and furnishings of their meeting places. Polite letters promoted a form of sociability and lived off it. When that society faded, the life went out of the literature.

Polite society formed in colonial coffeehouses, around tea tables in the great houses, in the assemblies where the colonial gentry gathered to dance and court, in men's clubs, and at the colleges. These sodalities did not spring to life spontaneously or form in mindless imitation of metropolitan practices. Cultural brokers self-consciously called the clubs and assemblies into existence to propagate a new form of sociability developed primarily in London. Polite letters instructed provincials in proper manners, in genteel attitudes, and in good taste and in general told people how to behave. In addition, the literature provided subjects for amusement, facilitating the master art of polite society, conversation. Targeted at a limited audience, much of the writing circulated only in manuscript, handed about among friends for their amusement and instruction. Writers imagined no readers beyond polite friends in an immediate locale.

Setting themselves up as monitors, polite writers in the coffeehouses, clubs, colleges, and salons criticized society with raillery or witty sallies. A reader could not always tell how serious the point was, since sobriety of literary manner broke the first rule of these private societies: the supremacy of pleasure. Writers punctured the pompous, the false, the irrational, and the tasteless in flippant or bemused language that amused while it stung. The artful dance between the serious

and the jocular gave the writing and the speech its zest. But belletristic play with the realms of politics and moral propriety brought polite society to the borders of the public sphere, that realm of sober discourse on politics and morals conducted in print.

Shields situates these little communities, in aggregate called the *beau monde*, between the court society analyzed by Norbert Elias and the later public sphere of Jürgen Habermas and Michael Warner. Polite society first developed in England at the edges of the royal court, but although they borrowed manners and style from the court, the nobility and the higher gentry of the *beau monde* were less ceremonial and severe. Being somewhat removed from the center of power, polite society afforded more space for free expression and the pursuit of pleasure. In fact, play rather than power or truth held this society together; it existed to please and give pleasure. Social criticism in polite society gave way to discourse in the public sphere when print replaced manuscripts as the dominant form of communication and sober reason and morality took control. A progressively larger population inhabited the royal court, the *beau monde*, and the public sphere. By the eighteenth century, all literate people who read the public prints imagined themselves in dialogue on large questions in the public sphere.

The sequence from court to public sphere can be read as a story of democratic progress that thankfully left the *beau monde* behind and sent belles lettres into well-deserved retirement. Republican critics nourished in the public sphere attacked the worldly pleasures of the assemblies and the indulgences of tavern and tea table, the most virulent republicans foregoing all pleasure in the name of the public good. But the sociability of pleasure could not be vanquished as easily as that, Shields observes. Clubs did not disappear in the nineteenth century, and people still formed circles to discuss books. As a theory and a practice, republicanism suffered from a failure to recognize pleasure's value in organizing sociability; republican austerity raised the question of what freedom was for, if not for pleasure.

Shields's literary history resembles the work of the new historicists. He situates writings in the societies that gave them homes. But he departs from the new historicist assumption that the struggle for political hegemony explains literary aesthetics: that is, that literature draws its energy and purpose from politics. Although he once shared that view, Shields says, in the course of his research on belles lettres he reversed himself. He saw that aesthetics explained the formation of politics and societies rather than the opposite. "I began reading British American literature as a register in which political innovation was revealed to be a function of new modes of communicating desires and pleasures" (p. xxiv). The literature, in other words, by supplying governing principles and generative energy, changed social formations and political structures, not the other way around. That possibility should send historians back to the texts to see if they

can reconstruct the interplay of literature and society as expertly as Shields has done.

RICHARD LYMAN BUSHMAN
Columbia University

DOUGLAS ANDERSON. *The Radical Enlightenments of Benjamin Franklin*. (New Studies in American Intellectual and Cultural History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1997. Pp. xviii, 261. \$39.95.

Benjamin Franklin's long and extraordinarily full life is a challenge to any historian. Few purport to make all the pieces fit together, while many reduce him to proto-capitalist, provincial politician, or even proverb-spouting hypocrite. Douglas Anderson, who admits to having "simple affection and respect" (p. xv) for his subject, is among those who find a fusion of profoundly ethical and sane traits in the man. As Carl L. Becker observed in the *Dictionary of American Biography* (1931), Franklin had a "rare combination of rare qualities."

Aided by the superb *Papers of Benjamin Franklin* project of Yale University Press, Anderson and other scholars have been reassessing the most intriguing and accomplished avatar of the Enlightenment. Franklin, it seems, was more than a joking journalist and inventor who rose to fame and fortune, became a statesman, and loved the ladies of Paris. Although Anderson does not say so very emphatically, Franklin regarded his relationship with God as a serious matter. In page after page of this perceptive and painstakingly written intellectual history, Franklin is imbibing or imparting eighteenth-century wisdom on divine providence. In fact, a more accurate title for the book might be *The Religious Enlightenment of Benjamin Franklin*.

From his earliest days, Anderson writes, Franklin systematically investigated "the fundamental energies of life" and "how the human character as an agent of good might best be set in motion" (p. xvii). He understood the need for "the practice of Shaftesburean brotherhood" in a "Mandevillian world" (p. 15). Anderson finds the influences on Franklin's philosophies almost entirely in London and often in works by authors—such as John Ray and William Petty—who are not particularly well known today. Anderson's book unfortunately says little about two writers whom Franklin's memoirs cite as important to the development of his public-spirited outlook, Cotton Mather and Daniel Defoe. Both were strong advocates of good works. Franklin even took "Silence Dogood" as his first pen name.

Anderson depicts Franklin as deeply involved in print culture and is mainly concerned with the first few decades of a writing career that spanned seventy years. Close attention is given to the often-neglected philosophical inquiries and statements of Franklin's youth, works that were frequently made for his private use. By the age of twenty-five, he had written his *Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain* (1725), "Plan of Conduct" (1726), "Articles of Belief and Acts

of Religion" (1728), and "Observations on My Reading History" (1731).

Anderson gives surprisingly little attention to "On the Providence of God in the Government of the World" (1732), which rejects the notion of a potent Creator with "nothing to do." Franklin describes humanity as free, accountable, and sharing, to some degree, the wisdom, power, and goodness of God. He concludes the essay by calling for a religion that will be "a Powerful Regulator of our Actions, give us Peace and Tranquility within our own Minds, and render us Benevolent, Useful and Beneficial to others."

Franklin's metaphysical forays into matters of personal and public morality led him to conclude that human beings have responsibilities to each other and that they can enjoy a relationship of mutual delight with God if they are virtuous. Such religious views, which in later life were spelled out in his memoirs and elsewhere, evidently stimulated Franklin's prodigious contributions to politics and to society in general.

Anderson's analysis could be carried further into Franklin's career than it is, but this book helps to show how his "last Will and Testament" (1757) could express a feeling of "reposing my self securely in the Lap of God and Nature, as a Child in the Arms of an affectionate Parent."

JEFFERY A. SMITH
University of Iowa

EARL P. OLMSTEAD. *David Zeisberger: A Life among the Indians*. Foreword by GEORGE W. KNEPPER. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 1997. Pp. xxiv, 441. \$39.00.

For eighteen years now, Earl P. Olmstead has immersed himself in the story of David Zeisberger, a missionary who was a member of the Moravian Church, a pietistic group that established a complex network of settlements and missions around the world, including a short-lived settlement in Georgia in the late 1730s and permanent settlements in Pennsylvania and North Carolina beginning in the 1740s and 1750s, respectively. Olmstead's first book, *Blackcoats among the Delaware: David Zeisberger on the Ohio Frontier* (1991), focused on the last part of Zeisberger's life and work following the American Revolution, with special emphasis on the mission in Goshen, Ohio. This new book is an account of Zeisberger's life up to 1782. Historiographically, it fits into the tradition of narrative rather than analytic biography. It records in meticulous detail the events in Zeisberger's Indian mission work, the successes and failures of his Indian missions, and the comings and goings of Zeisberger and his missionary cohorts. In the process, it also depicts the challenges to Indian life as seen through the eyes of Zeisberger, who lived among Native Americans for over sixty years and identified with them as much as any European ever did.

The book is divided into four parts, which roughly correspond to the period before the French and Indian

War, the French and Indian War, the period between wars, and the American Revolution. The first part sets the stage with accounts of early Moravian history, the expansion of Moravian settlements to America, the early life of Zeisberger, and the first Moravian contacts with Native Americans in New England, New York, and Pennsylvania. The second part depicts the mission work among Indians in eastern Pennsylvania, including the tragedies of the murders at Gnadenhuetten on the Lehigh River by non-Moravian Indians and murders in Philadelphia by the Paxton Boys. The third focuses on Moravian missions in western Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio and the fourth on tragic effects of the American Revolution on the lives of Ohio Indians, especially the heart-rending attempts of Moravian Indians to find peace in an environment of hostility from both British and American partisans. The book ends with the murders of ninety Moravian Indian converts at Gnadenhuetten in Ohio by a local American militia group.

Olmstead's principal sources are English translations of the mission diaries kept by Zeisberger and others, including those from the period of the American Revolution, which Olmstead commissioned for his research. These diaries provide detailed daily accounts of mission activities for distribution among other Moravian settlements. Although these sources do not, in general, provide as much in the way of individual viewpoints as personal diaries or letters would, they depict in great detail relationships between Moravians and Indians, both converted and unconverted, and they reflect a great deal about Indian diplomacy with other Indians as well as with Europeans. This book uses some of the bibliography on relations between other Europeans and Native Americans during the colonial period, most notably the work of James Axtell, Francis Jennings, and Anthony F. C. Wallace, but it would benefit by a more thorough historiographic grounding in that literature, particularly from the last decade. Olmstead's bibliography of Moravian sources is quite adequate.

While Olmstead does not explicitly state an overall argument in this biography, a number of important recurring themes suggest possible arguments. First, Zeisberger possessed almost super-human determination to build and rebuild his Moravian Indian communities over and over as these were challenged and destroyed by the effects of war, European-Indian antagonism, disease, alcohol, and inter-Indian conflicts. Second, Indians had a highly ambiguous relationship with Moravianism. As converts, they gained relative security under the Moravian umbrella, but they had to sacrifice deeply held traditional Native American religious practices proscribed by Moravian regulations. Thirdly, Moravians had a difficult time establishing the trust of colonial governments outside of Pennsylvania.

Olmstead provides a brief bibliography of mostly Moravian sources, with special emphasis on mission work in North America, a substantial index, including

references to individual Indians, and fascinating appendixes with translations of unusual primary sources on Moravian missions. Specialists in relations between Europeans and Native Americans during the eighteenth century will find this book useful and suggestive.

BEVERLY P. SMABY
Clarion University of Pennsylvania

BERND C. PEYER. *The Tutor'd Mind: Indian Missionary-Writers in Antebellum America*. (Native Americans of the Northeast: Culture, History, and the Contemporary.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1997. Pp. x, 420. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$19.95.

Bernd C. Peyer's book is a welcome addition to the growing shelf list on American Indian literature and continues the commitment of the University of Massachusetts Press to its series on Native Americans of the Northeast. The book is an eclectic mix of serial biography, literature, history, United States Indian policy, and missionary influences. The biographical sketches of Samson Occom, William Apess, Elias Boudinot, and George Copway provide Peyer with an opportunity to discuss larger themes shaping antebellum American society and culture. He also includes some of their predecessors, and he concludes by tracing the transition in American Indian literature from salvationism to modernity.

Peyer divides the history of American Indian literature into three periods that correlate with the government's Indian policies: the salvationist period, considered in this volume, extending from the seventeenth century until the Civil War; a transitional period from salvation to modernity, which lasted until the 1930s; and the modern period, from the 1930s to the present. The opening chapter explores the structure of change in the colonial period and adaptations to that change. Peyer examines the extent to which each of these Indian writers assimilated colonial culture and values and how they resolved the personal and ethnohistorical conflicts that emerged. These four writers, "representatives of the Indian proto-elite," followed paths that they believed would "lead their people out of the colonial situation" (p. 19).

In the first, or salvationist, period, missionaries and educators embraced the concept of total assimilation, while government officials supported a policy of racial segregation. In many respects, this is the most interesting and crucial period for American Indian literature, as writers sought to preserve their culture in the face of political, cultural, and social assaults from the dominant Anglo culture.

Occom, the "Pious Mohegan," was an ordained Presbyterian minister, an author, hymnist, and widely known orator. Occom followed the missionary path, but he eventually concluded that Indians could not live in a "civilized society" and urged Christian Indians to found a new society in the wilderness. As an author, Occom produced sermons, autobiographies, journals,

a tribal ethnography, and hymnody. He chose creative adaptation as the path to cultural salvation, which placed him at odds with prominent Indian military figures such as Tecumseh or Black Hawk.

William Apess, on the other hand, was much more of a rebel than Occom. A Pequot and a Methodist preacher, Apess was an abolitionist and reformer as well as an author. Between 1810 and 1840, when Apess produced much of his writing, federal Indian policy vacillated between civilization and removal. Born at a time when the Pequot nation was disrupted following the American Revolution, Apess was forced to develop his sense of identity in an alien and racist society. This led him to speak candidly about the outrages of federal Indian policy and to defend Indian sovereignty, especially in *A Son of the Forest* (1829) and *Eulogy on King Philip* (1836).

Elias Boudinot is perhaps the best-known of the four writers. A Cherokee recognized as the "father of American Indian journalism," Boudinot was a controversial figure in the national debates over Cherokee acculturation and Anglo expansionism. Closely tied both to missionary influences and to the ruling Cherokee elite, and a graduate of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions' Foreign Mission School in Cornwall, Connecticut, Boudinot became editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix*, in which capacity he became embroiled in the politics of removal as well as in moral and religious issues. He eventually came to support removal as the only way to preserve and renovate the Cherokee nation.

Finally, George Copway was a Canadian Ojibway and a Methodist who came to the United States, was trained as a native preacher, and became a prolific writer. He produced an autobiography, a tribal history, and various travel accounts, as well as articles and more than a dozen issues of a newspaper. During the late 1840s, he traveled throughout the eastern United States lecturing on Indian superstitions, legends, manners, customs, and the problems of intemperance. Copway was more of a romantic than either Boudinot or Apess, and this led him to emphasize Indian traditions more than salvation.

A short review cannot really do justice to the rich complexity of this volume. The footnotes reveal a wealth of primary sources on American Indian writing, sources that extend well beyond the four writers that form the heart of this study. In addition, Peyer has provided a rich context for each of these writers. The cross-cultural currents that ripple through the volume highlight both the complexities and interrelationships of literature and history. Students of the early republic, of literature, and of Indian affairs will find here a rich trove of material.

JOHN ANDREW
Franklin and Marshall College

CHERYL WALKER. *Indian Nation: Native American Literature and Nineteenth-Century Nationalisms*. (New

Americanists.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1997. Pp. xvii, 256. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$16.95.

The premise of this book is elusive. Cheryl Walker contends that in nineteenth-century writings by Indians, one can find versions of the nation—Native and American—varying according to the author's stance on assimilation. Depending on which rhetorical tack the author takes—a contrast between past and present favoring the old, traditional culture or a contrast (always partially ambivalent) favoring "civilization"—Walker characterizes the particular text as an example of either transpositional or subjugated discourse. Transpositional discourse "emphasizes the essential parity of Indians and whites" and is "generally reciprocal, egalitarian, ethical, utopian, universalizing, horizontal, and direct (nonpolitical)" (pp. 18–19). Subjugated discourse, in contrast, "calls attention to differences, especially those of power, prestige, and purpose" and, while "inevitably vertical," is unstable and political in orientation. Whether "derogatory in its presentation of Indian culture" or "denunciatory in its representations of whites," it "always seeks a transformation of current arrangements" (pp. 16–17). Although poststructuralism does not require a single (that is, consistent) authorial voice, Walker gamely attempts to fit each text into one category or the other, according to its predominant tenor. And while reading is everything, writing nothing when it comes to constituting meanings, Walker, as a literary critic, hopes that her readings conform to the authors' intentions.

How heavy is the going? When the deconstructionist clutter is cleared away, the analysis is reasonably straightforward. Walker presents five case studies. The texts by William Apess (1833, 1835, 1836), Black Hawk (1833), and Sarah Winnemucca (1883) are basically transpositional narratives; those by George Copway (1847, 1850) and John Ridge (1854) are basically subjugated narratives. Actually, Ridge does not readily fit into either category, since his principal text is a novel, *The Life and Adventures of Joaquin Murieta, the Celebrated California Bandit* (1854), and is autobiographical only by construing its story of an outlaw from another culture as a position paper by Ridge on his own exiled people, the Cherokee.

Walker's argument is not always persuasive, partly because so little direct evidence for nationalisms is adduced from the chosen texts, and even more because some of the texts are problematic. Copway was unreliable at the best of times and may or may not have written his autobiography, while Black Hawk's life story was translated and edited, and its authenticity has been called into question. Walker acknowledges the issue of intermediaries and intervention without fully accepting its implications. What is being deconstructed, and what meaningful conclusions about Indian nationalisms can be drawn when even the question of authorship is indeterminate? A historian would want to resolve the issue of a given text's integrity before proceeding to analyze it; Walker, while recog-

nizing difficulties, plunges ahead. For all the analytical sophistication on display, that decision undermines the whole exercise of categorizing Native writing as either transpositional or subjugated.

Nevertheless, it is disconcerting to read at the very end of this close exegesis of texts that the author herself doubts the validity of the exercise: "To some degree, the distinction between transpositional and subjugated discourse is arbitrary because acknowledgment of subjugation in the interests of raising consciousness concerning injustice is always both political (the domain of subjugated discourse) and utopian (the domain of transpositional discourse); all the writers we have analyzed here are operating to some degree in both modes" (p. 204). But long before this point, it is evident that Walker, in arguing the distinction between transpositional and subjugated discourse, is trying to nail jelly to the wall. Even if the effort is deemed worthwhile, the result is bound to be unsatisfying.

BRIAN W. DIPP
University of Victoria,
British Columbia

PAUL C. NAGEL. *John Quincy Adams: A Public Life, a Private Life*. (A Borzoi Book.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1997. Pp. xi, 432. \$30.00.

This book is designed mainly for a popular audience. It is well-written and worth reading, but it lacks footnotes, and except for the rare scholar who has spent many hours working through the 608 reels in the Adams microfilm collection, many of the quotes and details will be difficult to track down. Paul C. Nagel, who has spent many years working with the microfilm collection, has now written three books on the Adamses. The first book covered four generations of the John Adams family. The second centered on the Adams women, particularly Abigail, John Quincy's mother, and Louisa, John Quincy's long-suffering wife. It is from this background that Nagel tries to explain what made John Quincy Adams tick.

That is no easy task. Nearly everyone who knew Adams thought he was a master at hiding his true feelings. Historians have sometimes taken comfort in the notion that the "iron mask" came off whenever Adams sat down with his diary. But his youngest son Charles, who assembled his father's papers and edited the twelve-volume diary that scholars have long relied on, had no such illusions. He spent years studying his father and claimed that it was only on a few rare occasions that he understood what lay behind his father's frosty exterior. Most of the time, he contended, his father's feelings were "impenetrable."

Has Nagel penetrated the "impenetrable"? That is uncertain. In many respects, this book is a continuation of Nagel's earlier work on the Adamses and focuses more on the inner life of the family than on public affairs. As in his earlier books, the unsung hero is not John Quincy Adams but his wife Louisa. Everyone in the family had to cope with the Adams heri-

tage—the need to excel—and the constant pressure to “measure up” wreaked havoc on the family. Both of John Quincy’s brothers became alcoholics, and so did at least two of his sons. The oldest son, named after George Washington and expected to be the dynastic heir, eventually lost touch with reality, imagined that birds were speaking to him, and at age twenty-nine either accidentally or intentionally killed himself. The second son, named after the second president, died at age thirty-one, probably of alcoholism. In such times of crisis, according to Nagel, it was usually Louisa who held the family together and her husband who became totally incapacitated. He needed her more than she needed him.

“Had she received a college education,” Nagel adds, “Louisa Catherine might easily have become the scholarly superior of her spouse” (p. 416). This statement would have infuriated Adams, for, according to Nagel, it was in the realm of scholarship and literature that he wanted to win the world’s admiration and gratitude. By the time of his death in 1848, Adams knew that he had failed. Few paid much attention to his poems, his Harvard lectures, or even his long philosophical and historical report on weights and measures. Instead he was remembered for the Adams-Onís Treaty, for his failed presidency, for his fight against the gag rule, and for his role in the Amistad case.

But how could Adams have ever gained acclaim as a great poet, a major literary figure, or a great scientist? He never devoted the time to literature and science that he devoted to politics. And for a man who allegedly disliked politics, he certainly never acted like one. Maybe his wife was right in concluding that he had an “insatiable passion” for political office and political strife and that a life following literary and scientific pursuits would kill him. The men who asked Adams to run for Congress after his presidency also thought of him as a political animal. They were almost certain that he would accept their invitation, and of course they were right. Adams not only agreed to serve in Washington as a “lowly” congressman but did so for the next seventeen years. Why did he return to the political wars after his presidency? Why did he run for re-election eight times? And why did he expend his last words in 1848 registering his disapproval of the Mexican War? These actions, concludes Nagel, arose from “his all-consuming desire for political vengeance” (p. 419).

LEONARD L. RICHARDS
*University of Massachusetts,
Amherst*

REGINALD HORSMAN. *Frontier Doctor: William Beaumont, America's First Great Medical Scientist*. (Missouri Biography Series.) Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 320. \$39.95.

Reginald Horsman’s biography of physician and physiologist William Beaumont (1785–1853) recounts the life and times of an enterprising army surgeon who

performed medical experiments which, despite a limited education, thrust him into the international limelight. Beginning his career in 1807 as a schoolteacher in the Champlain region on the New York frontier, Beaumont expressed patriotic sympathies for the policies of the Democratic-Republicans, showed little religious curiosity, and was quick to anger and ready to quarrel at a moment’s notice to protect his conduct and integrity.

In 1811, he resigned from teaching and, with only a year of apprenticeship and no formal medical education, took up the practice of physic. During the War of 1812, Beaumont enlisted as a surgeon’s mate in the U.S. Infantry and, by treating disease and amputating limbs, managed to build a solid reputation as a military surgeon. As a doctor, he followed the practice of Scotsman John Brown, whose *Elementa Medicinae* (1780) urged the aggressive intervention of the physician through massive bleeding and purging. Beaumont’s notebooks reflect the ambitious nature of early American medicine and the depletive regimens taken for most sthenic conditions (calomel, antimony, bleeding, and opium). Like many of his contemporaries, Beaumont also made good use of botanical preparations, including carrot poultices, *Scutellaria lateriflora* (skullcap) to wash sores, horehound for pulmonary complaints, and enemas made of an infusion of senna.

Early in his career, Beaumont had the foresight to capitalize on a chance opportunity to study the stomach of a French Canadian man, Alexis St. Martin, who had been accidentally shot at close range with a charge of powder and duck shot. At Fort Mackinac, a small island in the strait separating Lake Huron and Lake Michigan, Beaumont kept meticulous notes on his “invalid boy,” whose wound showed no signs of closing. Remarkably, St. Martin recovered with a permanent gastric fistula in his stomach lining. Beaumont’s experiments on digestion and the action of gastric juice in and outside St. Martin’s stomach brought national and international recognition to this frontier army surgeon.

Beaumont’s early, pathbreaking experiments on St. Martin are significant because they were carried out in virtual isolation, both geographical and intellectual. Lacking any scientific research experience, he pursued his physiological experiments without preconceived theories of human digestion, or knowledge of the significant work done in Paris, London, and Berlin. Beaumont was also ignorant of the debates between those who saw digestion as a chemical process of fermentation and those who defended its mechanical or grinding process.

Supported in his research by Surgeon-General Joseph Lovell, Beaumont began observing the process by which foods were digested in the stomach. His techniques included dangling meat (salted lean beef, fat pork, fresh beef, corned beef), stale bread, raw cabbage, and other foods through the hole to determine how long they took to digest; observing the effect of calomel on the stomach lining; ascertaining the tem-

perature of the stomach; and studying the role of the gastric juices. First at Fort Mackinac (1825) and later at Prairie du Chien (1829–1831), Washington, D.C. (1832–1833), and Plattsburgh (1833), Beaumont continued his research. He concluded that gastric juice was the agent of chymification and began its action as soon as it came in contact with food; that it worked best in the warmth and motion of the stomach; and that it was secreted from vessels that were distinct from the mucuous follicles.

Other military duties, Beaumont's desire to build a private practice on the side, and St. Martin's own impatience with the research brought the experimentation to an end. Beaumont settled into a lucrative private practice in St. Louis and periodically sought to renew his experiments. Nevertheless, his writings found their way into American and European medical textbooks, lectures, and even into the popular culture.

Horsman is meticulous in placing Beaumont within the context of nineteenth-century medicine. The book might have been stronger if the author had explained the apparent inconsistency between the conclusions drawn by Beaumont on the relative digestibility of animal and vegetable foods and the popularity of the book among Thomsonsians, Grahamites, and other vegetarian food faddists. In all, however, the author has done a masterful job and one that compares favorably to his earlier biography of Josiah C. Nott.

JOHN S. HALLER, JR.
Southern Illinois University,
Carbondale

JOHN F. MARSZALEK. *The Petticoat Affair: Manners, Mutiny, and Sex in Andrew Jackson's White House*. New York: Free Press. 1997. Pp. viii, 296. \$25.00.

In December 1829, Pennsylvania Democrat George M. Dallas cautioned Secretary of the Treasury Samuel D. Ingham that "petticoats should not interfere with politics." Dallas, of course, was referring to the infamous "Peggy Eaton Affair," which had bubbled to the surface of Capitol society and become a *cause celebre* that influenced the composition and effectiveness of the administration of Andrew Jackson. The saga of Peggy Eaton has long been a staple for professors of the early republic seeking to awaken students from the somnambulance of the tariff and bank wars. Generations of future historians will thus be indebted to John F. Marszalek for rendering the first book-length study of this important scandal.

Marszalek views the Eaton affair as a window on the period. Margaret (as her contemporaries referred to her) challenged the restrictions of the manly Jacksonian era. She often acted in an unwomanly fashion, her bold behavior and smouldering sexuality bringing the wrath of her sex down upon her. The problems with genteel society revolved more around these behaviors, which flaunted and threatened the conventional role of women in the period, than around the issue of her chastity. "Old Hickory" exacerbated the situation by

converting the imbroglio into a litmus test of political loyalty. Furious at his opponents, who had hastened the death of his beloved Rachel, Jackson emerged as Margaret Eaton's white knight, the defender of unjustly maligned and slandered women. The president also personalized every event, saw enemies around each corner, and possessed sensitivity and suspicion bordering on persecution and paranoia.

Marszalek traces the early careers of the Eatons and Jackson. They intersected at William O'Neale's boardinghouse in Washington in December 1823, while Jackson served as a U.S. Senator. The general immediately bonded with the flirtatious twenty-three-year-old Margaret O'Neale and her family. Marszalek details the evolution of the headstrong Margaret from tavern keeper's daughter to bride of a cabinet member. A brash, attractive widow in 1828, Margaret married Secretary of War John Eaton too soon after the suicide of her first husband, navy purser John Timberlake. Polite society could not accept such morality.

Controversy swirled about the Eatons during the winter of 1828–1829. Most of the Washington upper crust—including the president's family, the Donelsons—snubbed Margaret, who remained on the periphery of society, ignored and uninvited. Jackson relentlessly attempted to force the Eatons upon the community—with little success. The president, who refused to recognize the rejection of Margaret as a social statement, conjured up a conspiracy that rested with Henry Clay and the National Republicans seeking to destroy his nascent administration. When the ridicule extended beyond the opposition, Jackson shifted the blame to the forces of John C. Calhoun, whose wife, Floride, had not been sympathetic to the Eatons.

A social ember blazed into a political firestorm as the Eaton affair consumed the cabinet by 1831. Politics and philosophy intertwined with the affair, placing Jackson in a hopeless position. Unable to separate social mores and political loyalty, Jackson dismissed his cabinet in the spring. Unfortunately, the removal of the Eatons from the Washington vortex and the creation of a new body of advisors did not end the drama. The Democrats splintered in the 1832 election and the Eatons sought to reassemble their lives away from Washington. Unrelentingly loyal, Jackson appointed Eaton as governor of Florida (1834) and then minister to Spain (1836). Marszalek treats the years after 1832 as a postscript for the Eatons but provides a satisfying outline of their lives. Rather ineffective in both public capacities, Eaton returned to Washington in 1840, became a Whig, and successfully practiced law until his death in 1856. Margaret, now a rich widow, operated within the framework of proper society until she agreed to an ill-advised marriage to a nineteen-year-old Italian dancing master in 1859. She divorced him a decade later and died virtually penniless in 1879.

Marszalek skillfully places this tale of a rebel—but not a feminist crusader—into the context of Jacksonian political and gender relationships. The volume is well written, appropriately anecdotal, and reflects

thoroughgoing investigation of primary and secondary materials. Although the strengths of the book are many, scholars may raise questions or take exception to certain points. Some may doubt Marszalek's suggestion of the primacy of the Eaton affair in the dissolution of the cabinet and Jackson's alienation from Calhoun. Others may wonder how Margaret managed to rehabilitate her reputation in the Washington of the 1840s, since neither her behavior nor the norms of the society appear much changed from a decade earlier. Still others may wince at the dustjacket's notion that "Andrew Jackson's first term was nearly a failure" or that the Eaton affair is "a hithertoforgotten story." Nevertheless, this is a welcome volume that chronicles not only an important chapter in Jacksonian politics but the role of women in a turbulent society.

JOHN M. BELOHLAVEK
University of South Florida

JEROME MUSHKAT and JOSEPH G. RAYBACK. *Martin Van Buren: Law, Politics, and the Shaping of Republican Ideology*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 261. \$35.00.

Martin Van Buren has been well served by historians. In addition to two recent, full-scale biographies, there are a number of valuable monographs dealing with aspects of his presidency and his role as party organizer. Until now, however, no scholar has looked closely into Van Buren's legal practice, which laid the foundations for his later political success. Jerome Mushkat provides the first comprehensive account of that practice and relates it to an evolving republican ideology that, he argues, guided Van Buren's choice of clients and approach to law.

Mushkat builds on the legal research of the late Joseph G. Rayback, who was working on a projected two-volume study of Van Buren at the time of his death. Restructuring and condensing the Rayback manuscript, Mushkat organized the material around a cluster of key questions that probe the larger significance of Van Buren's legal career. He did further research in the records of New York's highest law courts and the Court of Chancery and paid special attention to Van Buren's work as state senator and attorney general. To these sources, Mushkat added an impressive array of individual manuscript collections, contemporary newspapers, government documents, and secondary books and articles. His thorough spade work has produced an illuminating picture of a legal and political career in the making.

Van Buren practiced law for twenty-five years before devoting himself exclusively to politics after 1828. Born into a Dutch-American family of small freeholders, he lacked the social and educational advantages enjoyed by the elite Livingstons and Van Rensselaers. After desultory training in the local schools of Kinderhook, he read law with a Kinderhook attorney and was admitted to the bar shortly before his twenty-first birthday. By that time, he was an active member of the

Republican Party, and shared the "classical republican" values espoused by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison: limited government, popular sovereignty, and the encouragement of widespread property ownership as a bulwark against the power of great landlords and other privileged groups. In his early practice, Van Buren sought to implement these principles by championing the rights of small freeholders and tenant farmers in their legal battles with the manorial lords of the Hudson Valley. Restrictive English property law must be changed to serve the needs of a developing republican society, he argued, and he made effective use of the doctrine of adverse possession to help tenants free themselves from the burdensome obligations of perpetual leases.

As his practice increased and he began to attract more prosperous clients, Van Buren tempered his brand of agrarian republicanism with a strong infusion of commercial values. His embrace of "liberal republicanism" put a new spin on some old terms. "Individualism" now meant material advancement; "equality" connoted the opportunity to compete on equal terms for the rewards of a free market economy. In contract law, he persuaded courts to promote economic development by upholding private agreements based solely on the intent of the parties, without regard to traditional equitable concerns. Similarly, he argued that commercial bills of exchange should circulate freely from person to person, and that a bona fide holder of a negotiable instrument should not be bound by equitable defenses that might have been raised against a previous holder. Although the New York judiciary rejected his argument, the U.S. Supreme Court eventually endorsed his position in the landmark case of *Swift v. Tyson* (1842). As in his defense of tenant rights, Van Buren sought to "Americanize" the common law by replacing the paternalistic precedents of the eighteenth century with new doctrines attuned to the demands of an impersonal, market-centered society.

Mushkat is at his best when showing how Van Buren's practice contributed to his skills as a political organizer. The law, he points out, gave him a sense of order and discipline, which he carried over to party matters. Just as lawyers had to obey court decisions, Van Buren insisted that Republicans had to obey the policies laid down by a party caucus. Under his guidance, parties became organized around a set of ideological principles rather than charismatic personalities. And he chose the members of his inner circle—the Albany Regency—largely from the lawyers and judges he had encountered through his practice.

Densely packed with information, this thoughtful study casts fresh light on Van Buren's formative years and makes a strong case for his principled commitment to an evolving republican creed. The evidence is far from conclusive, however. A less generous commentator might argue that, with the exception of his consistent defense of tenant rights, Van Buren often changed his legal "principles" to serve a client's interests. Nor were the ideological lines between Republi-

cans and Federalists as sharply drawn as Mushkat sometimes suggests. Leading Federalist judges, including James Kent, often supported Van Buren's republican jurisprudence, and Federalist attorneys assisted him on many occasions in the presentation of his cases. In short, a final verdict on the "little magician" is not yet in.

MAXWELL BLOOMFIELD
Catholic University of America

DAVID G. DALIN and JONATHAN ROSENBAUM. *Making a Life, Building a Community: A History of the Jews of Hartford*. New York: Holmes and Meier. 1997. Pp. x, 326.

The histories of individual American Jewish communities, or Italian-American, Polish-American, African-American, Chinese-American ones, deserve to be told. They offer the base on which larger, more conceptually framed generalizations can be built, and they provide fundamental details about lived life on the local level. After all, without the narratives of specific communities, how would we know about housing patterns, occupational structures, family adjustments, institution building, and educational engagements? It was in places like Buffalo, Indianapolis, Portland, and, in the case of this book by David G. Dalin and Jonathan Rosenbaum, Hartford, as well as hundreds of other cities and towns, that immigrants settled, made a living, reconstituted families separated by the process of migration, carved out new institutional forms to suit their new living conditions, and reconnected, albeit in novel ways, to their sisters and brothers dispersed around the world. Local histories help us understand these matters in concrete ways for all groups who made up the American people.

For American Jewish history, local community studies play a particularly significant role in fostering understandings of the past. Official government documents, the United States Census in particular, offer few clues about where Jews lived, how many actually established themselves in any particular place, how they earned a living, and how those patterns changed from decade to decade and generation to generation. Focusing on particular places provides a way, in the aggregate, to overcome the general invisibility of Jews in larger, public documents. Additionally, American Jewish history, and American Jews in general, have suffered from a "New York problem." Since New York was American Jewry's behemoth, dominating not only the numbers but also the power, the production of texts, and the public consciousness of the Jewish people in America for most of their history, narratives of smaller communities, like Hartford, offer important correctives. This book, like the studies of other Jews outside of New York, demonstrates the complexities of adaptation and forces us away from telling the story of America's Jews solely from the vantage point of those who lived in the giant city.

American Jewish historians have remained very

much rooted in the social history paradigm of the 1960s and continue to focus on the basic building blocks of community as a way of crafting their analysis of the past. The kinds of questions they ask are very much dependent on uncovering local realities. They continue to assert, as do Dalin and Rosenbaum, the need to study ordinary people doing ordinary things as a way of exploring history. Although the authors here do not always keep their promise to avoid an "elitist" focus, they do provide much important data on, and compelling stories about, the Jewish women and men who tried to make a living in Hartford and who considered it their responsibility to help build a community there. This book deserves a place on the shelves of libraries alongside studies of other Jewish communities. It augments the store of available data on Jewish life in America, focusing on employment, housing, generational mobility, institutional infrastructure, engagement with politics, and inter-group relations. Following the pattern set by the earliest Jewish community histories, Dalin and Rosenbaum predictably chart the themes of first settlement; early integration; the origins of, and continued debate over, religious innovation; successive waves of immigration from farther east on the European continent; the uneasy encounter between newer immigrants and the long-time Jewish residents; and the eventual success of the Eastern European majority in creating the kinds of institutions that it, and its American-born children, preferred. Like most American Jewish tales, the history of the Jews of Hartford contains, and particularly ends on, a bittersweet note. After decades of struggle to make their lives and build their communities, Jewish affiliation has weakened, and the descendants, literal or figurative, of the book's subjects seem to take a relatively nonchalant attitude toward the meaning of their Jewishness, contemporaneous with their astounding economic successes and social integration.

Dalin and Rosenbaum weave into their narrative the biographies of institutions, synagogues in particular, and the biographies of notable individuals, the sons and daughters of Jewish Hartford, whose personal stories reflected the larger narrative of a community that went from obscurity and marginality to prominence and public acclaim. Like most of the works of this genre, the authors posit a trajectory that spans the themes of obscure beginnings, communal instability, institutional and personal achievement, and relatively grim forebodings about the future. It has a slight but predictable celebratory tone, praising Hartford as a setting for its "firsts" among American Jewish communities and particular individuals for their commitments, accomplishments, and leadership.

Although it certainly is among the best of its type of scholarship, this book, as a text, does raise some questions. Although it has all the markings of a scholarly book—dense footnotes, an extensive bibliography, the imprimatur of a respectable publishing house, and reasonable prose—it was paid for by a member of the Hartford Jewish community, who is

discussed in the book as a subject of historical analysis. There is no reason to believe that the family of the donor (now deceased) exercised any kind of censorship or pressure on the presentation of the material; nevertheless, it leaves a problematic impression. Should works of history be underwritten by their subjects? Furthermore, while controversies within congregations and institutions appear here, they are muted, and the authors, without any evidence, conclude that "Greater Hartford Jews have historically been agreeable even in disagreement" (p. 3). Changes take place organically, and the tensions that have ripped through Jewish communities do not make their way into the text. Rather, community consensus appears as the leitmotif, and we have no way of knowing if the data supports it or if the Jewish community of Hartford and its leaders, who are thanked so warmly in the introduction, wanted it that way.

As Dalin and Rosenbaum bring their narrative to a close, they become policy planners and predictors of the future, risky business for scholars whose task it is to analyze the past. Indeed, instead of offering an analytic conclusion about the history of Hartford's Jews, Dalin and Rosenbaum address themselves to those overseeing the future of Hartford itself. The book ends with recommendations to local officials on how to enhance life in Hartford and on the need to tie the financially strapped, numerically dwindling city to a larger, more vibrant regional economy, just as Hartford's Jews have connected themselves and their institutions to a Jewish regional infrastructure. Matters like this are not the business, or the expertise, of historians, and the ending and blurring of the historical focus raises questions about the authors' real interests and purposes.

HASIA R. DINER
New York University

WALTER EHRLICH. *Zion in the Valley: The Jewish Community of St. Louis. Volume 1, 1807-1907*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 441. \$35.95.

Walter Ehrlich, despite his statement to the contrary, has written the comprehensive history of the Jews of St. Louis. This is the first volume of two, instead of the proposed three, and covers the years from 1807 to 1907. Ehrlich very carefully and thoroughly examines the history of the Jewish community during these years; however, he does state that it could not really be considered a community until the 1870s, when the Jews of the city came together to provide relief for their coreligionists who fled the Great Fire of Chicago.

Ehrlich, who was raised in an Orthodox Jewish family in St. Louis, wanted to work on such a topic in graduate school but was persuaded by his advisers that ethnic studies were of lesser importance than subjects national in scope. Thus, he became a constitutional historian. His training is reflected in this work. For example, in chapter one, he meticulously examines those individuals who might have been the first Jew in

the city. He weighs the evidence, makes a judgment, and leaves the reader in no doubt about the correctness of his conclusions. Each of the following chapters is also carefully researched and written. The volume clearly reveals years of research.

The good points of the book are also its shortcomings. Its very thoroughness is intimidating. A myriad of synagogues and charitable organizations, often with all their officials listed, come and go. Since the book is organized chronologically for the most part, one does not get a complete story of most of these but rather a fragmented one. Few individuals stand out, except for the "colorful and dynamic"—and controversial—Rabbi Solomon H. Sonneschein, who had a "wonderful talent for making and keeping enemies" (p. 280). Descriptions of others seem to come from their obituaries. Ehrlich remarks about an early Jewish newspaper that "Nothing appeared in the *Tribune* that might present a detrimental view of the Jewish community. Certainly disreputable or indiscreet Jews existed in St. Louis, some even occupying cells in the city jail, but one would never read about that in the *Tribune*" (p. 240). The same could be said, with a few exceptions, of his book. In addition, women are barely mentioned.

The Jewish community of St. Louis never numbered more than seven percent of the total population during this period, but there were about 10,000 Jewish residents by the 1880s. They followed many occupations and lived in many parts of the city. Perhaps as many as half did not regularly participate in religious events. The original Jews came mostly from Germanic lands. They tended to Americanize and move away from Orthodoxy or Judaism itself. Just as they were becoming assimilated, the huge wave of Jews from Russian lands began arriving. They tended to be Orthodox and formed their own synagogues and charitable institutions. All this makes for a fairly complex history of the Jewish people of St. Louis.

This is a good book and an important book. It will be consulted by researchers as long as a copy exists. It is a treasure trove for those wanting to know about a specific synagogue, charitable organization, or community leader. This reader, however, fears that its encyclopedic nature means that few will read it in its entirety. The book has illustrations interspersed throughout, a bibliography, and an index. The index is especially important when one tries to trace an organization or individual.

JAMES W. HAGY
Charleston, S.C.

MARK COLVIN. *Penitentiaries, Reformatories, and Chain Gangs: Social Theory and the History of Punishment in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: St. Martin's. 1997. Pp. x, 294. \$45.00.

Mark Colvin has written a useful, if flawed, survey of the history of the American penal system in the nineteenth century, one tailored to undergraduate students. A sociologist, Colvin explores three develop-

ments: the rise of the penitentiary in the early national period, the changing treatment of women offenders during the nineteenth century, and the emergence of chain gangs and convict leasing in the post-Civil War South. These case studies enable Colvin to explore how class, gender, and race shaped the history of penal reform in the United States.

The book offers a nice balance of analysis and description. It raises many important questions such as how the emergence of a market economy and the Second Great Awakening promoted the beginnings of the Auburn and Pennsylvania systems of penal discipline. Colvin also explores how the antebellum cult of true womanhood and the later Progressive social purity crusade fostered efforts to reform, not just punish, female criminals. He also discusses the class and racial contexts in which southern penal practices developed. He does a particularly good job at exploring how racism and economic anxieties fueled a harsh system of punishment in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century South.

Colvin assesses major penal reformers, including Benjamin Rush, Thomas Eddy, Eliza Farnham, and Zebulon Brockway. I particularly liked his discussion of generational shifts among reformers. He offers a succinct analysis of how Josephine Shaw Lowell, born in 1843, mediated between earlier evangelical reformers such as Elizabeth Buffum Chace and later professionals such as Dr. Eliza Mosher.

I also commend Colvin for his efforts to infuse multiple theoretical perspectives into his historical analysis of penal discipline and reform. In his first chapter, he outlines the theories of Emile Durkheim, Karl Marx, Michel Foucault, and Norbert Elias. He suggests how students can utilize these theories to explore the transformation of punishment systems in the United States. He also explores some of the shortcomings of each theoretician. Foucault's focus on oppressive technologies of power, for example, caused him to dismiss the genuine humanitarian concerns of reformers and to underplay the ability of inmates to resist those in power.

Although it raises many provocative issues, Colvin's book has serious shortcomings. The first problem is that it relies exclusively on secondary works, some of which are already dated. There is no evidence that Colvin did any archival research for this book. Nor does his bibliography cite the published memoirs of noted reformers such as Brockway. When discussing the historical context in which penal developments occurred, Colvin all too often relies on what one or two historians have said about a particular period. At times the book becomes a cut and paste summary of several standard texts.

Colvin occasionally offers questionable interpretations of the past. He admires the subsistence economy and cohesiveness of colonial New England towns, yet he ignores the fact that these communities were also very hierarchical and harshly punished deviance from prescribed values. Colvin's assertion that "the need for

mutual cooperation" prevented "abusive male rule" in the colonial family contradicts widespread evidence to the contrary (p. 133).

If Colvin presents an overly rosy view of colonial society, he indicts the market revolution of the nineteenth century for all sorts of evils. This revolution undoubtedly had tragic consequences for many Americans. Yet Colvin oversimplifies when he blames it for transforming an allegedly altruistic and egalitarian America into a selfish, exploitative one (see especially pp. 32 and 45). Even if we share the latter view of the United States, various factors caused this sorry state. One need only recall the testimony of Native Americans on the greed and exploitativeness of the first white colonizers to recognize that these qualities marred American society from the beginning.

Colvin's discussion of the relationship between the Second Great Awakening and antebellum reform also disappoints. He almost caricatures "Moderate Light" ministers when he asserts that they "equated" "Christian grace" with "capitalist effort" (pp. 45-46). Colvin also offers a skewed perspective of evangelical reformers when discussing their commitment to self-discipline. He stresses reformers' fear of the masses and efforts to control or repress them. Yet, as Robert Abzug, Daniel Walker Howe, and other historians have recently shown, antebellum reformers were complex figures who sought to develop, not just repress, human beings.

As my comments suggest, Colvin oversimplifies complex historical developments. Fortunately he is on surer ground when discussing the emergence of different penal practices in the United States. Yet Colvin could have enriched this discussion by offering a better synthesis between historical narrative and sociological theory. Instead the former dwarfs the latter. To be fair to Colvin, he urges the reader to explore the development of penal practices from the perspective of a Durkheimian or a Marxist. Yet Colvin inserts these comments at the end of the major parts of his book: they are not integrated into his historical analysis.

Colvin omits reference to Thomas Haskell's provocative discussion of how the rise of capitalism fostered a change in people's sensibilities and led to campaigns against various inhumane practices (see the April and June 1985 *AHR*). This is unfortunate because Colvin tries to explore connections between the emergence of "civilized sensibilities" and the development of less sanguinary yet still oppressive systems of punishment.

Despite my criticisms of Colvin's book, it is one of the few texts that provides undergraduate students with a readable, concise history of punishment and penal institutions in the nineteenth-century United States. If used judiciously by teachers, it can challenge students to think critically about a crucial subject.

MYRA C. GLENN
Elmira College

KENNETH MOORE STARTUP. *The Root of All Evil: The Protestant Clergy and the Economic Mind of the Old*

South. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1997. Pp. x, 218. \$48.00.

Kenneth Moore Startup contends that the sermons of antebellum southern clergy provide a guide to the economic attitudes that pervaded the Old South and that they depict a region utterly preoccupied with making money. In studying hundreds of nineteenth-century sermons, Startup found an endless array of jeremiads lamenting the South's materialism, its obsession with moneymaking and acquisition, and its love for consumption and ostentation. The sermons suggest a world in which class divisions were intense, class resentments were pervasive, and entrepreneurial capitalism issued in abuse of both African slaves and white workers. It was a world of greed and avarice, contempt for manual labor, and simultaneous admiration and disdain for the wealthy planters.

Startup's intention is to reveal the economic mind of the Old South, not simply to survey the attitudes of the southern clergy, but it deserves note that his depiction of the clergy differs considerably from accounts that emphasize the growing accommodation of the white clergy to the expectations of the wider society. Startup presents a picture of ministers as prophetic critics of the region's economic culture, men who accommodated themselves to the institution of slavery but to little else about the commercial ethos. Whether they were themselves wealthy or poor—and Startup concedes that their own relative poverty as a class might have influenced their sympathies and antipathies—they excoriated materialism and greed. They had no quarrel with prosperity itself, so long as it remained within moderate bounds and did not lead to exploitation, but they stood virtually alone in their culture as critics of an unrestrained southern capitalist spirit. Indeed, in their critiques of the economic exploitation of slaves, they could sound almost as critical as the northern abolitionists, though of course they rarely raised questions about the institution itself. In any event, Startup emphasizes a side of southern clerical thought and practice that has not received much attention.

He accents practice as well as thought. Startup's clergy sympathized with the poorer classes and refused to attribute their poverty to either sin or laziness. Although they had little liking for programs of state intervention, they urged private benevolence, designed Sunday Schools as agencies of gradual amelioration, supported public education, formed benevolent societies, and constructed colleges explicitly designed to offer advancement to the sons and daughters of the plain people, who had difficulty paying their way in the more aristocratic state universities. Southern clerics complained about their own salaries as well, chiding their congregations for wanting more ministerial services than they were willing to support financially, but even this placed them at odds with the lay culture. In a brief concluding chapter surveying northern clerical attitudes, Startup finds a similar willingness to criticize

a love of wealth and unscrupulous means of attaining it. His clergy, northern or southern, accepted capitalism but deplored the materialism and greed that went along with it.

Startup is fully aware that Perry Miller attempted a similar depiction of a regional "mind" by drawing on material in sermons and other clerical writings. He is also aware that Miller's analysis of the New England mind has drawn severe criticism for generalizing about a complex society on the basis of a few elite perceptions of it. But he thinks that Miller's approach produces trustworthy results: why would the critique of materialism, avarice, and greed have been so frequent and so vehement if there had been no social reality corresponding to it? It is a good question, although the evidence is also consistent with conclusions that the Old South was no more materialistic than any other Western society and that clerical critiques merely reflected the formulaic conventions mandated by the suspicion of wealth in the New Testament. Christian preachers have routinely excoriated avarice and greed for centuries, in every place and time that has come under Christian influence. Sermons tell us what the preachers thought was happening. How can one independently validate their assertions? Startup does not take us very far beyond the sermons themselves, although his analysis of them raises important questions.

I am not convinced that Startup has revealed a common "economic mind" in the Old South, but he has moved us toward a more complex account of the relation of the southern clergy to their society. By moving away from the model of clerical accommodation, he has moved toward a richer, more nuanced, and balanced account of the functions of religion in southern culture.

E. BROOKS HOLIFIELD
Emory University

MARK M. SMITH. *Mastered by the Clock: Time, Slavery, and Freedom in the American South*. (The Fred W. Morrison Series in Southern Studies.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1997. Pp. xx, 303. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$16.95.

Mark M. Smith explores the history of the South, especially that of slave owners and slaves, in a decidedly different way. While historians have tended to treat the antebellum South as premodern and outside modern industrial time discipline, Smith puts the South firmly in the nineteenth-century Western world ordered by clocks. Indeed, he examines both the origins and applications of clock time in the South. In the author's view, the schedules posted by the postal system, the railroads, and steamship companies were major agents of change and "progress" in creating a consciousness of clock time. The rapidity of the telegraph added to this concern with calibrating time's passage. Smith chronicles with minuteness the increasing numbers of clock and watch owners in South

Carolina over the last few decades before the Civil War. Moreover, he examines both practice and ideology on the plantation. There he finds the clock driving much before it; the planters he delineates were thoroughly of the opinion that "time is money." With this orientation, they increasingly tried to bring clock-oriented management to the plantation through the use of horns or bells to mark work periods and rest periods.

Beginning his story in the late eighteenth century, Smith puts together an argument from a variety of sources. He draws on other cultural histories of time, such as Michael O'Malley's *Keeping Watch: A History of American Time* (1996), to set up a typology of kinds of time and reasons for its management. Smith does draw some distinctions among groups. For example, he asserts that southern plantation mistresses, unlike their husbands, still perceived time in religious terms and believed wasting it to be a sin against God rather than business practices. And Smith also looks both to the West African past of the slaves and their experiences in America to find the origins of their views of time and their resistance to clock time. Still, one wonders about the reaction of white small farmers and non-slaveholders, who receive little mention here, to these new reckonings of time. Some scholars may question whether the author's evidence about clocks, watches, and watchmakers, drawn from South Carolina, would hold for other parts of the South whose residents were not so integrated into a market economy. Moreover, Smith has few answers for why the South was considered so slow-moving and inefficient by observers such as Frederick Law Olmsted.

Smith builds his case carefully, almost overwhelming the reader with an avalanche of corroborating information for many of his points. Certainly he has found a multitude of evidence from disparate sources for his position that black and white southerners were quite aware of and even attuned to the clock. To Smith, this notion of clock time and its influence are a major part of nineteenth-century southern history; in fact, he argues that this was a major area of continuity between antebellum and postwar South: "There was no new time consciousness simply because southerners had already developed an understanding of time both compatible with and complementary to the type of time essential to the new bourgeois social and economic order demanded by emancipation" (p. 154). Smith plausibly asserts that without the prewar experience, both masters and freed people would have had quite different experiences.

Readers may be somewhat surprised by the general framework in which the author has cast many of his findings. Smith's time-conscious planters may evoke James Oakes's materialistic slave owners, and the conditions of plantation labor will remind some of Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman's arguments about the intensity of slaves' labor. Smith, however, is most interested in linking his arguments to those of Eugene D. Genovese. Here he focuses not so much on

Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made (1974) and its evocation of a premodern South as on Genovese's more recent writings, which have emphasized the tortured way in which slaveholders tried to present themselves as modern while holding to traditional values and especially to slavery as a morally superior labor system. Yet Smith's own findings suggest that most planters, despite their criticisms of "wage slavery" in the North, had few compunctions about the time-discipline they imposed on their slaves.

Readable, imaginative, and innovative, this study casts the Old South and its plantations in a new light. Scholars will be debating the extent of Smith's findings for some time.

JANE TURNER CENSER
George Mason University

CHESTER G. HEARN. *When the Devil Came Down to Dixie: Ben Butler in New Orleans*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 260. \$26.95.

Chester G. Hearn, the biographer of Admiral David D. Porter and the author of *The Capture of New Orleans, 1862* (1995), has now turned to the related subject of General Benjamin F. Butler's rule in the Crescent City. As his book's title indicates, he is not very favorably inclined toward the man the South called "Beast," although he attempts to be as fair as possible. At the core of the accusations against the Massachusetts general has always been the charge of corruption, and although Hearn concedes that the general was clever enough to hide any direct evidence incriminating him, he is nevertheless convinced that Butler made a great deal of money illegally while in control of the city and accuses him even of trading with the enemy. Hearn may well be right, but it is impossible to find direct evidence. Butler knew how to benefit from the misdeeds of friends and relatives, but he was always careful to do so without direct personal involvement.

Born in Deerfield, New Hampshire, Butler grew up in Lowell, Massachusetts, where his mother kept a boarding house for the famous Lowell factory girls. After attending what is now Colby College, he studied law and quickly established a name for himself in his profession. An active Democrat and the Breckinridge candidate for governor in 1860 (after voting fifty times for Jefferson Davis as his candidate at the Charleston convention), he nevertheless fully supported the Union effort during the Civil War, was appointed brigadier and then major general, and, after a stint at Fortress Monroe, was sent to accompany David G. Farragut's expedition against New Orleans. After the capture of the city, he became the commanding general there and made a name for himself by instituting a stern regime marked by the execution of William Mumford, a gambler who had torn down the American flag, and the famous General Order No. 28, which threatened to treat any female insulting a Union soldier as a "woman of the town plying her trade." At the same time, he succeeded in cleaning up the city,

preventing a major outbreak of yellow fever, and feeding the poor. He also raised one of the first black units for the army. His controversies with foreign consuls and the constant rumors of corruption, especially in connection with the activities of his brother Andrew, eventually induced President Abraham Lincoln to recall him and substitute Nathaniel P. Banks for the controversial general.

Hearn writes well and does full justice to this interesting material. Pointing out that Butler was a failure militarily (although conceding that the roughly 15,000 men at his disposal were not enough to allow him to undertake major offensives), Hearn criticizes him severely for abandoning Baton Rouge. He even adds a brief account of Butler's career following his recall, including further military setbacks at Bermuda Hundred and Fort Fisher, so that his book constitutes a very convenient overview of Butler's life.

The otherwise readable text is unfortunately marred by a few typos and errors. We read that Butler departed from New Orleans in December 1863 instead of 1862 (p. 4); Charles Sumner is referred to as a leader of the Democratic Party (p. 18); and Garrett Davis of Kentucky is called a Senator from Massachusetts (p. 194). It is also peculiar that Hearn refers to Roest van Limburg as the Dutch and Lord Lyons as the British foreign minister, when both were simply the ministers of their countries to the United States. And it is questionable whether Butler ever became a "Lincoln Republican," for, as he switched parties, he soon joined the radicals.

In view of the fact that Butler's alleged corruption in New Orleans forms one of the main portions of the book, it is to be regretted that the author did not amplify his contention that the general facilitated dealings with Confederate Secretary of State Judah P. Benjamin through a middleman. As Butler, who was bitterly anti-Semitic, hated the Jewish cabinet member, the charge that he countenanced an exchange with Benjamin of ten sacks of salt for one bag of cotton requires detailed documentation. One simple reference to a letter of George Dennison to Salmon P. Chase is not enough to substantiate so serious an accusation of trading with the enemy.

All in all, Hearn's volume, although not revealing anything particularly new, is a useful addition to the literature concerning Butler. It deserves to be read.

HANS L. TREFOUSSE

Brooklyn College and Graduate Center,
City University of New York

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN COOLING. *Fort Donelson's Legacy: War and Society in Kentucky and Tennessee, 1862-1863*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1997. Pp. xx, 408. \$38.00.

A decade has passed since the publication of Benjamin Franklin Cooling's well-received book *Forts Henry and Donelson: The Key to the Confederate Heartland* (1988). Cooling saw the capture of those forts, located on the

Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, respectively, as the Union's first major step toward gaining control of the Upper South. That action took place during the first year of the war, in February 1862. Now Cooling is back with an important sequel, to which those of us who knew it was in preparation have looked forward.

The current book is longer and more complex than its predecessor. It is solidly grounded in extensive and impressive research. Not only has Cooling consulted many letters, diaries, and memoirs in various depositories around the country, but also he has used the *War of the Rebellion* records to great advantage, ferreting out bits and pieces of enlightening information, many of which have not appeared in previous campaign and battle histories.

Cooling's new book is a successful example of what has been termed "the new military history." During the last couple of decades, Civil War military history has become broader and more reflective of the cultural and social aspects of war. There has been more concern with how the war affected all participants: civil as well as military, ordinary people as well as those of high position, and women as well as men. This has come about not because the great military chieftains, strategies, and campaigns are unimportant but rather because many of them have been "done to death." (Do we really need any more books about Gettysburg?) The new military history deals with lesser-known people (even unknowns) and with issues whose resolution is significant, interesting, and indispensable if historians are to have as complete a picture of the war as it is possible to achieve.

The subtitle of Cooling's book goes far in guiding the reader's expectations. Integrating social, political, and economic aspects of the war, as well as of the military, the author conveys a broad understanding of what was happening in Tennessee and Kentucky during the two years after the conquest of Forts Henry and Donelson. Much of the time, Cooling allows the participants to speak in their own words rather than paraphrasing their writings. Major battles like Stones River and Chickamauga, for example, are dealt with very briefly and only to provide context for the overall picture of the conflict. A number of smaller but interesting and important military actions are described at greater length. Cooling also corrects some oversimplifications and destroys some commonly held stereotypes about the war.

Perhaps most interesting is Cooling's crafting of the development of guerrilla bands and the rise of widespread resistance. He describes how the original Union policy of conciliation proved to be a failure, as military and political leaders did not grasp the depth of Confederate loyalty. Hence the Federal invaders soon turned to a generally oppressive military occupation, occasionally invoking the principle of collective responsibility for attacks on Union transport to justify the subversion of civil liberties and the confiscation of personal property. The fight was still for the hearts and minds of the American people, but the manner of

waging it had changed. In areas under its control, the Confederacy treated those whose allegiance to the United States remained steadfast in much the same manner as the Federals treated the Confederates. The overall results were terrible devastation, widespread retaliation, bloodshed, and bitterness—a form of “total war” over much of Tennessee and Kentucky.

By the end of 1863, Cooling writes, “the main armies North and South had gone. But there could be little doubt that the region now passed into a sort of twilight zone in the wake of the mighty battles” (p. 343). While Federal forces on land and water controlled rails, roadways, and rivers, “rough-hewn men in butternut and gray, shadowy figures and specters of lawlessness, prowled the countryside, often ‘governing’ or at least ‘ruling’ in the absence of duly constituted authority” (p. 342).

This is a fine book and an important contribution to scholarship. There is very little about which I would quibble. Cooling is now at work on a third volume that will carry the story to the end of the war. I look forward to its completion.

JAMES L. McDONOUGH
Auburn University

TERA W. HUNTER. *To 'Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors after the Civil War*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1997. Pp. ix, 311. \$29.95.

Tera W. Hunter has written a superb study of the lives and labors of some of the African-American women who struggled through the violent upheaval of emancipation and the crushing imposition of racial segregation in the American South from the Civil War to the 1920s. Hunter's sparkling prose, extensive reading of a wide range of texts, and layered, complex and incisive analysis reveal the work of an impressively humane, imaginative, and mature historian. Her acute descriptions of local conditions and cogent insights into the larger historical context stunningly illuminate the dynamics of race, class, and gender as they played out on the frightening, brutal terrain of southern segregation. Hunter portrays the racism and male supremacy of this system in all its ugly details, while at the same time helping us to understand, identify with, and celebrate the small victories and the larger triumph of black community survival that its supposed victims achieved. Her text constantly engages and re-engages the reader, helping us to imagine the lives of dozens of individuals who walk through the pages of this history.

Focusing largely on the locality of Atlanta, Georgia, but drawing some examples from other parts of the South, Hunter's book clearly outlines how a deeply oppressive racial order constrained every movement of African-American women, and indeed the entire black community. Both elite and working-class whites sought to maintain blacks as a servant class and racialized every aspect of human relations as Atlanta expanded into a burgeoning metropolis. Hunter carefully docu-

ments the ways in which whites created and enforced inequality through segregated and unequal housing, jobs, entertainment, places of recreation, schooling, city services, and health facilities, accompanied by many daily humiliations as well as castration, lynching, and race riots. Whites imagined even such a widespread and indiscriminate disease as tuberculosis to be a racial phenomenon and sought to curb it through racial repression.

Despite massive constraints, black women nonetheless sought to create a space for themselves and their families to “enjoy freedom,” and Hunter's success in helping us to attain a new sense of how they did this is the central achievement of her book. In attempting to gain some control over their own labor, black washerwomen and domestic workers—the single largest group of workers in Atlanta—organized themselves to raise their wages through strikes and demonstrations. They boycotted the worst employers, appropriated food and clothing from the white folks' homes for their own families, and set up individual businesses free from restrictive white oversight. By dressing up, carousing in juke joints, singing and dancing, and amusing themselves in other ways, black working-class women produced a culture of pleasure that countered the efforts of employers to turn them into perpetual work machines. While the black urban working class refused to fit into the cultural paradigms of racialized capitalism, the small black middle classes largely sought to emulate bourgeois respectability. Yet better-off and more educated African-Americans also struggled impressively to organize, sanitize, and clean up neighborhoods; to improve health conditions; to stop drunkenness; and to encourage education, capital accumulation, and family stability.

Hunter artfully weaves seemingly disparate and mundane daily survival struggles into a larger portrait that shows how black women created a space for personal freedom, advanced their families' fortunes, and found meaning and pleasure amid the blight of racism and poverty. She explains how working-class and poor people created a labor history based not so much in the workplace or the union as in the community, the family, and in a people's culture. This study is a triumph of research, astute analysis, and engaging imagination that deserves to be widely read by students of African-American, labor, and women's studies and of American history.

MICHAEL HONEY
University of Washington,
Tacoma

MARVIN E. KROEGER. *Comanches and Mennonites on the Oklahoma Plains: A. J. and Magdalena Becker and the Post Oak Mission*. Foreword by WILLIAM T. HAGAN. (Perspectives on Mennonite Life and Thought, number 12.) Winnipeg, Manit.: Kindred. 1997. Pp. x, 177.

In 1835, some forty Mennonite families led by Rev. William Lange migrated from the lower Vistula valley

of West Prussia to the Molotschna Mennonite colony in South Russia (now Ukraine) at the village of Gnadenfeld. Their missionary interests had been kindled by the Moravian Brethren in West Prussia, and in South Russia they were further encouraged by the Separatist Evangelical Brethren, a pietistic Lutheran group who were neighbors of the Molotschna Mennonites. Still another influence on the fledgling missionary interests of the "Mennoniten Brueder-Gemende" (Mennonite Brethren Church)—which terminated its communal relationship with the Molotschna Mennonites in 1860 over the issues of moral regeneration, cataclysmic conversion, and immersion as the only legitimate form of baptism—were the German Baptists, who in North America continued to encourage the Mennonite Brethren missionary interest following the great emigration to Kansas and other plains states of diverse Mennonite groups from South Russia in the mid-1870s.

After a decision by the Conference of Mennonite Brethren of North America in 1889 to enter the field of Indian missions, it was the Baptists who encouraged the Mennonite Brethren to seek Comanche Chief Quannah Parker's approval for the Post Oak Mission on the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation near present-day Lawton, Oklahoma. Selected as the first missionary was Henry Kohfeld, a young Mennonite Brethren farmer and school teacher from Lehigh, Kansas, who, following initial disappointments, was able to secure Chief Parker's approval (and that of the Bureau of Indian Affairs) in 1895.

But Kohfeld's success at founding the mission was overshadowed by his failure to receive any Indians into the Mennonite Brethren fellowship by baptism (although he managed several deathbed conversions). Quannah Parker, who selected the stony and unproductive quarter section of tribal land where Kohfeld began his labors in 1896, remained aloof and in fact discouraged rank-and-file attendance at Kohfeld's "Jesus House," as the Comanches called the religious edifice at Post Oak Mission. Kohfeld showed little interest in learning the Comanche language. As well, he was openly hostile to the gambling that followed the distribution of pasture lease payments and other funds consequent to the government's legal obligations to the tribe, and he was no more tolerant of polygamy and the use of peyote in traditional tribal social and religious affairs. Any move toward syncretic accommodation with the Comanches was frowned on, and it was almost with relief to the Indians (and perhaps the Mennonite Brethren missionary leadership as well) when Kohfeld's assistants—A. J. and Magdalena Becker—took the reins of the tottering Post Oak Mission in 1902.

Marvin E. Kroeker rightfully credits Becker, whom the Comanches called "Mother Becker," with the accomplishments at Post Oak over the span of five decades that led to the baptism of 425 Indians. Like Kohfeld, Abraham Becker never developed fluency in the Comanche language and thus relied on native

translators to articulate his unbending Christian fundamentalism to the Indians. He grudgingly tolerated but did not approve of Quannah's several wives, nor was he alien to the condemnation of peyote, gambling, native dancing, and "lazy" Indians whose interest in and labor on their mostly unfertile and often drought-ridden allotments was less than exemplary. On the other hand, Becker was able to report the first Comanche baptism in 1907, and through tent meetings, special dinners, and social affairs at the Post Oak church, the Becker team could report nineteen Indian members of the Post Oak congregation by 1910.

Kroeker credits Magdalena Becker with most of the achievements of the enterprise at Post Oak. Her appointment in 1904 to a half-time position as field matron for the Indian Office provided some modest financial support for the mission, but she most likely would have learned the Comanche language on her own and doubtless would have toiled tirelessly as teacher, nurse, cooking and sewing instructor, counselor, peacemaker, and loving friend of Comanche women and their families even without government support. In one year alone, she traveled 3,000 miles in her buggy to minister to the medical, social, and domestic needs of the Comanche people as they confronted the government's harsh policy of assimilation in the early twentieth century.

Notwithstanding his undisguised esteem for the Beckers and their work, Kroeker has chronicled the history of Post Oak Mission with fairness and scholarly objectivity. His use of church and government records is exemplary, as is his placing of one of the most successful Christian missions in Oklahoma within the framework of government Indian policy, Comanche social and economic change, and the evangelical proclivity of the Mennonite Brethren Church.

WILLIAM E. UNRAU
Wichita State University

RICHARD K. YOUNG. *The Ute Indians of Colorado in the Twentieth Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 362. \$29.95.

This interesting and informative study deals with the Southern Utes and Ute Mountain Utes who occupy adjoining reservations in southwestern Colorado. Richard K. Young's central purpose is to investigate the two groups' histories after the start of their reservations, a period frequently overlooked by earlier writers. Young adopts a comparative approach that works rather well because the two reservations share many conditions and experiences but often vary a great deal, too. Although the Southern Utes and Ute Mountain Utes are small in number and live in relative isolation, their experiences often illustrate larger patterns of reservation life, and this book is truly a microcosm for Indian history from the late nineteenth century to the present.

In a carefully crafted background chapter, Young discusses that the Utes originally were loosely orga-

nized into seven bands that never constituted a truly unified tribe. The bands, Young further notes, differed considerably in subsistence techniques, dress, and acceptance of outside cultural traits. Their contacts with the Spanish led to the adoption of the horse and other changes that produced a less harsh life and escape from many former uncertainties. The takeover of the Americans in 1848 brought the Utes under tighter authority and soon exposed them to a modern industrial economy, especially after the arrival of a railroad in 1881.

The Southern Utes, who numbered about 1,220 in 1880, managed to escape relocation to Utah in the late nineteenth century, but the federal government demanded that they accept land allotment. The Mouache and Capote bands consented to individual land assignments, but the more traditional Weeminuche band rejected allotment and retreated into the more remote western portion of Ute holdings. The Mouache and Capote occupied what became known as the Southern Ute reservation, while the Weeminuche lived on what is called the Ute Mountain Ute reservation. Inhabitants of the Southern Ute reservation experienced the more common government policies and made at least a partial transition to a white lifestyle by the early twentieth century. The Ute Mountain Indians, however, lived in a largely pre-reservation manner (except that raising livestock replaced hunting and gathering). Population levels on both reservations declined sharply after 1890 because of disease, lack of sanitation, and inadequate medical care.

Young's discussion of the New Deal era seems to underplay Indian Commissioner John Collier's attempts to reform Indian affairs. Programs such as the Civilian Conservation Corps-Indian Division created important opportunities to earn wages and raised income levels. Both reservations accepted the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), but with a notable lack of enthusiasm. Once in operation, the new IRA tribal governments were seen as instruments of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and constituents complained additionally that the council refused to listen to their ideas. Perhaps the major change of the era was that population numbers finally began to rebound.

In the latter portion of the book, Young paints a very bleak picture of the two reservations after World War II. Both gained sizeable monetary rewards from claims cases and revenues generated by leases of fossil fuels. Despite numerous attempts to devise plans for long-range development, the large sums of money largely went for per capita payments that, in turn, attracted recipients away from farming and ranching endeavors and created a new dependence on unearned income. Few have moved to cities. With rare exceptions, the attempts of the two tribal governments to start businesses have failed. Factionalism within the tribal governments further handicaps tribal officials' attempts to solve problems. Health woes such as diabetes and obesity, alcoholism, crime, broken fami-

lies, and abuse or neglect of children have greatly increased since the early 1950s.

Although the content of his book is often disturbing, Young deserves high marks for his scholarship. The study rests on solid research in Indian and non-Indian sources, tribal and federal documents, and personal interviews. Young focuses on political, economic, social, and cultural factors in developing his narrative. His use of a comparative approach is carefully done, nuanced, and productive. He repeatedly shows, for example, that both reservations faced similar problems, but they often devised very different solutions. Most importantly, Young fulfills his promise of objectivity. His straightforward discussion takes up key issues and analyzes them in an unbiased manner.

In sum, this is not a book to read for pleasure, but it does offer a fine treatment of two reservations, and it affords a great deal of understanding about Indian history in general since the start of reservations.

DONALD L. PARMAN
Purdue University

RICHARD W. JUDD. *Common Lands, Common People: The Origins of Conservation in Northern New England*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 335.

This book offers an important new view of the history of environmentalism in the United States that focuses on northern New England, including Massachusetts, from the late eighteenth century to the Progressive reforms of the early twentieth century. Richard W. Judd considers the full range of venues where people interacted with nature—farm lands, mountains and forests, rivers and inland lakes, and the sea—and discusses the multitude of forces that affected these land and seascapes: frontier settlement, agricultural specialization, the development of factories with their dams and concomitant pollution, different forms of fishing that utilized a range of technologies and reflected varying degrees of commercialization, and, finally, the growing importance of leisure and tourism with its demands for unfettered access to desirable game and sport fish or the quaint middle landscape of a rural society so different from the city.

In northern New England, man was not one with nature, to borrow Woody Allen's joke, but was two, three, or even four with nature. As Judd demonstrates, this was literally contested terrain that reflected a multiplicity of often conflicting interests. The strength of this study is in its detailed reconstruction of these conflicts as well as the different attempts to resolve them by private means, by local government, or through regulation and intervention by the state. Thus, much of Judd's attention is devoted to policy formation by the various state commissions for forestry; for fisheries or fish, game, and wildlife; or for rivers and the sea. The politics of natural resource management involved shifting coalitions between different parties, but one important constant, in Judd's estimation, was

the desire of ordinary people to preserve local control and availability, a sensibility that grew out of the tradition of the commons and the important role that foraging rights played in the rural economy. At times, these attitudes operated as a brake on state regulation, particularly when those laws served outside or commercial interests, but at other times they actually facilitated the emergence of state-sponsored conservation.

One example of these complexities is inland fishing. Battles during the mid-nineteenth century pitted local farmers who supplemented their diet by catching migrating salmon, shad, and alewives against commercial fishing interests that placed nets near the mouth of the river and jeopardized the entire run. These conflicts took place in the larger context of industrialization and the construction of factory mill dams that polluted the rivers and blocked the migration of fish. In order to guarantee a continued supply of fish for their inhabitants, some localities and states tried to force the construction of fishways around the dams, which, even when constructed, were not necessarily effective in allowing the fish to pass through. Others mounted efforts to reduce pollution or used fish hatcheries to restock diminishing populations. Later in the century, the increasing popularity of fly fishing by outside tourists introduced new elements into this piscatory political economy by "privileging" the stocking of game fish such as trout instead of food fish such as pickerel, which were easier to catch and preferred by the locals but were predators of the trout. Similarly, rural New Englanders also resented attempts to ban plug, lure, or bait fishing (but not the more elite and sporting fly casting), ostensibly to save the lakes from abuse by the local residents. In order to balance these interests, the state imposed limits on daily catches and introduced black bass and other species imported from different water systems, which offered some sport and were also good to eat.

Judd offers similarly complex analyses of related issues and conflicts having to do with woodlands, seaways, and other arenas where competing designs on nature led to attempts at regulation and control that varied from state to state and over time. In fact, the detail that is the book's strength can also be, at times, a weakness, as it obscures the larger argument and makes it difficult to see the forest for the trees. In a different vein, Judd's insistence on the centrality of the idea of the commons as a basis for resisting and negotiating outside pressures could use further development and refinement. There were a number of traditions and tenets that shaped rural opposition to larger forces of change that were not related to natural resources: Jeffersonian notions of local control, agrarian beliefs in the superiority of country life, and a hearty disdain for city ways. These found expression in a wide range of social and economic issues, and Judd would do well to consider their import in the matters that he discusses.

Still, by focusing on the attitudes of the common

people who lived and worked the land as well as the adjacent forests and waterways, Judd offers a useful corrective to our prevailing understanding, which sees the conservation movement primarily as an expression of elite concerns. This is a most interesting and informative study of the political economy of nature, the origins of conservation, and the multiple uses of natural resources.

HAL S. BARRON

Harvey Mudd College and the Claremont Graduate University

HAL S. BARRON. *Mixed Harvest: The Second Great Transformation in the Rural North, 1870-1930*. (Studies in Rural Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 301. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$18.95.

Because the social history literature on the rural United States has grown tremendously in the last fifteen years, it is now possible to compare the experiences of rural Americans with those of their urban counterparts. This task is especially important for the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, where analysis of the major changes of industrialization have been tied almost exclusively to trends in urbanization. Hal S. Barron traces the centralization of the economy, the expansion of state power and professional authority, and the rise of consumer culture in their less-explored rural context. Barron argues that rural northerners both accommodated to and resisted these changes and neither totally capitulated to the "new order" nor steadily held to past "traditions." Instead, rural people both participated in the new trends and, at the same time, continued to view them with a critical eye.

Barron organizes his book in three sections that explore rural Americans' changing roles as citizens, economic producers, and consumers. Separate chapters examine the politics of rural roads and schools, farmers organizing dairy cooperatives in New York and grain elevators in the Midwest, and the impact of mail-order catalogs and such hallmarks of consumer culture as standard-brand advertising, automobiles, radios, and electricity. In each case, Barron shows how rural Americans embraced elements of the new culture and entered into new forms of translocal organizations but also continued to value practicality and local independence.

The strength of Barron's book lies in its illumination of how rural America experienced the dominant historical trends of this era. Because his book covers territory stretching from Massachusetts to Nebraska, Barron maintains a broad canvas for the significance of his work. He narrows his discussion by choosing issues that were central to the transformation of rural life and showing arenas where rural Americans came into contact with the new centralized economy, politics, and culture. For example, his study of two forms of economic organization—dairy organizing in New York

and cooperative grain elevators in the Midwest—makes the broader point that Populist sentiment did not simply die in the 1890s but found new forms in local economic cooperatives. He also argues that historians need to reconsider the conservative reputation of the Farm Bureau in its early years. In New York, the Dairyman's League was characterized by grass-roots activism and opposition to corporate interests and had links to the Farm Bureau and county agents. In parts of the Midwest, the Farm Bureau found popular enthusiasm when it first attempted to organize local cooperatives. In both cases, after a 1916 dairy strike in New York and strikes in the 1920s in the Midwest, the Farm Bureau became more tied to corporate interests and less democratically supported. Despite new trans-local economic organizations, Barron concludes that farmers' cooperatives remained essentially local in orientation and not involved in political activism, limiting their "radical" or oppositional potential. One drawback of Barron's large regional swath is that he leaves almost untouched the sections of the Great Plains and the Great Lakes where farmers' organizations did combine economic organization with political activism.

Although Barron's research is strong and his conclusions for each chapter are persuasive, the chapters and sections often remain somewhat discrete and could benefit from more direct connections. For example, although Barron explores the ways in which farmers operated politically in the battles first against and then for better roads and in their determined and generally successful efforts to maintain local schools, he makes few generalizations about how these changed their view of themselves as citizens. His conclusions about the implications of political actions focus on the Farm Bloc and the New Deal, which grew more from the economic cooperatives he describes than from battles over roads or schools. The role of rural citizenship around these "non-economic" issues deserves even greater attention. Likewise, Barron's discussion of the success of rural-oriented appeals in mail-order catalogs and advertising illuminates subtly how rural people entered the consumer society but remained critical of a consumerist ethic. However, his insightful conclusion that rural life became "reified as a commodity that was 'consumed'" (p. 245) by rural people is never fully argued in his discussion either of rural-oriented advertising or of radio programs, such as the "National Barn Dance."

Another way in which the book segregates its sections is in its analysis of gender. In the first two sections, rural "people" are generally rural men. Women, and an integration of the extensive literature about farm women, only appear in substantial ways in the two chapters on consumption. This gender segregation ultimately hinders a full understanding of rural society. The producer/consumer divide along gender lines is, in some ways, artificial. The sewing machine is seen as a harbinger of "consumption" rather than a tool that altered women's production of clothes,

whereas the tractor is seen as a change in men's role as "producer" rather than as a means by which men entered a "consumer" society with greater purchases of gasoline or parts. Women also do not appear in the sections on citizenship, even though this was an era of enormous change for women's political participation, and women's organizations played a significant role in supporting and maintaining rural schools.

Despite these criticisms, Barron's book is a major contribution not only to rural social history but also to the literature on the transformations that characterized this era. Barron moves our perspective from the city to the country, a worthwhile journey that will be anything but a mixed harvest for those who make it.

MARY NETH
University of Missouri,
Columbia

MARILYN P. WATKINS. *Rural Democracy: Family Farmers and Politics in Western Washington, 1890–1925*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 239. \$42.50.

Previous studies of turn-of-the-century agrarian politics have centered primarily on the South and the Great Plains. Marilyn P. Watkins's discussion of Populism, Socialism, the Farmer-Labor movement, and the Grange shifts the focus to Lewis County, Washington. Here she discovers an absence of the divisive racial and class issues that undermined rural radicalism in the southern and plains states and finds instead efforts at agrarian reform that successfully included a cross-section of rural society and empowered local farm families in their dealings with business and governmental institutions.

Employing census and election records, local histories, newspaper accounts, church records, and the papers of various voluntary and political organizations, Watkins presents a detailed profile of Lewis County during a thirty-five-year period that witnessed numerous changes in agrarian life. The introduction of large-scale dairy and poultry farming into the region, the development of cooperative marketing associations, and the appearance of the county's first agricultural extension agent were only some of the innovations that occurred during this time. Rural residents readily implemented or adapted to change by remaining actively involved in the life of their community through participation in churches, lodges, and especially farm organizations. Watkins characterizes institutions such as the Farmers' Alliance and the Grange as inclusive organizations that not only espoused political goals favorable to family farmers but also allowed members a social outlet and fostered among them a sense of solidarity and belonging. Watkins notes that farm women particularly benefitted from membership in such organizations at a time when they lacked a more formal political role in American society. In her book's most important contribution, the author draws a parallel between men's and women's

work on the farm and their participation in farm organizations. Although a gendered division of labor existed on the farm and in farm associations, the work of both sexes was necessary to ensure success in either endeavor. Men might hold most of the public leadership positions within these groups, but women's work in preparing food, organizing entertainment, and publicizing reform agendas was equally vital. Building on the work of Nancy Grey Osterud in *Bonds of Community: The Lives of Farm Women in Nineteenth Century New York* (1991) and Mary Neth in *Preserving the Family Farm: Women, Community, and the Foundations of Agribusiness in the Midwest, 1900–1940* (1995), Watkins significantly advances discussion of the mutuality of men's and women's work in rural America.

For all their success in sustaining a relatively stable rural community and farm economy, however, Lewis County residents did not live in a utopia, as Watkins forcefully points out in the last chapter. World War I-era conflicts surrounding an influx of immigrant laborers into the area, union organizing among local lumbermen, and rivalries between town and rural dwellers shattered the county's confident self-image. Nevertheless, by the mid-1920s, most of these divisions had healed, and in the meantime, the county's farmers had continued to maintain their own autonomous organizations and economic independence—even in the face of increasing urbanization and centralization of state authority.

Watkins's investigation of farm family activism in Lewis County reveals patterns of behavior and achievement that differ significantly from those of agrarian movements in the South and on the Great Plains. As in many other such case studies, however, the actual people involved in these reform efforts sometimes get lost amid discussions of election returns and average crop prices. Greater inclusion of family farmers' own voices—via further mining of available letters and memoirs—would have made for livelier reading and ensured that farm families themselves remained front and center in the Lewis County story. Watkins's analysis of participatory democracy in rural Lewis County nevertheless illustrates the continuing need for local case studies to enhance our understanding of agrarian social and political movements at the turn of the century and makes a valuable contribution to the literature on agrarian radicalism, rural voluntary organizations, and farm women's history.

KATHERINE JELLISON
Ohio University

PAUL KENS. *Justice Stephen Field: Shaping Liberty from the Gold Rush to the Gilded Age*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1997. Pp. viii, 376. \$39.95.

Paul Kens's study significantly refines our understanding of late-nineteenth-century constitutionalism. Progressive era historians depicted the late-nineteenth-century Supreme Court as centrally concerned with combatting the growth of socialism, constitutionalizing

laissez-faire economics, and promoting the interests of big business at the expense of the laboring classes. For the last quarter of a century, revisionist historians have countered the Progressives' claims with evidence that late-nineteenth-century jurists drew their constitutional principles from the free labor and equal rights ideologies of Jacksonian Democracy. Intriguingly, the Progressive and revisionist scholars frequently have drawn their differing interpretations from studies focused on Justice Stephen Field, whom they both regard as the Gilded Age's paradigmatic jurist.

Kens persuasively argues two correctives to the Progressive and revisionist views. Kens first contends that Gilded Age political-legal culture was split into two camps defined by how they responded to the growth of large-scale corporate enterprise. One camp, impressed by the acumen, accomplishments, and contributions of the individuals who created and led large corporations, continued without modification the Jacksonian tradition of conceiving the state as the only threat to individual liberty. This group did not regard any form of private enterprise as inimical to personal liberty and social well-being except enterprises expressly granted monopoly privileges by the state. The other camp thought that large-scale enterprises were powerful monopolies that threatened individual liberty even when they lacked explicit government protection from competition. This group, in a major modification of its Jacksonian inheritance, turned to the state as a counterweight to regulate the economy and ensure that the owners of aggregated capital would not crush the economic and political liberties of ordinary citizens.

Kens demonstrates that both camps fairly presented themselves as the true elaboration of Jacksonian principles in the Gilded Age. He also demonstrates, for example through a review of such landmark decisions as *The Slaughter-House Cases* (1872), *Munn v. Illinois* (1877), *The Sinking Fund Cases* (1879) and *Powell v. Pennsylvania* (1888), that the more proregulatory strand dominated Gilded Age political-legal culture and its Court.

Kens's second contention is that Field was part of the more anti-regulatory and less dominant group. This accounts for Field's dissents in all the above-mentioned cases as well as his electoral misfortunes. Field twice attempted to secure the Democratic Party's nomination for president, in 1880 and 1884, promoting himself as the candidate who could achieve victory by uniting the West and the South. Field had some success in appealing to the South due to his remarkably strong states-rights stance, a stance that led him to dissent in such civil rights cases as *Strauder v. Virginia* (1880) and *Ex Parte Siebold* (1880). Yet both times Field's candidacy foundered when he failed to garner support in the West, even in his home state of California. Kens traces Field's failure in the West to the strength of proregulatory sentiment within the California Democratic Party and the party's concomitant

animosity to Field for his long-time opposition to these views.

Field is both a subject and a foil through which Kens explores Gilded Age constitutionalism, particularly its concept of liberty. In his analysis, Kens seamlessly draws from his expertise as both a political scientist and a legal historian. He artfully presents the politics and law of Field's decisions and the culture in which they were embedded. The book's emphasis on California political-legal culture may strike some readers as unbalanced. But the focus on California is rewarding because of its originality and its extensive use of archival sources. Kens's exploration of the politics and law surrounding California's Mexican Land Grants, railroads, Chinese population, and constitutional conventions (as well as Field's role in these issues) is a significant contribution to western history. At the same time, Kens's California focus nicely complements and illuminates his general thesis and research on Gilded Age political-legal development as a whole.

Kens's appraisal of the Gilded Age would be stronger if his sketches of the preceding and succeeding eras were more nuanced. Because Kens never recognizes that attitudes toward large-scale enterprise and state regulation were divided in both Jacksonian and Gilded Age America, his explanation of Gilded Age attitudes is simpler than it should be. Kens also questionably asserts that Field's conception of liberty grew to dominance after he left the court in 1897. In the early twentieth century, the court was more protective of private enterprise than it had been in the Gilded Age. It also was more proregulatory than Field suggested in his Gilded Age dissents. The outcome of the conflict between Field and his adversaries was an amalgam and alteration of the two stances.

Still, despite a need to draw clearer distinctions between constitutional eras, Kens's take on Gilded Age constitutionalism is generally convincing. He provides a sound foundation for further studies of American political and constitutional development.

STEPHEN A. SIEGEL

DePaul University College of Law

JUDY HILKEY. *Character is Capital: Success Manuals and Manhood in Gilded Age America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1997. Pp. 210. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$17.95.

"Life is warfare" (p. 79). "There is always room at the top" (p. 82). "Where there's a will there's a way" (p. 146). How can one write freshly about such banalities? The challenge is doubly daunting because historians of an earlier generation—notably Irvin Wyllie in *The Self-Made Man in America* (1954)—have already furnished graceful outlines of success ideology. Judy Hilkey's response to this challenge is twofold and largely successful: first, by limiting herself to subscription volumes published between 1870 and 1910, she can specify at least approximately who wrote, sold, purchased, and possibly read these guides to success.

Second, by drawing on historiography of the 1970s and 1980s, Hilkey finds dramatic social conflict and anxiety within hackneyed texts.

Compiled by educators, publicists, and ministers with a tolerant view of plagiarism, extensively illustrated, and gaudily bound, these volumes bulked large and cost two to four dollars, well above ordinary books. They were marketed by traveling salesmen soliciting advance orders. These drummers were instructed to target rural and small-town folk of middling status—farmers, mechanics, and clerks—who presumably worried how they and their sons would adjust to the new industrializing economy. Hilkey argues at length for the significance of subscription success manuals, adducing numbers of titles: at least thirteen in the 1870s, twenty-five in the 1880s, thirty-eight in the 1890s, and sixty-eight more between 1900 and 1910. Annually, these numbers were less impressive; but total sales over the decades aggregated in the millions. Discounting pressures by salesmen, Hilkey asserts repeatedly that if purchasers of modest means spent hefty sums, the books must have responded to their concerns.

Writing in the 1950s, Wyllie noted critics of the success gospel, but from outside the faith: Gilded Age radicals and Progressive era social realists. Today, Hilkey finds social conflicts embedded within the bipolar categories with which success manuals confronted young men. The stark alternative of success or failure voiced fears of the new economy; yet if "acres of diamonds" lay "where you are today" (p. 103), young men need not abandon small-town America for the alien metropolis.

Although volumes published after 1900 constitute nearly half Hilkey's total, she largely excludes them from analysis on the grounds that they had shifted from character to personality as the prescription for success. Praise of character simultaneously condemned the Gilded Age's shallow materialism and promised that men without financial capital could nonetheless succeed. Character, writes Hilkey, formed the basis of a new middle class distinguished by moral respectability from both "ostentatious capitalists" and the "immigrant underclass" (p. 128). By redefining class conflict as the moral and energetic versus the sinful and shiftless, success writers explicitly challenged the radical ideology of capital versus labor. The equation of success with achievement of character promised success—of a sort—to all worthy strivers. Although corporate expansion was swelling white-collar employment, Hilkey believes that success ideologists still identified manliness with entrepreneurial or professional independence; she dismisses extensive pronouncements on pleasing employers as tactical advice for young men working toward eventual autonomy.

An alternative formulation made manhood—strong-willed yet moral—both the means and the measure of success. In this vein, Hilkey's authors celebrated will-power as controlled potency: a man must "keep his

resources well in hand,' and avoid 'going off unexpectedly like a rusty firearm'" (p. 149). Yet Hilkey cautions against letting the metaphor outweigh the message, asserting only that "sexualized language added a new level of intensity to an already intensely individualistic ideology of success" (p. 150). Defining success as achievement of manhood finessed the problem that not all could be millionaires. Although femininity signified failure in this bipolar world, Hilkey again warns against misconstruing the manuals' central focus. Strictures against effeminate men and undomestic women reinforced gender differentiation. But fundamentally, success ideology addressed anxieties about the new industrial order, assuaging fears of change, social conflict, and personal failure by equating success with character and manhood: traditional values would prevail, and worthy men could succeed.

The book's steady focus and tone entail certain costs. Some interesting discussions have been relegated to endnotes. The historiographical context occasionally seems narrow. Recent rural history might have complicated Hilkey's view of the manuals' purchasers. Timothy Spears's *100 Years on the Road: The Traveling Salesman in American Culture* (1995) suggests an irony that manuals of sober virtue were marketed by men popularly known for joking and even ribaldry. And Hilkey might have weighed the manuals' ideal of relentlessly responsible manhood against more impulsive and passionate styles of late-nineteenth-century masculinity depicted by writers such as E. Anthony Rotundo (*American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* [1993]). Even so, interpretive restraint, careful presentation of evidence, and clear, direct writing make this a model monograph.

DAVID MACLEOD
Central Michigan University

WILLIAM N. TILCHIN. *Theodore Roosevelt and the British Empire: A Study in Presidential Statecraft*. (The Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute Series on Diplomatic and Economic History.) New York: St. Martin's. 1997. Pp. xvii, 302. \$45.00.

Focusing on Anglo-American relations during Theodore Roosevelt's presidency, William N. Tilchin makes a very strong, if not altogether convincing, case for TR's superiority over other U.S. presidents in the conduct of American foreign relations. His book resembles Howard K. Beale's classic study, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Rise of America to World Power* (1956), but it is less critical. In this regard, Tilchin's interpretation is closer to those of Charles E. Neu in *An Uncertain Friendship: Theodore Roosevelt and Japan, 1906–1909* (1967) and Frederick W. Marks III in *Velvet on Iron: The Diplomacy of Theodore Roosevelt* (1979).

Using both the relevant American and British primary sources and the extensive secondary literature on TR and Anglo-American diplomacy, Tilchin clearly

demonstrates the president's complex combination of American nationalism and pro-British attitudes and policies. Usually beyond public view, TR carried on extensive correspondence with British friends to nurture a pro-American orientation in London. In return, he generally supported the British Empire in the imperial rivalries before World War I. This "special relationship" enabled the United States to win British concessions in the settlement of the Alaskan boundary dispute and the establishment of U.S. hegemony in the Caribbean. It also benefited the British Empire, notably during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905 and the Moroccan crisis of 1905–1906. The close Anglo-American relationship triumphed during the Jamaican earthquake in 1907, preventing the indiscreet remarks and behavior of the British governor, Alexander Swettenham, from causing a serious Anglo-American crisis. Tilchin's account of this particular incident supports his overall thesis about TR's pivotal role in nurturing the "special relationship." No other controversy during the last two years of TR's presidency, whether involving Japanese immigration or Newfoundland fisheries, threatened the "seasoned friendship" that TR had nurtured in Anglo-American relations.

Tilchin's study deserves comparison with Gail Bederman's brilliant book, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917* (1995), which apparently appeared too late for him to take it into account. Bederman examines TR's concept of civilization to elucidate his understanding of nationalism and imperialism, and she relates this discourse to his views of manliness and masculinity. She, too, notes that TR's American nationalism derived from Great Britain's Anglo-Saxonism and imperial interests. Both Bederman and Tilchin offer remarkably similar perspectives on TR's concept of civilization. They both recognize the hierarchical and racist structure in TR's discourse, which privileged English-speaking men. Tilchin, too, notes TR's anxiety over race suicide resulting from the low fertility rate of English-speaking people and his concern for manly virtues. "In Roosevelt's eyes," writes Tilchin, "the most important qualities shared by the most 'civilized' nations and peoples included 'social efficiency'; a desire and capacity for order; a willingness selflessly to undertake noble tasks; and the 'manly virtues,' success at breeding and fighting being prominent among such virtues" (p. 24).

In some respects, Tilchin's account is more nuanced than Bederman's. He weaves together TR's cultural and geostrategic views, noting, for example, that TR regarded the Japanese as a civilized people and thought that the Chinese might also move up into that category. In other words, although a white racist, TR's idea of "race" was less rigid than it might at first appear. Tilchin emphasizes the linkage between TR's concept of civilization and his view of the global balance of power. He understands that these cultural and geostrategic aspects of TR's worldview were integral parts of a whole, not alternative approaches to

world affairs. He rejects Frank Ninkovich's interpretation (in "Theodore Roosevelt: Civilization as Ideology," *Diplomatic History* [1986]), while Bederman embraces it.

Tilchin and Bederman, despite remarkably similar analyses of TR's discourse on "civilization," offer very different assessments of his presidential statecraft. Her view is negative, while his is positive. He concludes that historians might well consider TR "the greatest practitioner of statecraft in the twentieth century" (p. 243). Perhaps, but before historians reach that conclusion, we need to scrutinize the values of the "civilization" that TR epitomized. Bederman's book is thus a good counterpoint.

Nevertheless, Tilchin's study of TR's presidential statecraft provides an excellent overview of the cultural and geostrategic aspects of Anglo-American relations and especially of TR's personal contribution to that "special relationship."

LLOYD E. AMBROSIOUS
University of Nebraska,
Lincoln

BRIAN McALLISTER LINN. *Guardians of Empire: The U.S. Army and the Pacific, 1902-1940*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1997. Pp. xvi, 343. \$39.95.

For historians with interests in military aspects of metropolitan-colonial conflict, the effects of imperial duty on army institutional culture and strategic thinking, or the problems for national defense created by far-flung empire, Brian McAllister Linn's study of the U.S. Army in the Pacific between 1902 and 1940 offers some unique and valuable insights. Concentrating on the Philippine and Hawaiian Departments, Linn examines the multiple, often conflicting missions the army confronted in securing and maintaining American governmental control of its newly acquired Pacific empire and providing for its defense from external enemies. To accomplish these missions, army leaders had to balance the threat of subversion with the need for additional troops who could potentially come in largest numbers from raising native military forces. Moreover, the army had to decide on a strategy that would fulfill United States political obligations to defend these American dependents with little prospect, especially in the Philippines, of receiving support sufficient to achieve military success.

To address these issues, Linn examines an exhaustive array of published works as well as unpublished army sources in eighteen different archival holdings, including official records, personal papers, and manuscript collections. Linn examines the nature of army life in the Carabao Army and Pineapple Army from senior officers to junior enlisted. He captures much of the flavor of imperial duty with its endless series of social functions for officers and their wives, popular athletic competitions among units, and grueling expeditionary work under debilitating tropical conditions.

He describes a complex, Kiplingesque world gleaned from the soldiers' perspectives. Linn also probes effectively the thinking and decisions among top commanders and their staffs about how to address shifting needs for constabulary forces, coastal defenses, and mobile counter-landing units. He is often refreshingly direct in assessing and explaining various strengths and shortcomings of army policies. For example, he makes a strong case against Chief of Staff Malin Craig for allowing subordinates in the Philippines to develop war plans in the late 1930s that directly contradicted the guidelines drawn up by the War Plans Division in Washington, and Linn's alternative explanations for this failure are themselves intriguing and provocative.

This book can also be seen as a contribution to a new generation of traditionalist military history. Although there is much that might appeal to a broad audience, Linn frequently becomes immersed in esoteric issues of strategy, doctrine, or military organization that will probably be of interest only to military history specialists. The traditionalist approach is marked as well by the fine line between empathizing with one's subjects and becoming an apologist. Linn is conscious of such potential criticism throughout the book, and he often attempts to achieve balance, as when he writes that "American officers—ethnocentric, culturally insensitive, and arrogant though they were—nevertheless tried to direct pacification efforts so that the hard hand of war fell only on those in violent rebellion, and then only as long as they continued to fight" (p. 47). Aside from acceptance of questionable terms like pacification, the author is dodging the central question when he maintains that U.S. imperial policies were especially enlightened in comparison to those of France or Japan, or when, in a single sentence, he shifts the focus from "instances of army prejudice" back to "the generally harmonious relations between soldiers and civilians" (p. 250). Perhaps most problematic is the fifth chapter, "The Pacific Army and the Community," in which Linn shields his subjects behind a call to understand racial and class prejudice in the historical context, only to construct that context in narrow terms from army sources. These sources are essential to explore institutional concerns, but they are of limited value in charting the complex range of cooperation, collaboration, and resistance among the tremendously diverse people of the Hawaiian and Philippine islands.

Linn has crafted a meticulously researched and well-written military history of a subject that has not been extensively explored. He presents sympathetic insights into army understanding of the problems it confronted and critical analysis of how effectively soldiers addressed those problems given their limited resources and internal disagreements. Although it is not the author's purpose to compare systematically U.S. policy and adaptation to other imperial powers, his research on the American army will make such comparative work more fruitful. Within limits, Linn conveys effectively a sense of how the army at various levels understood its political, social, and military

obligations and how the soldiers attempted to solve, bury, or otherwise reconcile problems inherent in policing and defending large, populous, and distant territories.

CRAIG M. CAMERON
Old Dominion University

THOMAS F. O'BRIEN. *The Revolutionary Mission: American Enterprise in Latin America, 1900–1945*. (Cambridge Latin American Studies, number 81.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 356. \$49.95.

Thomas F. O'Brien has moved the debate about the infiltration of American business into Latin America from the economic realm to the cultural, contending that the arrival of U.S. investments between 1890 and 1930 amounted to an invasion of corporate culture. In defining U.S. business culture, he refers to ideas of individual freedom, scientific rationality, meritocracy, efficiency, competition, and consumerism. O'Brien devotes the first chapter of this book to explaining how, in the nineteenth century, American industrialists nurtured these attributes at home before taking them abroad. They entered Latin America at the invitation of political elites seeking methods of ending the region's relative economic stagnation. American corporate culture eventually clashed with extant Latin American cultural traditions, however, which O'Brien identifies as emphasizing community, mutuality, cooperation, state interventionism, and monopoly production and distribution.

The core of the book consists of case studies of U.S. investments in Nicaragua and Honduras (mining and bananas), Peru and Chile (mining), Cuba (sugar and electricity), and Mexico (mining, electricity, and petroleum). Curiously, O'Brien hardly mentions the railway companies that antedated nearly all direct U.S. investment in Latin America. Much of his information on labor strikes comes from U.S. diplomatic and consular correspondence; for business activities, O'Brien draws on company archives. Scholars will find that the chapters on Cuba and Chile are the most satisfying and rich; in them, O'Brien relies on a solid foundation of Spanish and English-language sources and documentary research. Experts on the other countries may be disappointed in the author's command even of the secondary literature.

Each case study deals with the intentions of American managers to remake one or another Latin American nation in the U.S. image (thus the book's title). They usually entered a national economy by buying into an export sector, importing the latest technology, and installing rigid systems of labor discipline. O'Brien analyzes what he sees as the reactions of Latin Americans to the cultural invasion: the ambivalence of the elites toward the loss of economic sovereignty, the demands of the middle class for regulation of foreign capital, and the "popular nationalism" of the petite bourgeoisie. O'Brien also brings in the workers. In

particular, he chronicles their numerous strikes in foreign-owned plantations, ports, mines, and oilfields. O'Brien contends that the workers' opposition led to alliances with petit bourgeois and middle-class elements, forming what he calls "resistance communities." He acknowledges that the Great Depression especially stimulated this resistance to U.S. economic domination and the beginning of regulation and expropriation of foreign assets.

O'Brien's approach to this study combines structuralist tools of analysis with a James Scott-Herbert Gutman perspective on workers' resistance, although he utilizes the former more consistently than the latter. He explains national development in terms of shifting multi-class alliances. On the side of American corporate culture are foreign managers, liberal politicians, the nation state, political leaders of the 1920s like Gerardo Machado, Augusto Bernardino Leguía, and even the Mexican revolutionary elite of the 1930s. Arrayed in opposition to the cultural invasion are industrial workers, the petite bourgeoisie, the middle class, small landowners, and the peasantry. O'Brien treats most strikes and political movements as if they represented a rejection of American corporate culture. These conclusions deserve to be widely discussed and subsequently researched. Indeed, the subject may be even more important than O'Brien lets on, for American investors today are once again entering Latin America in much the same capacities as they did at the end of the last century.

I would like to suggest an alternative hypothesis, based on O'Brien's evidence. Scholars should consider how these business persons compromised their customary practices in order to operate overseas. O'Brien's own evidence points the way. In the first place, many U.S. companies accomplished different tasks in Latin America than they did at home. United Fruit had been but a consortium of produce sellers in the United States; in the Caribbean basin, the company became a producer of bananas and a refiner of sugar cane, working directly with Central American and Cuban landowners. O'Brien also explains how many foreigners took up business practices that supposedly violated their domestic corporate culture—bribing government officials in order to acquire concessions, placing politicians on the payroll, lending money to the government, and financing local political campaigns. North American supervisors took advantage of established labor systems. They used *enganche* in Peru to recruit Indian peasants for the mines; they adapted themselves to high rates of labor turnover in Chile; they ceded control of underground operations to contract laborers in Mexican mines. One American owner created "a patriarchal environment" at his Nicaraguan mine, hardly a new feature to the native-born workers. In Cuba, American managers conformed to a colonial-style workplace by assigning different jobs to Spanish immigrants, Cuban workers of color, and immigrant West Indians.

In other words, the corporate executives did not

succeed in Americanizing their hosts, if indeed this may have been one of their goals. Workers' resistance and multi-class alliances surely prevented it, as O'Brien asserts, yet just operating in Latin America forced many foreign managers to conform to local customs. In the final analysis, they may have been pragmatically seeking profits rather than proselytizing a different set of beliefs.

JONATHAN C. BROWN
University of Texas,
Austin

LESLIE J. VAUGHAN, *Randolph Bourne and the Politics of Cultural Radicalism*. (American Political Thought.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1997. Pp. xii, 266. \$35.00.

"Randolph Bourne Lives," an anonymous enthusiast chalked high on an American wall during the heyday of the uprising against the Vietnam War. In those tie-dyed days, one did not have to go far on any university campus to find a well-thumbed paperback edition of Randolph Bourne's paeans to youthful radicalism or his searing dissents against American involvement in World War I. Reading Bourne (1886–1918) was *de rigueur* both in the classrooms and the coffee houses. But today?

Leslie J. Vaughan hopes that her book will help bring about another revival of interest in Bourne. She is convinced that Bourne, who was never very "political" in the traditional sense of the word, was an intensely political thinker. To argue that, Vaughan advances the view that "politics" at bottom is the way we think about culture and society. There is little that is novel about Vaughan's definition. Among literary people—and Bourne was a literary figure—Irving Howe made the point brilliantly over forty years ago in *Politics and the Novel* (1957), as did George Orwell earlier, and Friedrich Nietzsche even earlier. Revealingly, Vaughan's central thesis about Bourne's thinking is based on Nietzsche's famous notion that human beings are governed by a tension between an Apollonian quest for rationality and social control and a Dionysian desire to sing and dance wildly. Bourne's genius, says Vaughan, was his ability to see both sides of the Nietzschean divide and his resulting "unwillingness to choose between them or resolve them into some higher synthesis," making him "unique among the progressives and radicals of the early century" (p. 4).

Vaughan is especially interested in peeling back the layers of Bourne's several autobiographical essays, analyzing his wartime dissents of 1917, and looking critically at his literary and social essays of 1918—before an angry John Dewey threw his weight around and had Bourne dismissed from the *Dial*. As everyone knows who has studied Bourne even a little, there was tragedy in this: Dewey had been one of Bourne's teachers at Columbia and an idol afterwards. In this, as in all other factual matters of Bourne's life, Vaughan

offers little that is new; occasionally she gets her facts wrong. She credits Bourne with writing "over 1,500 articles" (p. 5), when the number is closer to 300, as her thorough listing of Bourne's writings reveals. Her Nietzschean interpretations, while stimulating to anyone who has read Bourne carefully, frequently end up relying on and repeating often-quoted lines from Bourne's essays and letters.

As an autobiographical writer, Bourne was always, writes Vaughan, aware of the epic nature of his task: to fashion various versions of his intense personality, versions that other like-minded souls could read as complex, life-affirming "stories." In this, Vaughan uses Sacvan Bercovitch's argument (in *The Puritan Origins of the American Self* [1975], p. 136) about the importance of "auto-American-biographies" as a springboard to dive into Bourne's writings (pp. 7, 23). But too often Vaughan is more eager to theorize (one of her favorite words) and to rely on the jargon of academic "discourse" than to dig deeply into the text. At one point, Vaughan writes that Bourne anticipated what a modern critic has called "internal dialogization" (p. 45).

Vaughan's analysis of Bourne's courageous wartime dissents—in particular his famous essay, "Below the Battle" (*Seven Arts* II [July 1917], pp. 270–77)—argues that his sense of the futility of opposition sprang from and expresses a finely nuanced "politics of nonidentity" (p. 92), a concept first outlined by Ross Posnock. It would be greatly interesting to hear Bourne's view of this. Despite having a deformed body—a result of "the fumbling hand of nature," said his admirer Theodore Dreiser—Bourne yearned to live as vibrantly and courageously as possible and did so until his early death from the influenza epidemic in 1918. The handicapped, he wrote at the beginning of his short intellectual career, greatly fear any suggestion, however well-intentioned, that they sit on the side of the road.

Surprisingly, given Bourne's insights as a literary critic (a label that does not quite catch the full meaning of what his generation called "a man of letters"), this book pays insufficient attention to Bourne's writings about the novelists and writers he found so engaging, or infuriating. Even as an undergraduate, Bourne wrote perceptively about such figures as G. K. Chesterton, John Galsworthy, Maurice Maeterlinck, George Bernard Shaw, and H. G. Wells. Later, Bourne turned out perceptive commentary on Dreiser and a host of others. Vaughan discusses intelligently some of Bourne's literary enthusiasms and judgments—Dreiser and Willa Cather, for example—but too often prefers to theorize rather than try her hand at a full-fledged study of the remarkable range of Bourne's reading and writing.

BRUCE CLAYTON
Allegheny College

NANCY K. BRISTOW, *Making Men Moral: Social Engineering during the Great War*. (The American Social

Experience, number 34.) New York: New York University Press. 1996. Pp. xxiv, 298. \$29.95.

In this book, Nancy K. Bristow examines the activities of the Commission on Training Camp Activities established at the time of America's entry into World War I to provide for the social needs of the newly mobilized soldiers. She argues that the commission's work represented a culmination of Progressive era efforts to reform and perfect American life, to establish a homogenized, unified society embracing the values of the white, urban, middle class culture of which most Progressives. And in the commission's failure to create permanent agencies for social reform at the war's conclusion, Bristow sees the paradigm for the ultimate failure of Progressivism.

Responding to a call by President Woodrow Wilson, the War Department established the Commission on Training Activities in April 1918. The social reformer Raymond Fosdick took charge of the commission and rapidly set about recruiting other Progressives to the task of ensuring that soldiers within the training camps would be provided with enough entertainment, recreation, and moral support that they would not disrupt the communities adjacent to the camps and would be able to maintain their moral and physical purity. As Bristow points out, Progressivism was not so much a movement as a "shifting coalition" of individuals sharing a common faith in capitalism and democracy, a concern about the dangers to democracy posed by industrialization, and a conviction that the federal government could and should be enlisted in the cause of remaking America. Reflecting, then, the diversity of causes and concerns of Progressivism, the men and women who worked on the training camp project turned both to education and coercion in their efforts to prevent venereal disease and the consumption of alcohol by the doughboys.

Bristow points out that the need for military efficiency was initially the justification for a sexual hygiene program within the camps. Showing the doughboys how to protect their health would, in the minds of the reformers, ensure that they would be available when the time came to go into combat. This emphasis on education reflected the reformers' belief in the need for self-restraint rather than coercion. They hoped that the men would learn to restrain themselves and thus adopt the values of the Progressives themselves.

Bristow is especially effective in showing how the commission dealt with the resistance of local communities to its activities. In their desire to keep the soldiers occupied—even by providing Sunday movies—the members of the commission came into conflict with churches and congregations who saw the violation of their long-established Sabbatarian tradition as opening the doors for further immorality. She uses the story of the struggle between the Sabbatarians and the commission to demonstrate the ways in which certain Progressive reform efforts drove away those who might, in other circumstances, have been their

natural allies. This tension over methods of ensuring purity and morality, a tension reflecting class and religious differences between the members of the commission and those they wished to serve, would lead to the ultimate defeat of the unifying and homogenizing ideals of Progressivism.

According to Bristow, the commission failed in its primary mission in other ways, especially in its failure adequately to address the needs of the African-American doughboys. Beginning with the racist assumption that black soldiers were more likely to be infected with venereal diseases than white men, the commission turned to coercion much more than education in its dealings with African-Americans. Furthermore, because of the War Department's determination to maintain segregation, black soldiers were provided with fewer social services than their white counterparts. To illustrate the consequences of this failure, Bristow turns to the soldier surveys collected by the Military History Institute, in which the African-American men of the 92nd Division recalled their boredom and frustration with camp life.

Finally, the commission came to grief in its attempt to extend its reach beyond the training camps and into the lives of the civilians, especially civilian women. In its successful efforts to close down traditional red light districts, the commission managed to drive prostitution further underground, where it was more difficult to regulate. Further, the commission fell afoul of local police and politicians who wished to exercise their own control over the ancient trade.

Reflecting the care and attention of the editors, the book is well laid out and free from typographical errors. Bristow includes a set of photographs that also help the reader appreciate the vast scale of the commission's activities. This book fits well into a number of current studies on the ways in which manhood and shifting masculinities have shaped policies in the twentieth century.

WANDA ELLEN WAKEFIELD
State University of New York,
Brockport

CLAUDIA CLARK. *Radium Girls: Women and Industrial Health Reform, 1910–1935*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 289. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$17.95.

Claudia Clark takes a popular story about the victory of science and turns it inside out. According to Clark, the discovery of radium poisoning in the young women who painted luminous dials on watches and other items during and after World War I was less a medical success than a political process. Clark is most concerned about where power over occupational health lies and how it shifts as different interests collide. She uses the story of the dialpainters to explore and expose these fundamentally political dimensions of workplace health and safety. Clark also brings to this shameful episode in modern industrial and medical history a

labor historian's sensibility: the dialpainters themselves initiated the process of investigation and discovery and persisted in advancing their cause despite the greater powers arrayed against them. In this version, the patients rather than the doctors deserve the credit for the acquisition of medical knowledge.

The subject of Clark's book may be familiar, but it is deeply moving, especially in her rendition, because the women are at center stage. Dialpainting was a new job beginning in 1917 for young working-class women in need of factory wages. Over three decades, some four thousand women were employed in this work, mostly in three locations: Orange, New Jersey; Waterbury, Connecticut; and Ottawa, Illinois. Radium made the paint—used for the numbers on the watches and instruments of World War I soldiers and postwar consumers—luminous. Radium also made the dialpainters ill. The women ingested radium from the paintbrushes that they brought to a point between their lips and inhaled radium as dust from the air. Radiation caused anemia, weakened bones, killed bone tissue, and caused bone, marrow, and sinus cancers. As early as 1923, the dialpainters themselves knew that they faced an industrial disease. Seeking medical and scientific corroboration and the collaboration of the National Consumers' League (NCL), the dialpainters eventually convinced scientists and government officials that their illnesses were caused by radium. Employers, however, resisted this conclusion and sought—with considerable success—to control knowledge about radium poisoning, evade liability for compensation, and undermine efforts to regulate the workplace.

Clark does not want simply to denounce the dialpainters' employers as profit-obsessed, evil obstructionists who were the sole cause of the misery and death of so many working women. To provide a more complex analysis, she emphasizes the goals and purposes of other actors—scientists and reformers—in accounting for the tragedy of radium poisoning in the workplace. Clark considers scientists as one element in the advance of corporatism: scientists extended the idea of the state as a neutral partner in mediating conflict between labor and capital. Clark shows that despite the evidence of radium's impact on workers, scientists were slow to aid the dialpainters, and when they did acknowledge the poisoning, they were interested in diagnosis rather than in prevention and restitution. This, she argues, demonstrates the extent to which science can never be purely neutral or apolitical. Industrial hygiene reformers also determined the outcome of the campaign of the dialpainters. Although the NCL was an early and extremely important proponent of the dialpainters' cause, the league also participated in and advanced the trend of transferring the right to assess industrial diseases from workers to scientific elites. Clark focuses on Alice Hamilton, the Harvard professor of industrial hygiene, toxicologist, and officer of the NCL, to illustrate the limits to reformers' efforts to promote workers' agenda for

recognition of their own work-induced diseases, compensation for their suffering, and prevention of future cases. Reformers' faith in the neutrality and autonomy of experts in science and government to devise peaceful solutions to complex political problems benefited employers, blunted their own reform efforts, and jeopardized the health and well-being not only of the dialpainters but of American workers generally.

Drawing on a rich array of medical, scientific, business, government, and legal sources, Clark offers a many-sided analysis of a significant chapter in modern political history. Not content with either the widely held understanding of the episode as a case study of the miracle of modern science or a too-simple depiction of it as a morality tale with entrepreneurs as villains and young women as victims, Clark also indicts the industrial hygiene movement. In so doing, she contributes to a body of scholarship that promotes the idea of science as a political realm and the importance of working-class organization around the issue of industrial health and safety.

NANCY GABIN
Purdue University

KRISTE LINDENMEYER. *"A Right to Childhood": The U.S. Children's Bureau and Child Welfare, 1912–46*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1997. Pp. xi, 368. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$21.95.

Many historians have recently turned their attention to the differing meanings of rights and citizenship for various social groups, but few have focused on the question of children's rights. Kriste Lindenmeyer seeks to remedy this omission by tracing the struggle for "a right to childhood" by way of a history of the United States Children's Bureau from its founding in 1912 through its reorganization and virtual "dismemberment" in 1946.

The Children's Bureau (CB) arose out of Progressive concerns about the impact of modern life on children's health and welfare. A number of civic organizations and movements had formed to address issues such as hygiene, juvenile crime, labor, and poverty, but Lillian Wald and Florence Kelley, the two prominent maternalist reformers who came up with the idea for the agency, had grander ambitions: "Reaching beyond the 'child rescue' approach, the call for a federal children's bureau included the notion that the federal government, not just local communities, had a responsibility to promote the protection of children. Further, this responsibility included all children, not just the destitute" (p. 14).

Shifting responsibility for child welfare from the local to the federal level (and simultaneously from the voluntary to the public) would require political as well as financial resources that the CB was seldom able to muster. Hampered throughout much of its history by small budgets, the bureau hoped to sway opinion and shape policy by producing a series of statistical studies documenting the social causes of childhood problems.

With national surveys beyond their means, CB staff gathered data at carefully selected and varied local sites and then generalized.

Despite the large and democratic vision that underlay the founding of the bureau, its policy recommendations tended to be limited by the middle-class orientation of its leadership, which was drawn primarily from Progressive maternalist circles. "Clearly," Lindenmeyer argues, "the Children's Bureau wanted to encourage the establishment of families with a father as wage earner and mother as housewife" (p. 47). Moreover, despite its stated aim of creating centralized public responsibility for children, the agency usually turned to local communities, not the federal government, when appealing for programs to improve conditions for children.

Although the bureau's mien was anything but radical, it nonetheless attracted heated opposition from physicians who resented potential encroachment on their territory, conservative reformers who vigilantly opposed any expansion of government or what they saw as an "invasion" of family life and privacy, and congressional politicians who simply could not stomach the growing presence of women in public life. Many of the agency's most notable successes came from working in tandem with male allies, but such partnerships could be filled with tension (as arose with the National Child Labor Committee in the campaign to regulate child labor) or might well obscure the contributions of the CB (as was the case when it joined the Committee on Economic Security to craft the Social Security Act). By the mid-1940s, the bureau had become so weakened it could not fend off efforts to divide its functions and parcel them out to several different agencies, a move that effectively stifled the agency's identity and curtailed its ability to work on behalf of the "whole child."

The Children's Bureau has figured prominently in several recent studies of female reformers in the Progressive Era (most notably Robyn Muncy's *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform: 1890-1935* [1991] and Molly Ladd-Taylor's *Mother-Work: Women, Child Welfare, and the State, 1890-1930* [1994]) as well as in Linda Gordon's discussion of social security in *Pitied but Not Entitled: Single Mothers and the History of Welfare, 1890-1935* (1994). Lindenmeyer's decision to write an institutional history allows her to link these episodes in a unified story that takes the bureau through World War II and to add a great deal more detail about the inner workings of the agency itself. Despite its narrative momentum, however, this story cannot fully explain how or why child welfare policy developed as it did. Lindenmeyer adds little to Muncy's perceptive feminist account of the defeat of the Sheppard-Towner Act—a major blow to the CB in the 1920s—and her discussion of policies lacks the nuance and richness of Ladd-Taylor's fine-grained examination of client response to face-to-face encounters with local CB agents. The tight focus on a single institution necessarily scants the broader intellectual context in

which policy was shaped and also marginalizes key agencies like the Women's Bureau, which was struggling for related, if not always congruent, goals during the same decades.

Finally, though Lindenmeyer cites Theda Skocpol's work in several footnotes, she makes no attempt to incorporate Skocpol's "state capacity" framework into her analysis. An institutional history such as this one offers an ideal opportunity for testing out theories of welfare state development; moreover, this type of approach can add depth and significance to a narrowly conceived study. But Lindenmeyer, while thorough and informative, seldom ventures beyond the level of description.

SONYA MICHEL
University of Illinois,
Urbana-Champaign

R. BRUCE STEPHENSON, *Visions of Eden: Environmentalism, Urban Planning, and City Building in St. Petersburg, Florida, 1900-1995*. (Urban Life and Urban Landscape Series.) Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1997. Pp. ix, 234. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.95.

In this book, R. Bruce Stephenson examines the planning history of twentieth-century St. Petersburg. He begins by describing the promotional efforts of newspaperman William Straub, who emphasized the natural beauty of the Pinellas Peninsula and promoted his adopted city as a new Eden. The work then extensively explores the 1920s, during which pioneer city planner John Nolan produced an ambitious plan for the city, *St. Petersburg Today, St. Petersburg Tomorrow* (1923). Nolan's plan highlighted the city's environment and called for the preservation of its natural beauty, features, and attractions. It was, according to Stephenson, both a brilliant plan and something of a vision of a possible Eden. That the city failed to adopt Nolan's plan Stephenson attributes essentially to the power of its development-minded real estate community.

Stephenson then focuses on the plan produced in the early 1940s by Harland Bartholomew's firm. He emphasizes the plan's shortcomings and argues that it failed to offer any way to prevent the uncontrolled, environmentally damaging urban growth that accelerated in the postwar period. Although the city still failed to develop a strong overall plan, there were, finally, important actions taken to protect the city's remarkable environment. Examples include efforts to preserve natural features and attractions such as Boca Ciega Bay and the state-supported drive to establish limits to growth. Stephenson examines what he considers as recent planning successes (the Pinellas Trail) and failures (downtown redevelopment). This book highlights the tension between those who strove to control and direct the city's growth in order to create an environmentally satisfying St. Petersburg and those interested primarily in unfettered growth, development, and profits. Most importantly, Stephenson dem-

onstrates the environmental damage that resulted as the city continually and shortsightedly failed to adopt adequate planning controls.

Although it provides an important urban planning history case study, the book has several shortcomings. First, the author often frames his discussions of battles surrounding the proposed adoption of plans (especially in the case of the Nolan plan) as the good guys versus the bad guys, the forward-thinking planners and their supporters versus the greedy real estate developers. The plans were rejected by more than just the real estate community; they were rejected, often by wide margins, by the citizens. A deeper analysis of why the citizens of St. Petersburg rejected Nolan's plan, and others, is called for. Moreover, Stephenson repeatedly argues, a little simplistically, that had Nolan's plan been followed, the city of St. Petersburg would have avoided much of the environmental damage done in the twentieth century. He frequently refers to the plan as "timeless." Of course the plan was not timeless. It was created at a specific time and reflected the ideas of John Nolan in the 1920s, ideas that were not widely accepted by Americans until after World War II. Stephenson points out the changing environmental values of many Americans after 1945 and their role in creating support for environmentally sensitive planning actions. Nolan's plan was, if anything, ahead of its time rather than timeless. It did not reflect the values and attitudes of the 1920s-era citizens of St. Petersburg. Also, it is hard to believe that any plan could have controlled and directed urban growth successfully in the often frenzied atmosphere following World War II.

Despite these shortcomings, the book is a good case study, one that offers a valuable focus on the environmental consequences of the city-building process in St. Petersburg. As such, it is a fine addition to the growing literature exploring the relationship between the city and the environment and the background of the "new urbanism." It complements nicely the works of such urban-environmental scholars as Joel A. Tarr, Martin Melosi, and Andrew Hurley.

JANET R. DALY BEDNAREK
University of Dayton

CHARLES J. SHINDO. *Dust Bowl Migrants in the American Imagination*. (Rural America.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1997. Pp. xv, 252. \$25.00.

In the 1930s, reformers, documentarians, filmmakers, and musicians popularized the social crisis of displaced farm workers, Charles J. Shindo argues, through images of white Christian migrants who embodied Jeffersonian ideals of agrarian independence. This book examines the production of such images through studies of Dorothea Lange's documentary photography, especially her now-famous *Migrant Mother* (1936); John Steinbeck's novel *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939); the film version by director John Ford (1940); and Woody Guthrie's *Dust Bowl Ballads* (1940). Shindo

analyzes how these popular documents created a portrait of the "quintessential depression victims" deserving of justice, a portrait that ignored the values and aspirations of its subjects. As Shindo states, "the nonspecific nature of this theme has made it possible for the story of the dust bowl migrants to represent different interpretations of American social, political, economic, and cultural life while at the same time representing the enduring, justice-seeking nature of Americans" (p. 9).

Reformers and artists transformed migrants' traditional values about family, religion, and land ownership into universalized symbols of victimization to serve varied artistic and political agendas. Many of Lange's photographs depicted the effects of mechanization and industrialization on rural farmers. Significantly, *Migrant Mother* ignored this context in order to universalize its subjects as needy victims, an elision that helps to explain the photograph's tremendous popularity. Like Lange, Steinbeck conceptualized the novelist's role as that of reformer and educator, in this case in order to "reshape the migrants into class-conscious democratic citizens" (p. 57). Contrasting the novel's progressive ideas about reform with the film version, Shindo argues that "Ford reinforced more traditional beliefs in moral values and the family" (p. 148). As in his other films, Ford envisioned human perseverance and courage rather than the specific economic and social crises facing migrants.

The comparisons between Ford, Steinbeck, and Lange are familiar to cultural historians of the 1930s. Shindo, however, offers an important perspective that examines how an idealized construction of the migrant across various media promoted distinctive and often contradictory politics. Two of the most interesting chapters are those on popular music. Guthrie's popular ballads and politicized folk songs appear to speak more directly to the migrants' experiences of dislocation than do Steinbeck's novel or Lange's photographs. Nonetheless, Shindo argues, Guthrie distanced himself from the migrants' traditional concerns because of his support for collective action and government reform. Shindo contrasts Guthrie's advocacy of political change with folklorists who documented the migrants' musical traditions. Robert Sonkin and Charles Todd conducted interviews with migrants and recorded their music, often rejecting "professional" musical styles in favor of "traditional" songs. Shindo avoids the temptation to see their efforts as more positive than Guthrie's, instead emphasizing their attempts to "freeze the folk song in order to preserve what they perceived as a dying culture" (p. 188). Demonstrating the fluidity of culture, migrants rejected these traditional songs in favor of an "emerging genre that combined rural folk music . . . with urban production techniques and values mainly derived from Hollywood" (p. 206). Ironically, in the process of defining a distinctive migrant subculture, country music facilitated "the assimilation of their culture by mainstream American culture. The migrants' main concerns, it turns out, were not unique

to the migrants but part of a conservative cultural tradition" (p. 191).

The book argues that popular documents represented the migrants as white Christian victims of modernization in order to gain support for social reform. Shindo clearly states that he seeks "not to uncover the 'truth' but rather to develop a more complete understanding of the complex relationship between artists, reformers, and dust bowl migrants" (p. 217). This well-written and rich study of the role of popular media in New Deal political culture unfortunately offers a rather limited reading of hegemony. Except for the chapter on country music, the author does not examine how the subjects of photographs, novels, or films mediated the reformer's gaze. Without ascribing unreasonable levels of agency to the migrants' ability to look or talk back, we need to explore the dialogic relationships that structure cultural politics. Shindo repeatedly contrasts migrants' conservative values with reform agendas without examining those values in detail. The lack of a dialogic analysis thus represents the migrants as a homogenous group. I wonder particularly about critical differences in experiences based on generation and gender as well as race. Thus, while Shindo persuasively argues that dust bowl documents have shaped, even distorted our understandings of migrant farm workers during the 1930s, he does not fully succeed in taking us much beyond that claim.

WENDY KOZOL
Oberlin College

GRETCHEN LEMKE SANTANGELO. *Abiding Courage: African American Migrant Women and the East Bay Community*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 217. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$14.95.

Using fifty interviews in addition to archival material, this book describes the lives of African-American women who, lured by the promise of well-paying shipyard jobs and a relief from the racism they grew up with, migrated to three communities on San Francisco Bay during World War II. Beginning with a discussion of the lives of her narrators in the five states from which they came (Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Texas), Gretchen Lemke Santangelo describes their journeys to the West and traces their relationship with their new communities from the 1940s to the 1960s.

The fifty narrators volunteered to be interviewed and, not surprisingly, were proud of the stories they told. Although they do not represent the experience of all migrant women, their stories of resourcefulness and perseverance are an important aspect of urban African-American life—one that has often been hidden beneath the descriptions of despair, crime and poverty that form the core of much discussion of urban African-American communities. Through the lives of these fifty women, Lemke Santangelo challenges the view that African-American migrants brought with them an

ethic of dependency nurtured in the sharecropping South. The migrant women she interviewed believed in self-sufficiency and struggled to build families and communities based on the values of hard work and generosity.

Santangelo uses oral history for what it does best: to convey a sense of narrators' values and views of the world and to render visible aspects of their lives that elude the written record. One of the book's most important contributions is its detailed description of women's unpaid and often unrecognized labor within their families and communities. Women migrants drew on the values and skills they had learned from their mothers and grandmothers to ease the transition from rural and small-town life to the crowded and often inhospitable East Bay cities. They nurtured and created the networks that would sustain them in an alien world and created and strengthened institutions within the African-American community. Santangelo adeptly demonstrates that in the post-World War II context, the survival of African-American communities was an act of resistance because real estate agents, politicians, and hostile white neighbors did what they could to discourage migrants from remaining in the area.

Santangelo does a superb job of presenting the consciousness of the migrant women she interviewed. These women brought high expectations to the East Bay communities and were disappointed but undaunted when they encountered systematic racism in the workplace and in their communities. Their response was to emphasize the importance of African Americans depending on themselves and each other. Although most of them worked for wages, they saw their most important roles as family and community builders, and many became active in the community action organizations that developed in the early 1960s.

This is a valuable book that will be useful in the study of several intersecting areas of study and that will lend itself readily to use in the classroom.

AMY KESSELMAN
State University of New York,
New Paltz

SCOTT DEVEAUX. *The Birth of Bebop: A Social and Musical History*. (Roth Family Foundation Music in America Imprint.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 572. \$35.00.

On its continuing journey into academic discourse, the subject of jazz has most often interested musicologists and a variety of interdisciplinary scholars associated with American studies. Since those in music history tended to speak authoritatively but arcanelly about jazz as music, the interdisciplinary scholars generally concentrated on the music's social and cultural contexts. Scott DeVeaux blends some of the best features of musicology with important perspectives from social history on his way to writing the best book on jazz to emerge from his discipline.

Focusing in depth on the years of the decline of big

band swing and the newer style's first appearance, DeVeaux offers a reinterpretation of the accepted view of Bebop as a musical and social revolution. He argues that Bebop, the label created by the entertainment business to help commodify a rhythmically and harmonically sophisticated small-group style, was beyond the ken of most Americans and amounted to a courageous, if doomed, attempt of ambitious young black Big Band musicians to create some space for themselves in the particular professional circumstances produced in the music business by World War II. Applying to Swing elements of music theory and instrumental mastery that the earlier movement had only implied, young and ambitious black musicians like Dizzy Gillespie, Charlie Parker, Bud Powell, barred by racism from the lucrative star status of white band leaders in mainstream popular music, created an alternative career path in jam sessions in the small clubs of Harlem and Fifty-second Street; in Norman Granz's touring concert package "Jazz at the Philharmonic"; and in the studios of the fledgling independent record companies that took advantage of the 1942 strike by the American Federation of Musicians against the three major record labels. In so doing, they dealt creatively with a business that had relegated them to the margins.

Three ingredients make DeVeaux's book a considerable achievement: first, he creates a vivid and marvelously unsentimental interpretation of the hopes and trials of a dedicated group of musical artists struggling against the industry's indifference and outright hostility. His portrait of tenor saxophonist Coleman Hawkins, whose life and career in both Swing and Bebop hold the book together and best document its thesis, stands as the best biographical writing yet on one of jazz's great virtuosos. Second, the context of the music business within which DeVeaux has placed the movement's major musicians mixes new data from such trade papers as *Billboard*, *Variety*, and *Down Beat* with the core concepts of culture studies. His take on music and culture emphasizes the politics of racial identity in the production and commercial exploitation of jazz.

Third, while focusing on the play of race and racism in Bebop, DeVeaux carefully refrains from the overgeneralizing of many past jazz writers. His treatment of the hopes and career of African-American ballad singer and bandleader Billy Eckstine, for example, demonstrates how racial discrimination in radio and the movies sharply limited the media exposure of black jazz musicians, forcing all of them to rely more exclusively than whites on records and confining their media appearances to styles of music that the executives considered to be racially authentic. At the same time, however, DeVeaux documents why it would be wrong to blame white band leader Woody Herman for exploiting his media advantage by "stealing" Bebop from Eckstine and his trumpet star Dizzy Gillespie. "The issue," he insists, "was not theft *per se*, but an economic landscape so distorted by racism that white musicians

enjoyed an automatic and insuperable advantage" (p. 352).

DeVeaux does much to enrich musicology's traditional focus on a jazz canon of great musician-*auteurs* with what social and cultural historians of music call a "production of culture" model, in which the focus remains on those who "produce" the music (musicians and record producers). DeVeaux combines the major concerns of Gunther Schuller and Martin Williams (and the former's reliance on solo transcriptions) with more historical and cultural context than they cared to muster, but his book completely overlooks the "reception of culture" perspective: we learn practically nothing about the role of the audience in what was, as DeVeaux's subtitle suggests, a social movement. Since the author's work successfully disposes of the Bebop-as-revolution model, we are left to wonder how that mistaken notion ever arose. Surely major elements in the audience for Bebop wanted to think of their music that way, but DeVeaux's approach precludes any exploration of that likelihood. Still, this book's crisp, lucid style and clear-eyed empathy for some exceptionally talented and brave musicians makes it well worth reading.

WILLIAM HOWLAND KENNEY
Kent State University

THOMAS J. SUGRUE. *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*. (Princeton Studies in American Politics.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1996. Pp. xviii, 375. \$35.00.

Thomas J. Sugrue's multi-prize-winning book is both a major synthesis and a thought-provoking interpretation of deindustrialization and racial inequality in postwar Detroit, the quintessential example of all Rust Belt cities. It brings together a myriad of social science theories and studies with an equally impressive array of archival sources to argue that the urban crisis emanated from the 1940s through the interaction of structural forces that—over the next twenty years—transformed the economy, exacerbated race relations, and sparked large-scale and unique, if not intractable, poverty. It argues further that this great transformation was neither predetermined, economically or otherwise, nor without individual and collective choices that found their greatest expression at the local level in fierce competition over race, residence, and work.

If deindustrialization—automation, loss of jobs, plant relocations—devastated Detroit's economy, especially for large segments of unskilled, less educated workers, it set parameters that had most impact on race relations and, Sugrue documents, resulted in a vastly disproportionate hardship for African Americans. Although everyone acted, industrialists, plant managers, union leaders, rank-and-file workers, politicians, and officials proffered very different interests and perspectives. In their struggles over adequate housing and jobs, everyday citizens of both races interpreted New Deal promises accordingly: whites

expected governmental protection of their homes and workplaces, and blacks sought official support for equal opportunity in these areas. Sugrue brilliantly dissects this ambiguity in Rooseveltian liberalism as it related to fights over open housing and block busting, particularly the political and extralegal action of white homeowner groups, and over equal employment struggles by blacks and white liberals that failed in the face of discriminatory hiring practices and white worker culture, as well as inconsistent union support, resulting in casual labor disconnecting most blacks from the mainstream labor market for the first time and reinforcing white racial stereotypes.

Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, Detroit whites responded to the social and economic insecurities of deindustrialization by shaping their racial beliefs to slow black advancement in housing and employment. In the process, Sugrue emphasizes, they isolated and segregated black communities, which themselves segmented along class lines; they refashioned politics along a racially conservative ideology, culminating in the mayoralty of Albert Cobo (1949–1957); and they, combined with the technologically driven economy, played a role in pushing many unskilled and poorly educated blacks to the economic margins. They also sparked increased black militancy that translated into civil rights activism and, for many younger, jobless blacks, criminal activity and violent outbursts. From the hope of World War II to the despair of race riot in 1967, Sugrue stresses the evolution of white racism and its impact on what has come to be called the “underclass.”

Although this is done effectively and, in places, powerfully, Sugrue’s pieces do not always fit together neatly. For example, the ethnic dimension of white society is downplayed. In penetrating chapters on the innerworkings and values of white neighborhood organizations, Sugrue contends that white homeowners, although ethnically heterogeneous, defined themselves by their race and religion as individuals striving to succeed as Americans. And yet, two of the three most prominent groups—those of the Northeast Side and the Wyoming Corridor—contained numerous Italian Catholics whose values of home and family, code of honor to protect women and children, and organization of neighborhood protest along parish boundaries emanated from Old World concepts of *famiglia*, *onore*, and *comunitismo*. This ethnic-religious as opposed to racial-religious nexus revealed Italian Catholics, and by inference their counterparts from Central Europe, to be more than desperate “not-yet-white” homeowners (p. 241) and threatened craftsmen (p. 253). In contrast, racial conflict sparked by white southern Protestants on the Lower West Side did not carry beyond the 1940s because of very different ethnic and religious influences. None of this mitigates the actions of ethnic groups or southerners, but it adds to Sugrue’s own “complicated and multifaceted reality” of racism (p. 8), and it reveals the cultural toughness that, in

part, explains the continued significance of race—and of ethnicity—in postwar Detroit.

Sugrue’s presentation also acknowledges the class divisions within black society, although fuller development is needed of their choices during this critical period. And it is questionable that, in comparison to the 1943 riot, the 1967 riot was completely different or solely a symptom of the discontent of Detroit’s black poor. On these issues, little is said about the impact of events such as the civil rights movement or the Vietnam War.

Nevertheless, in its sweep, forceful writing, painstaking research, and informative maps and tables, this book advances the understanding and widens the parameters of this important subject. Sugrue has answered many questions and raised others in this stunning and occasionally debatable history.

DOMINIC J. CAPECI, JR.
Southwest Missouri State University

CLAUDE ANDREW CLEGG III. *An Original Man: The Life and Times of Elijah Muhammad*. New York: St. Martin’s. 1997. Pp. xiii, 377. \$25.95.

Claude Andrew Clegg III argues three important points in his fascinating and meticulously researched biography of Elijah Muhammad. First, Muhammad was the most important figure in the development of black nationalism and Islam among black Americans in the twentieth century. His work, perseverance, and vision positioned Islam as a viable religious alternative in the United States after World War II and created the beliefs, rituals, and economic programs of the Nation of Islam. Muhammad’s black nationalist leadership sheds light on the meaning of earlier leaders, such as Noble Drew Ali and Marcus Garvey, and contextualizes the current work of Louis Farrakhan and Warith Deen Mohammed.

Second, Muhammad’s personal and institutional quest for economic power is crucial for our understanding of the ideology, the programs, and the public image of the Nation of Islam, which began as an obscure spiritualist movement in 1930 and developed into the wealthiest black organization in American history in the 1960s. Clegg’s analysis of Muhammad’s leadership demonstrates brilliantly how the economic agenda of the Nation of Islam resulted in a conservative vision concerning religious doctrine and political activism in the 1960s.

Third, the meaning of Muhammad’s life was shaped by the historical environment of twentieth-century black America. Thus, the significance of the Great Migration, Malcolm X, and the civil rights and “Black Power” movements is analyzed as Clegg sketches his illuminating portrait of the leader and his movement.

Clegg’s conclusion is Elijah Muhammad was a complex man with conservative theological and political views, which were shaped by constant internal and external opposition to his forty-year reign as the prophet and leader of the Nation of Islam. Despite his

struggles with the FBI, Malcolm X, paternity suits, and chronic illness, Muhammad's ideological and programmatic legacy had a profound impact on black consciousness in the 1960s, and it continues to shape black American culture and protest movements today.

Until recently, serious scholarship on African-American Islam was limited to two classic social-scientific studies of the Nation of Islam—C. Eric Lincoln's *The Black Muslims in America* (1961) and E. U. Essien-Udom's *Black Nationalism: A Search for Identity in America* (1962)—and a body of books and articles on Malcolm X. Clegg's biography joins work by Allan D. Austin (*African Muslims in Antebellum America: Trans-Atlantic Stories and Spiritual Struggles* [1997]), Yvonne Y. Haddad and Jane I. Smith (*Mission to America: Five Islamic Sectarian Communities in North America* [1993]), Aminah McCloud (*African-American Islam* [1995]), and Richard Brent Turner (*Islam in the African-American Experience* [1997]) in a renaissance of scholarship on African-American Islam in the 1990s. This new generation of scholarship assesses the meaning and significance of Islam as it enters the mainstream of American religion and politics at the end of the twentieth century. Clegg's balanced historical narrative removes the study of Muslim individuals and groups from the realm of exotica and stereotype and joins the works of Lincoln and Essien-Udom as one of the most important scholarly books on the Nation of Islam. I recommend it highly.

RICHARD BRENT TURNER
Xavier University

NINA MJAGKIJ and MARGARET SPRATT, editors. *Men and Women Adrift: The YMCA and the YWCA in the City*. New York: New York University Press. 1997. PP. xviii, 311. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.50.

The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) are important American institutions worthy of the scrutiny historians have recently accorded them. This valuable collection, edited by Nina Mjagkij and Margaret Spratt, surveys recent work on both institutions. The twelve essays included (six on the YMCA and six on the YWCA) raise important issues, particularly when read against one another.

Three of the best essays illuminate the YWCA's unique, if imperfect, efforts toward interracial cooperation. The YW was the only white-led women's national organization to attempt serious interracialism between 1890 and the 1960s. Adrienne Lash Jones documents African-American women's earliest efforts to influence the YW's national policies and to challenge white women to live up to their Christian beliefs. Lash's essay sets the tone by demonstrating how the YW first took a stance in favor of interracialism. Two other essays show us how those national policies worked, in subsequent decades, on the local level. Spratt's essay contrasts YWCA interracialism in Pittsburgh and in Cleveland between 1920 and 1946. In

Cleveland, Washingtonian self-help commitments led women's club leaders to refuse to affiliate their institutions with the YW, while in Pittsburgh, the YWCA established a separate black branch under the control of the white YW leaders. Yet, in the long run, the "Jim Crow" model proved to be more effective in fighting racial segregation (at least in these two cities): it was Pittsburgh's "Negro branch" that ultimately achieved both interracial exchange and better services by the 1940s. Michelle Busby provides a more ironic southern example from the 1960s: the YWCA's long-standing national commitment to racial integration and better services for black clients finally arrived in Charlotte in the 1960s. Yet in Charlotte, the national YWCA's commitment to interracialism actually allowed local white organizers to disband the thriving, if underfunded "Negro branch" and to build a nominally "integrated" facility in a white part of town, effectively dismantling most services for black members.

All three of these essays note persuasively that national YWCA leaders' impetus toward interracialism arose in large part because they believed that, as Christians, they simply could not ignore the needs of African-American women. Unfortunately, no essay explains why religious belief led to interracialism in the YWCA but not in the YMCA. Mjagkij's essay on racial uplift and "true manhood" in the black YMCAs makes one wonder whether black YMCA activists cared more about class status and respectability than about liberal Christian values. Yet this seems implausible. Did YMCA and YWCA leaders come from such different religious backgrounds? Why the difference in approach to race between 1890 and 1940?

Two other excellent essays analyze the YMCA's attention to male bodies in the twentieth century. Clifford Putney provides a persuasive, step-by-step analysis of the YMCA's change in focus "From Character to Body Building." Between 1950 and 1980, he shows, the YMCA gradually dropped its emphasis on building strong Christian masculinity. Instead, it first emphasized "family" in the 1950s, then "relevance" in the 1960s, and finally promoted a feel-good but relatively despiritualized concern for a generalized "well-being" by the 1970s. Gradually it became almost a non-profit health club. In contrast, John Wrathall shows us how urban YMCAs, as all-male institutions with an emphasis on male physicality, developed a well-earned reputation as a safe place for public gay sex, particularly between 1917 and the 1960s. Here is irony indeed: at the same time that national and municipal YMCA leaders built institutions and programs to keep young men safe from the sinful pleasures of the city, local YMCA workers and desk clerks (often gay themselves) were turning a blind eye to prolific, public cruising in urban YMCA dormitories and showers.

Most of the individual articles in this volume are excellent. The volume never really establishes a unifying theme, however, and the reader is left wondering, "Why the Y?" There is an extensive introductory essay,

but it provides mostly institutional history. This lack of thematic coherence limits the volume's appeal. Scholars not already interested in the topic are unlikely to read the entire book. More attention to religion might well have provided some needed coherence. Specifically religious social service approaches were probably what made the YMCA and the YWCA unique American institutions, but religion is almost absent as a topic in this collection. I also wish the author had analyzed the substantial differences in policy, program, and focus between YWCA and YMCA during these years. The YMCA seems to have been later to provide dormitories, less committed to interracialism, more committed to evangelism, and (as far as I know) the YWCA never became a cruising ground. Might not some of these differences have stemmed from different religious commitments as well as gender differences in the national leadership?

Still, the difficulty of finding one theme that ties these essays together may be testimony to the diversity of the Y experience in American history. This volume usefully outlines that diversity.

GAIL BEDERMAN
University of Notre Dame

REBECCA S. LOWEN. *Creating the Cold War University: The Transformation of Stanford*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 316. \$45.00.

Using Stanford University as a case study, Rebecca S. Lowen impressively analyzes the emergence of what she calls the Cold War university. Massive military spending during World War II and the postwar years, she explains, combined with Cold War ideology to transform ivory towers into institutions resembling industrial structures. By the early 1960s, overhead costs from defense contracts covered half the operating expenses of six leading universities. Although the physical sciences and engineering were most affected, no discipline was left untouched. Soviet studies, communications, and statistics rose to prominence. The social sciences turned to behaviorism and quantification in order to prove their "worth" and "apolitical" qualities, trends encouraged by the Cold War orientation of the Ford Foundation and other private foundations. Academic entrepreneurs building research empires became the new stars on campus as undergraduate education was shoved to the sidelines. Inter-twining universities with government and corporations compromised both open inquiry and academic freedom.

Lowen challenges those who see the multiuniversity as a creation of academic scientists and the armed services. Her main thesis is that the university was an active, not a passive participant in its own transformation. Stanford's administrators seized on Cold War realities to raise the university from the second to the first rank. Lowen draws on numerous secondary sources and a rich collection of papers to examine

closely Stanford administrators and faculty at the department, school, and university levels. Herbert Hoover frequently appears in this book, more as an intolerant ideologue than as a broad-minded defender of liberty.

Frederick E. Terman, dean of the Stanford School of Engineering and later provost, and presidents Donald Tresidder and J. E. Wallace Sterling played commanding roles in Stanford's restructuring. Ideological conservatives and Cold Warriors, they at best went along with McCarthyism. Terman was convinced that society should be run by a scientific and engineering elite. Based on Great Depression and World War II developments, these leaders concluded that Stanford's interests would be served by acting as a service institution for the federal government and industry. Outside contracts would produce revenue for hiring the best faculty in the most important fields, building cutting-edge laboratories, and attracting a host of graduate students, all of which would lead to national prominence.

To achieve those goals, administrators in 1944 began centralizing control and undermining department autonomy. Although industrial patronage was disappointing, the federal government made up for the slack once Stanford aggressively pursued military research contracts, emphasizing its strengths in electrical engineering and physics. Money flowed lavishly from Washington, particularly after defense budgets burgeoned in the 1950s. By the early 1960s, Lowen concludes, Stanford and other Cold War universities had become "an integral part of a military-industrial complex" (p. 122). Fulfilling Terman's dreams, Stanford fostered an electronics industry around it that the university dominated, but at the price of Stanford itself becoming beholden to the military.

To hasten Stanford's push to the top and solve financial problems, Sterling and Terman in 1954 began a heavy-handed drive to shape the entire university along the lines of the engineering school. All departments, they insisted, should stress nationally significant fields that provided patronage so that the faculty could support itself. Where that was not possible, as in the case of literature and classics, budgets and course offerings were cut to enable departments to carry their weight as teaching centers featuring large classes. Resistance arose among departments ranging from physics to political science, but the faculty never mounted a consistent challenge and the administration always had enough faculty support to get its way. Concluding her study before the backlash of the 1960s, Lowen contends that student activists in no way altered fundamentally the nature of the Cold War university.

Following Lowen's analysis can be difficult as she moves between Stanford and other universities without clear transitions, allows central points to be obscured by only partially relevant material, and fails at times to develop arguments and document material adequately. Also, the author notes that what took place at Stanford

was "overdetermined" but not "predetermined" (p. 12), a crucial observation requiring full analysis, not episodic mention. Moreover, Lowen never manages to convey a sense of Stanford as a whole, instead of the parts she concentrates on, which is necessary for evaluating completely the validity of her argument. Finally, although she grounds her analysis in the past, Lowen curiously and unconvincingly denies the relevance of what preceded and followed World War I in tracing the evolution of a military-industrial complex and the university's place in it.

Criticisms aside, Lowen has written a fine, provocative volume on a critically important subject about which we still know too little.

PAUL A. C. KOISTINEN
California State University,
Northridge

SEYMOUR M. HERSH. *The Dark Side of Camelot*. Little, Brown. 1997. Pp. x, 498. \$26.95.

This is a difficult book to review. Seymour M. Hersh offers a critical, albeit sensationalist account of John F. Kennedy's presidency, rebutting the Camelot imagery by recounting the purposefully secret and darker side of Kennedy's activities. "Kennedy's private life and personal obsessions—his character," Hersh concludes, "affected the affairs of the nation and its foreign policy far more than has ever been known"; Kennedy's "personal weaknesses limited his ability to carry out his duties as president" (p. ix). Hersh, however, does not comprehensively survey Kennedy's early years, pre-presidential career and politics, or major presidential domestic and foreign policy decisions. He focuses, instead, on Kennedy's personal life and specifically on his rumored womanizing and relations with organized crime leaders.

One of the nation's more intrepid investigative journalists, Hersh's muckraking account purports to have uncovered the secrets of Kennedy's presidency and thereby to set the record straight and "help the nation reclaim some of its history" (p. x). His assessment rests on the reliability of his sources: uncorroborated interviews with individuals who claim either to have been or to have had direct contact with participant observers. Little, if any, documentary evidence is cited. This is not surprising, as the cited activities were either highly personal or conducted in secret and thus could not have been otherwise known (or, if records had been created, they were subsequently purposefully destroyed). How reliable are these sources? Has Hersh critically evaluated their credibility? Are there yet inaccessible written records that can either confirm or refute some of Hersh's contentions?

The problem of source reliability stems in part from Hersh's inconsistent acceptance of his sources, as, for example, in his contrasting responses to the claims of Malcolm Durie and Judith Campbell Exner. Rumored to be Kennedy's first wife, Durie has categorically denied this rumor. Hersh discounts her denial and

credits instead the contentions of other sources (without even attempting to reconcile this version with an equally fanciful account uncovered by the FBI as to the dates of the alleged marriage, annulment, and divorce). In contrast, Hersh uncritically accepts Judith Campbell Exner's embellished account of her relationship with Kennedy, one that differs from a less sensationalist version she provided in the mid-1970s in a congressional interview and her own book. She not only had an affair with Kennedy, Campbell Exner now asserts, but acted as a conduit (for money and documents) between Kennedy and Sam Giancana. Would Kennedy have used Campbell Exner as such a conduit? In another version, based again on uncorroborated interviews, Hersh claims that Joseph Kennedy had made a deal to obtain Giancana's assistance in the 1960 campaign, although it is a fact that the CIA had earlier recruited Giancana's assistance to assassinate Fidel Castro. Why, then, would Kennedy employ Campbell Exner to relay either money or documents to Giancana? Hersh seems indifferent to the self-serving purposes of some of his sources, whether the claims of former CIA officers that President Kennedy's "obsession" alone underlay the agency's continuing efforts to assassinate Castro or that of Florence Kater that Kennedy had an affair with Pamela Turnure (disturbingly, Hersh fails to alert readers to Kater's background, characterizing her motivation as that of a practicing Catholic without mentioning her right-wing politics or the fact that her allegations and photographic evidence were eventually published in the newspaper of the National States Rights Party, *The Thunderbolt*). Surely uncorroborated allegations demand more exacting scrutiny. In the case of Kennedy's Cuban policy, the resolution of the question of whether or not the CIA acted as a "rogue elephant" depends on access to still-classified records. This is also true in the case of Hersh's account of Kennedy's alleged relationship with Ellen Rometsch and her forced deportation in 1963. Was Rometsch deported to protect Kennedy or to foreclose an inquiry into her relationship with Bobby Baker's Quorum Club? Heavily redacted released FBI records preclude any resolution of this question and require a more cautious, less definitive assessment.

In any event, this book raises important methodological questions about the value of oral history. What credence do we give to uncorroborated "eye witness" accounts of sexual activities, secret meetings, and purposeful record destruction? Finally, even if the assertions of Hersh's sources are accepted on faith, must we assume that there is a linkage between personal conduct and policy (discounting, in the process, the documentary record of decision making)? Or, should we persist in demanding the release of withheld and redacted records to learn more definitively about the Kennedy presidency and thereby "reclaim" some of our history?

ATHAN THEOHARIS
Marquette University

EDWIN E. MOÏSE. *Tonkin Gulf and the Escalation of the Vietnam War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. xviii, 304. \$39.95.

The alleged "second clash" between the naval forces of the United States and North Vietnam in the Gulf of Tonkin in August 1964 was an important step in the movement of the two nations toward war. Claiming a deliberate assault on U.S. destroyers, President Lyndon B. Johnson authorized retaliatory air strikes; this was the first overt use of American military power against North Vietnam. Johnson also gained broad congressional authorization to employ further force if necessary to restrain North Vietnam in its campaign of "aggression" against South Vietnam. The Gulf of Tonkin "incident" had two phases. On August 2, North Vietnamese patrol boats attacked a U.S. destroyer, which prompted a stiff warning from Washington. Then, on the night of August 4, two U.S. destroyers reported another attack, which was seized upon by Johnson and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara to justify the strong military and political response.

Beginning with the doubts of a few officials at the time, the accuracy of the purported events of August 4 has long been the subject of controversy. Based on revelations a few years after the incident, a consensus soon developed among writers on the Vietnam War that, in all probability, Americans on the destroyers had been fooled by sonar and radar contacts that were rendered unreliable by adverse weather conditions and that, in fact, their ships had not been attacked. Then, in volume two of *The U.S. Navy and the Vietnam Conflict* (1986), Edward Marolda and Oscar Fitzgerald cited newly available evidence to reassert the official position.

Edwin E. Moïse's thoroughly researched and carefully reasoned account far surpasses in its breadth and detail anything previously written on the Gulf of Tonkin incident. While Moïse devotes attention to the pre-crisis covert operations against North Vietnam and the mounting pressures on Johnson to take direct military measures, he is principally concerned with discerning what did or did not happen on the night of August 4. Nearly half of the book is devoted to a review of the evidence, which leads to his conclusion that the reported attack of August 4 was imaginary.

Moïse meticulously shows the weaknesses of the claims of an attack and builds a convincing description of what most likely transpired that night. His analysis focuses on the radar and sonar reports of patrol boats over a two-hour period pursuing and attacking the destroyers, which responded by firing over 300 rounds at the targets. He shows that the movements of the earliest reported vessels were inconsistent with official claims of North Vietnamese origins and of any intention to attack the destroyers. Later as other "skunks" appeared on radar, an inexperienced sonar man probably confused the sound caused by the destroyer's own propellers with that of incoming torpedoes. Radar trackings of alleged attacking patrol boats, Moïse

argues, have scant retrospective credibility. They show frequent loss of contact and random movements, which were later smoothed over in official accounts to create an impression of continuity and hostile intent in patrol boat activity. Reports at the time cited the radar disappearance of some targets as evidence of sinkings by the destroyers' guns. Yet U.S. aircraft, which were called upon for assistance, never reported seeing any patrol boats or their wakes. Adding to the evidence of a non-event are U.S. intercepts of North Vietnamese messages of August 4 that gave no indication of an attack and U.S. naval and air daylight observations of the Tonkin Gulf on August 5 that revealed no wreckage or oil slicks from sunken ships.

Contemporary reports suggest rather that, on the night of August 4, the tired crews of the U.S. destroyers were wary of a repetition of the August 2 attack and, in the confusion caused by the mistaken sonar and radar findings, fired at imaginary targets. Civilian leaders, concerned as much about domestic politics as the worsening U.S. position in Vietnam, were determined to exploit the purported attack. Under pressure from Washington, intelligence and military officers in the Pacific hastily confirmed that an attack had taken place.

Had there been no Tonkin Gulf incident, the United States almost certainly still would have gone to war in Vietnam. The precarious status of South Vietnam, not North Vietnam's assault on American honor, drove American intervention. Yet the incident increased the tensions between Washington and Hanoi. From the perspective of North Vietnam's leaders, not only did it bring military retaliation and the intimidating Tonkin Gulf Resolution, but it added to their distrust of a government that they had every reason to believe had manufactured the crisis for its own purposes.

Moïse has given the events of August 2-4, 1964, as well as their antecedents and ramifications, the full treatment that they have long deserved. His superb empirical analysis of the available evidence justifies his conclusion. Regrettably, the Tonkin Gulf incident marked only the beginning of official half-truths and deceptions about American involvement in Vietnam.

GARY R. HESS

Bowling Green State University

JOHN A. ANDREW III. *The Other Side of the Sixties: Young Americans for Freedom and the Rise of Conservative Politics*. (Perspectives on the Sixties.) New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 287. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$19.95.

JAMES J. FARRELL. *The Spirit of the Sixties: The Making of Postwar Radicalism*. (American Radicals.) New York: Routledge. 1997. Pp. 360. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$19.95.

The 1960s resembles an American movie that never ends. In recent historical work, no decade has received more attention. Many chroniclers discuss the rise of

liberal politics after John F. Kennedy unleashed idealistic forces, creating expectations that no politician could meet, and they show how the Great Society foundered on the shoals of urban riots and the Vietnam War. The two books under review are similar in that they do neither of these things. But they differ significantly as to whether the dominant challenge to the status quo came from the right or from the left.

James J. Farrell was a 1967 high school graduate, who in his commencement address, spoke about "courage and commitment" and, two years later, participated in a Moratorium march in the nation's capital. His father, a Battle of the Bulge veteran, thought him a coward. That encounter stimulated the future historian's interest in personalist politics. Political personalism, drawing on Catholic social thought, humanistic psychology, and pacifism, focused on poor and marginal persons and was suspicious of systems, not least that of market economics. Among its better known practitioners were Dorothy Day, A. J. Muste, Allen Ginsberg, David Dellinger, Paul Goodman, Bayard Rustin, Barbara Deming, Ella Baker, and Martin Luther King, Jr. Their philosophy emphasized cooperative efforts for the common good and held that personal values should govern their political selves. Its core value, as seen in the life of Trappist monk Thomas Merton, was "that people embody Christianity every day as a biographical and as a public fact" (p. 48).

Personalists differed from postwar liberals in several ways. If liberals generally accepted American individualism, representative democracy, the power of the state, and the basic premises of the Cold War, personalists stressed community obligations, defended participatory democracy, and thought too many groups were denied access to power. They were hardly conventional leftists either. If the Old Left hitched its wagon to the labor movement, personalists placed their faith in persons. If the Old Left was secular, grounded in scientific materialism and focused on economic issues, personalists were spiritual idealists rooted in religion, concerned more with quality-of-life issues.

Although personalism serves as a useful conceptual tool for understanding postwar radicalism, Farrell places under its umbrella everything he happens to like, from Catholic Workers, Beat poetry, the Free Speech Movement, *Liberation* magazine intellectuals, the early New Left, and countercultural critics to the signal event of the counterculture—Woodstock. One need not follow personalist perspectives to speak truth to power; Western intellectuals of various hues long have seen that as one of their primary obligations.

It may surprise students of postwar radicalism to see Noam Chomsky ignored save in two references to committed intellectuals. There are needless repetitions, and it is not clear who or what should be included in the index when Eileen Egan and Jonah House (each mentioned once in the text) are listed, but David DeLeon, Robert Pickus, and the Greensboro sit-ins are not. Last are certain gratuitous overstate-

ments, among them the assertion that "the Sixties arguably began not on the first of January, but on the 15th of June in 1955," when two dozen activists in New York City protested an Operation Alert civil defense drill (p. 21). Farrell is to be complimented in emphasizing religion as a moving influence among activists, which most studies of the 1960s fail to do, but the sufficiency of moral perfectionism in the presence of force and power is inadequately explored.

John A. Andrew III provides a different vantage point from which to examine political thinking in the decade, arguing that most 1960s books stress the latter half of the decade, thus advantaging liberal-left developments. He shines his spotlight instead on the early years when "the Right battled the Left on more than equal terms" (p. 10). He makes his case by examining the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF), a controversial organization on "the other side" of the 1960s. Founded by college-age students distinguished for their aggressive patriotism and brawling intellectual behavior, the YAF dates to 1960, when a number of young GOPers felt that Richard Nixon had "sold out" to liberal Nelson Rockefeller at the Republican National Convention.

YAF was a youth movement that challenged the status quo with a stinging indictment of liberalism not unlike that of their mentor, William F. Buckley, Jr., whose *Up From Liberalism* (1959) provided a rallying point before *The Conscience of a Conservative*, by Senator Barry Goldwater, their hero, appeared in the following year. Unlike those bashers who understand the rise of conservatism as a reaction to political and cultural excesses during the decade, Andrew reminds us that millions responded favorably to conservative ideas well before the "excesses" occurred. Although Goldwater was soundly defeated in 1964, his movement laid the groundwork for the success of Ronald Reagan four presidential elections later.

In successive chapters, Andrew discusses the origins of the "New Right," the Sharon Statement, and the YAF's factional struggles and concerted efforts to secure the Republican presidential nomination for Barry Goldwater. The book is solidly grounded in manuscript sources, including the extensive papers of Buckley and William Rusher, principled conservatives who played crucial roles in the founding of YAF. Its signal merit is the detailed discussion of the organization's struggles over ideology and leadership and of disagreements with liberal Republicans and with John Birchers, who could be rallied by such statements as the "middle of the road is 75 percent socialism" (p. 169). Although the YAF experienced some decline after the Goldwater movement, the list of YAF alumni who became leaders in the conservative movement is lengthy, including Lee Edwards, Howard Phillips, Patrick Buchanan, Richard Viguerie, R. Emmett Tyrell, Jr., and Richard Allen.

Given the emergence of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the burgeoning civil rights movement—centering around sit-ins, the Student Nonvio-

lent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Freedom Summer, the March on Washington of 1963, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964—and the declaration of a War on Poverty, the author overreaches in asserting that in the early 1960s “the Right was actually more active [than the Left] in challenging the status quo” (p. 76). That erratic impression is understandable, perhaps, in one long immersed in the archival materials of the right wing in American politics, and it should not detract unduly from this serious, valuable monograph on the rise of conservative politics during a tumultuous decade.

These two works, one a synthesis of radical “stories,” the other a thoroughly researched account of a young conservative organization, complement each other by placing on center stage the extraordinary political and cultural polarization of the 1960s.

RONALD LORA
University of Toledo

WILLIAM E. PEMBERTON. *Exit with Honor: The Life and Presidency of Ronald Reagan*. (The Right Wing in America.) Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 1997. Pp. xiv, 295. \$29.95.

Wittingly or unwittingly, William E. Pemberton's terse biography of Ronald Reagan epitomizes what the English historian Herbert Butterfield called the “Whig interpretation of history”: that is, history written by the winning side of a dispute. Six chapters (130 pages) cover the presidency. There are chapters on the economic policy struggle of the first year and the domestic political scene, a brief overview of foreign policy, a chapter on engaging the Soviet Union, another on Iran-Contra, and an evaluation of Reagan's role. Pemberton's account of the Iran-Contra scandal is best, as he skillfully traces the winding course of both issues, although not linking either to any larger strategic conception.

I say unwittingly because Pemberton betrays little understanding of the weighty strategic issues that arose during the Reagan years. Historians of the Reagan and Carter presidencies are confronted with the problem of explaining fundamental reversals of strategy. In writing the history of the Carter presidency, the historian must explain how Jimmy Carter, who entered office a champion of détente, left it moving toward containment. The historian of the Reagan presidency, on the other hand, has the opposite problem: to explain how Reagan, who entered office as a champion of anticommunism determined to consign the Soviet Union to the dust heap of history, left it in détente with Moscow. Pemberton tackles this conundrum obliquely.

Although Reagan was “a president of consequence” (p. 202) who shifted the national dialogue a step to the right, Pemberton also sees him as “the most passive of modern presidents” (p. 110) who, moreover, “did not have a coherent foreign policy” when he entered the White House, only “a few fundamental beliefs” (p.

211). That changed, however. “Reagan and Gorbachev, both in trouble at home, helped each other during Reagan's last two years in office” (p. 192). How did Mikhail Gorbachev help? By proposing the elimination of “all intermediate-range weapons from Europe, and . . . an arms reduction plan that would rid the world of all nuclear weapons by the year 2000, contingent on the United States giving up SDI (p. 192). For Pemberton, at this critical juncture in history, Reagan was “fortunate to have George Shultz at his side.” It was the secretary of state, who “understood that Gorbachev . . . had opened a new era: ‘The Soviets were awake. We had to engage them’” (p. 192).

It is invariably the case that biographers disclose as much about themselves as they do about their subjects, and Pemberton is no exception. He notes White House battles between ideologues and pragmatists but not what animated the battles. The ideologues, like Caspar Weinberger, saw the Soviet Union as an evil empire, refusing to deal with them, while the pragmatists, like Shultz, insisted on bargaining with them, particularly after Gorbachev came to power. Pemberton sees the pragmatists as the good guys, who win, and, while offering some criticism of Shultz, particularly on his disastrous Middle East policy, essentially repackages Shultz's interpretation of the Reagan years as his own.

Thus, Pemberton's explanation for Reagan's historic turnaround is the persuasive influence of Shultz. “Shultz understood that despite Reagan's evil empire rhetoric he intended to open serious negotiations when American strength and Soviet vulnerability converged to bring Moscow to the bargaining table” (p. 212). This explanation, of course, begs the question. When was the right moment? When the president was gravely weakened in scandal? What was to be negotiated? An offer he had just rejected at Rykyavik for arms reductions in return for ending the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)? As Pemberton notes, Shultz took control of American foreign policy in the wake of Iran-Contra and proceeded to offer détente to Moscow. Shultz (and Pemberton) say Reagan agreed, but did he? Reagan's own memoir, frequently cited, offers ample evidence that the president wanted to negotiate arms reductions, but the argument that Reagan sought the same sort of détente relationship that Shultz proposed is an act of faith, at best. In short, Pemberton's explanation is unsatisfactory.

What is missing from this work is any critical understanding of the Manichean struggle over strategy between the supporters of containment, which included Reagan, and those who argued for détente with Moscow, most prominently Secretaries of State Alexander Haig and Shultz. It was that struggle which animated every policy dispute through the first six years. Nor was the president the passive figure that Pemberton says; indeed, the evidence he presents shows that Reagan actively pursued those policy issues that were crucial to the reinvigoration of containment, which he saw as his main task.

Thus, the record shows Reagan most active in

promoting the expansion of the economy, the defense buildup, the weakening of the Soviet economy, and foreign policy steps to rebuild the forward position around the Soviet Union, including West Germany, Japan, and China. Indeed, at the moment Reagan was said to be agreeing to détente with Moscow, he was pressing most vigorously with the opening to Iran, which, if successful, would have completed the reconstruction of containment around the Soviet Union. In 1986, he also authorized the use of Stinger anti-aircraft missiles against Soviet helicopters in Afghanistan. Shultz, of course, in the wake of Iran-Contra, reversed Reagan's strategy, indicating that the choice of moment was not the president's.

There are methodological problems. The book jacket claim that this is "the first book to make use of archival sources at the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library" is misleading. The vast majority of citations come from the multitude of books, articles, and monographs that have been written about Reagan by participants and scholars. Indeed, the strengths of the book are its extensive bibliography and forty-two pages of notes. There are also weaknesses. The author employs a block footnote style, no doubt urged on him by the publisher, to compress an entire paragraph's footnotes into a single reference. Although this may save space, the approach is objectionable for three reasons: it encourages sloppy and imprecise referencing, promotes a tendency to fudge facts, and dilutes the scholarly process of supporting thesis with evidence.

Block footnotes are useful as a means of discussing historiographical disagreements at crucial points in the history without disturbing the narrative. They should never be employed simply to lend support to an author's argument, especially when that is not the case. Let me give three examples. On the issue of Michael Deaver's role in Richard Allen's dismissal (p. 116), Pemberton cites Lou Cannon's well-researched *President Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime* (1991) and Haig's memoir, *Caveat: Realism, Reagan, and Foreign Policy* (1984). Checking these sources, one finds the story in Cannon, but not in Haig. Indeed, there is nothing remotely relevant about Allen's dismissal in Haig.

A second, more serious, instance is the assertion that by mid-1983, the president "was uneasy with Bill Clark, and Nancy had no time for him at all" (p. 117). Pemberton cites *Turmoil and Triumph* (1993), Shultz's memoir, and the works of Cannon and Laurence Barrett (*Gambling with History: Reagan in the White House* [1984]). This was Shultz's assertion, but neither Cannon nor Barrett supports it. Pemberton uncritically takes Shultz's word and cites two other sources implying agreement when there was none. The issue is not trivial. Clark, a staunch conservative, was national security adviser and a long-time friend and colleague of Reagan's, dating back to California days. Disaffection with Clark would imply that Reagan was shifting to Shultz's moderate view, which is Shultz's purpose and, evidently, Pemberton's.

Finally, to buttress the argument that Reagan was a

closet supporter of détente, Pemberton cites him to the effect that if he "could ever get in a room alone with one of the top Soviet leaders, there was a chance the two of us could make some progress in easing tensions." In the same paragraph, he also argues that Reagan saw Gorbachev as "a different kind of communist" (p. 159). Aside from the fact that this excerpt from Reagan's diary refers to Yuri Andropov, the entire citation refers to the president's frustration with his own negotiators, saying: "found I was wishing I could do the negotiating with the Soviets."

Of six sources cited in the block footnote for this paragraph, one is Martin Anderson's *Revolution* (1988). Yet Anderson makes the very opposite argument from Pemberton's in discussing Reagan's grand strategy before he entered office, including his skepticism about arms control treaties, his implacable opposition to the evil empire, and the need to upgrade U.S. military forces and outspend the Soviets to discourage them from seeking military superiority. No support for détente here.

This book floats on the surface of the secondary literature, references to archival material notwithstanding. These materials are an essential element of our understanding of the Reagan presidency, but they cannot stand alone. They must be grounded in the contemporary record unfiltered by memoir. Policy documents, secondary literature (including memoirs), and the press record form the essential resource base for contemporary historical analysis. Pemberton refers to but does not delve into the policy documents, nor does he cite either the *Washington Post* or the *New York Times*, essential sources establishing the tenor and chronology of modern American history. This book, although well-written, is more history by anecdote than analysis and offers the view of the winners in the internal argument over American strategy.

RICHARD C. THORNTON

George Washington University
Washington, D.C.

CANADA

LESLIE P. CHOQUETTE. *Frenchmen into Peasants: Modernity and Tradition in the Peopling of French Canada*. (Harvard Historical Studies, number 123.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1997. Pp. viii, 397. \$45.00.

An international community of scholars with its own theoretical approaches and its own milestone publications now studies the history of migration. Leslie P. Choquette's work bears the stamp of Harvard University, where considerable work on American colonial migration has been done. In this volume, Choquette directs her attention to colonial French Canada. It is a natural choice, given early Canada's voluminous, high-quality documentation: censuses from 1666 on; records of births, marriages, and deaths; marriage contracts; hospital patient lists; and criminal records. To this material and the work of dedicated genealogists, Cho-

quette adds the much more scarce material available in France: passenger lists, indentures, military records, and official correspondence. From her many sources, she establishes a database of 15,810 immigrants to Canada and Acadia (which accounts for ten percent) before the British conquest.

Choquette draws on the work of University of Montreal scholars when she estimates that Canada experienced a net immigration of some 19,000 to 20,000. From this, she derives as her best estimate a gross migration of some 67,000, which she adjusts to 75,000 to account for migration to Acadia and for seasonal migration. This is based on a posited return rate of seventy percent, which, if not an established fact, is a reasonable figure, given the known rates of some sub-groups. What was wrong with Canada that sent so many immigrants scurrying home? To ask that question is to start at the wrong end, and thereby hangs this tale in all its originality. If we can get *immigration* out of our heads and think instead of *migration*, then we can see this movement, as Choquette does, as part of a vast and continual circulation of people, primarily within France, but with offshoots to other European countries and across the Atlantic to the West Indies and New France.

Most migrants did not think of themselves as emigrants but rather imagined at the end of their adventures a return. Taking ship in an Atlantic port might, then, be only an unanticipated step in a French migration from a starting place where no one dreamed of Canada. Those who bade their farewells and never intended to see France again—for example, the many poor women known as the “king’s daughters,” who were assisted emigrants—were probably in a minority. Other emigrants were soldiers; journeymen, whose *tour de France* by some contingency became a *tour de l’Atlantique*; those who had migrated from the mountains to the richer towns of the plains and so by degrees to port towns; and those of seafaring towns for whom a trip to America held no terrors. In short, migration was already a fact of *ancien régime* life; it needed only the effort of recruitment by the state, by the church, by seigneurs, or by merchants to draw off from this busy circulation the settlers of Canada and Acadia. The high rate of return finds its explanation in the migrants’ original intentions.

Choquette proposes that the majority of these migrants—young, predominantly male, predominantly artisans with an overrepresentation of mercantile and noble individuals, closely connected to the rising, progressive centers of the West—were modern Frenchmen to be distinguished from the non-modern (archaic?) peasants, a group that contributed only about a quarter of migrants to New France. That she sees the frequent irreligion of these folk as a sign of modernity weakens her argument. To recognize that it was the religion of Jesuits and the communities of religious women in Canada that were modern would have strengthened her argument.

Choquette’s portrait of migration is certainly right.

Her modernity thesis is beguiling and is based on a certain legitimate reading of the evidence. But one is still entitled to wonder what it means to be modern. Is she right to call any of these migrants a “Frenchman,” as Eugen Weber might describe a young man of 1900: wrested from the peasantry, bonded to the state by the school and the army, and earning his bread in the bosom of capitalism? If the first 277 pages of this book are devoted to persuading us, among other things, to think of the migrant as a “Frenchman,” the book’s conclusion bears the burden of convincing us that, in the nineteenth century, this “Frenchman” became a “peasant.” Making choices from a contentious historiography to support her thesis, Choquette constructs an argument every step of which can be debated. Both the conclusion and the witty title are ill-fitting garb for a solid and original migration study that deserves a final chapter arising directly from the author’s primary research.

Some final words to Harvard University Press: why are there no maps in chapters described as cartographic; why do I have to imagine a graph as it is described; and why are there so many typographical errors?

DALE MIQUELON

University of Saskatchewan

GÉRARD BOUCHARD. *Quelques arpents d’Amérique: Population, économie, famille au Saguenay, 1838–1971*. Montréal, Canada: Boréal. 1996. Pp. 635.

Chosen as best monograph of the year by both the Canadian Historical Association and its Quebec counterpart, l’Institut d’histoire de l’Amérique française, this book by Gérard Bouchard follows Michael Katz’s, *The People of Canada West* (1975), David Gagan’s *Hopeful Travellers* (1981), and Gordon Darroch and Lee Soltow’s *Property and Inequality in Victorian Ontario* (1994) as excellent examples of quantitative social history in Canada.

The book is based on a demographic study of the Saguenay region conducted over the past 25 years by the l’Institut universitaire de recherches sur les populations at the University of Québec at Chicoutimi. This research center has built computer files that allow Bouchard to replace sampling with a study of virtually the entire population of the region; parish registers and census returns enriched by sources such as oral histories form his main research base.

Located 125 miles northeast of Quebec City, the Saguenay region is isolated from central Canada by the Canadian Shield. It forms a maritime axis around Lake Saint-Jean and the Saguenay River to the St. Lawrence River at the old fur-trading post of Tadoussac. Opened to European settlement in 1838, the region by 1971 had a population of 265,642 spread over sixty-five rural parishes and a dozen urban centers.

Bouchard views the family—as opposed to the Roman Catholic Church, the state, or industrializa-

tion—as the major determinant of development. He gives centrality to demography, family reproduction, the mobility of family members, and succession strategies. The book is divided into four sections: the first sets the stage, treating colonization, rural technology, the peasant economy, and the dairy and forest industries. The second and core section of the book addresses family reproduction, fecundity, family structure, and mobility. Of particular importance is Bouchard's demonstration of the complexity of peasant succession practice. The third section is comparative, and here Bouchard distances the Saguenay from France, integrating it instead to a North American "model." Finally, he treats the social effects of literacy, secularization, and the introduction of contraceptive techniques. The book is a gold mine for students of colonization, farming techniques, the transition to agrarian capitalism, literacy, and, as Bouchard insists, of the complementarity of agricultural and forest work.

An enclave characterized by demographic homogeneity, the Saguenay's European population is French, Roman Catholic, and shares origins in Charlevoix or the lower St. Lawrence. However, neither cultural nor regional particularity form crucial themes in this work, and Bouchard distances himself from the Horace Miner sociological tradition that emphasized the conservatism and fecundity of the Quebec peasantry. In Bouchard's interpretation, the people of the Saguenay, although sharing language and religion with their ancestors from France, must be interpreted as quintessential North Americans within what he calls "a framework of *américanité*" (p. 477). Like Gagan's study of Peel County in southern Ontario, Bouchard concludes that the Saguenay forms part of the larger agricultural settlement of the continent: "it is not an exaggeration to say that, although having set out to study French Canadian society . . . it was North America that I actually met" (p. 10).

With its emphasis on the family and the region's similarity to other North American centers, this book subordinates class and ethnicity. Exploitation of the region by English Canadian and American capitalists—well-documented by other historians—is viewed by Bouchard as a form of "co-integration" in which the local peasantry benefited by outside capitalist forces while not succumbing—at least until World War II—to their ideology and timetable. Nor does Bouchard adequately whet the appetite of historians who place conflict, property, culture, gender, or individual experience at the crux of social history.

With its massive family reconstitution, its vigorous defense of family as an interpretative device in social history, and its emphasis on the "*américanité*" of the peasantry of the Saguenay, Bouchard's study is at the center of several important debates among social historians in Canada.

BRIAN YOUNG
McGill University

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

BARBARA E. MUNDY. *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1996. Pp. xxiii, 281. \$40.00.

This beautiful book opens a Pandora's box in the most positive sense, for it provokes the reconsideration of several long-held opinions about Spanish colonialism and its effects on Native American culture. By means of meticulous analyses of a corpus of indigenous-made maps of sixteenth-century New Spain, Barbara E. Mundy postulates continuities but also real change in the Mesoamerican world view.

Her interest is in a collection of maps that was generated in response to a commission by the Council of the Indies in 1578–1584 to plot, literally, the crown's American dominions. Known as the *Relaciones Geográficas*, the maps, along with the answers to a questionnaire, were to serve as a sixteenth-century Domesday Book and furnish an accounting of all that King Philip II might anticipate for royal coffers.

It was a lofty, ambitious project; but the charge fell to New Spanish *corregidores* and *alcaldes mayores* who exercised great license as they responded to the king's directives. Most curiously, whether due to a lack of skill or interest on the part of the Spaniards, the task of mapping New Spain fell to the Indians. The maps themselves, autochthonous and unique to Mesoamerica, followed an exemplary tradition tracing back well before there was any contact with Europeans. Referred to as *pinturas* by the Spaniards, among Nahuatl speakers they were already known as *tlacuilolli* (something written or painted), and the artists, or authors, of these texts were among those most esteemed in local societies.

Thus, they painted their world as they knew it but for a distant king. And it was not the Roman Cicero's *Ubinam gentium sumus?* (Where in the world are we?) to which they responded; instead they mapped their familiar, ideally exclusive, and autonomous place. Moreover, the native world was not a nation or hemisphere but a community of each immediate society, its leadership, and the region its people inhabited. Iconic, or logographic, toponyms revealed how the place was known to the group, and native symbols marked waterways, hills, flora, and community buildings, along with pathways with footprints to show who went where. After fifty years, churches were also preeminent, but largely their representations hinted at traditional sociopolitical organization. Map materials included animal skins, *amatl* (native paper), and European papers. The fineness of design varied with the hand, but many were exquisitely drawn and painted with rich, natural colors.

What Mundy finds most intrusive, though, is the use of native and Spanish-language glosses, which she perceives as hegemonic and corruptive. Heretofore, there was no need for additional naming and description, for most anyone could "read" the maps. But with

alphabetic script, places and things were named according to Spanish patterns, and increasingly there just was no indigenous equivalent (e.g., the naming of a former polity as a religious *visita* or parish, such as San Juan Evangelista [Tlailotlacan]). Alphabetic language, then, began to undermine the indigenous-based graphic of their community/world and to dispossess them of it. Some mapmakers held steadfastly to ancient forms; others worked hard to make the best of both worlds and included such things as cattle, agricultural plots, and horses' hoof marks along with the footprints on the old pathways.

The latter group often already had employment with the Spaniards as the makers of another genre of maps, the *mercedes*. These were to show the actual use of the land of perhaps the very same community so that it might be granted to Spaniards. Either way, the Spaniards were taking over territory that had been invariably indigenous, and the mapmakers were facilitating the process.

Mundy examines sixty-nine of the *Relaciones Geográficas*, and she includes reproductions of most of them. Additionally, there are examples of the *merced* maps for comparison and to demonstrate that one author might indeed make both. We know the names of only a few of the mapmakers; but the quality of the work in general strongly supports the notion of a guild or cadre of professionals on whom the Spaniards clearly depended. Later, their legacy was such that through much of the colonial era, local communities made use of *títulos*, another category of indigenous maps and documentation, to secure what they felt was theirs.

I wish that there were more examples of maps from the precontact era, the better to understand those of the sixteenth century. Also, how was it that the indigenous were allowed to portray traditional concepts of place and space that were illegible to the Spaniards and ultimately of absolutely no use in Spain? Moreover, what did the mapmakers leave off their maps? Mundy includes a nineteenth-century copy of the Map of Chichimec History (pp. 122–24) which represents the poignant final defeat by the Aztecs in 1466 of a lower-ranked polity, Tecuanipan and its constituencies, in the ethnic state (*altepetl*) of Amecameca. Tecuanipan's rulers (who held titles of Chichimeca lordship) were sent into exile, which according to Nahuatl belief symbolized the end of their polity. In truth, this is classic Mesoamerican history, for it tells only of the community of Tecuanipan and neglects to note the complex state of which it was a part or that the battles against the Aztecs had been a statewide effort that for decades encompassed not only the populations of Amecameca but all of Chalco.

This fine book is engagingly written and amply illustrated. Not everyone will agree that alphabetic record keeping was all-harmful to colonial Mesoamericans. But Mundy's point is well taken as to its impact

on their ability to conserve territorial sovereignty as they perceived it.

SUSAN SCHROEDER
Loyola University,
Chicago

LUIS F. CALERO. *Chiefdoms under Siege: Spain's Rule and Native Adaptation in the Southern Colombian Andes, 1535–1700*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 233. \$50.00.

Luis F. Calero's study of Spanish-Indian relations in southwestern New Granada (modern-day Colombia) is a solid, albeit somewhat stock, addition to the historiography of colonial life in the region between Popayán and Quito. Relying largely on the records of governmental inspection tours (*visitas*) in 1558, 1570, 1606, 1616, 1638, 1668, 1692, 1712, and 1736, the author presents not so much an ethnohistorical account of Abad, Quillacinga, and Pasto chiefdoms under a colonial regime as he does a straightforward account of Spanish policy toward Indians in the Pasto district and some of its results. Most importantly for this book, Calero's conclusions confirm our basic understanding of Spanish colonialism: Old World epidemic diseases devastated Indian populations; weakened Indian communities responded to colonial pressures; Spanish paternalistic good will faltered under the weight of profit-taking and American realities; and actual relations between Indians and Spaniards occurred in a comprehensive and conflictual context of geography, demography, politics, economics, and culture.

Calero overlays these generalizations with an emphasis on continuity throughout the Habsburg period. For example, he asserts that sixteenth-century depopulation caused by disease "wrecked the native economy" and, when combined with "persistent demands for tribute and labor, kept these Pasto communities on the brink of collapse" (p. 76). Little changed over the next hundred years, for with "the seventeenth century's steady decline of native population, and the sustained or augmented demand for tribute and labor, the Indians found it increasingly difficult to stay alive" (p. 130).

Calero counters this bleak picture of human degradation with a standard but no less accurate affirmation of Indian historical agency. Indigenous residents resisted Spanish intrusion into their lifeways. They turned to the courts for redress and to alcohol for escape. They preferred jail sentences to unbearable labor demands. They ran away, literally moving outside the reach of colonial administration. They adopted new crops, such as sugar cane and barley, and new animals, such as pigs and chickens. Such resiliency, he argues, enabled remnant Indian communities to recover their societal cohesiveness, "to stay alive" (p. 76), and "to shape their cultural traditions in the centuries to come" (p. 75). Calero overstates the singularity of Indian survival in the Pasto district, but he correctly recognizes Indian participation in the

evolution of both their own society and the colonial regime.

Calero similarly highlights the longevity of the effects and structure of the *encomienda*. More than a century and a half of pressures on the institution, such as Indian population decline, widespread poverty, royal intents, and economic change failed to destroy it. In 1570, a mere generation after the introduction of the *encomienda*, the government inspector García de Valverde found that free-wage labor was already coming to predominate in the region. A century later, the royal treasurer of Popayán reported that the land of Pasto "lies in ruins and the people do not pay their taxes . . . There is such ruin and poverty in this city that no body wants the office of corregidor" (p. 171). Yet, in 1691, the number of *encomiendas* in the district had fallen by only two from the original thirty-two, and of the remaining thirty, twenty-seven were still in private hands. Unfortunately for the effectiveness of Calero's analysis, he does little to explain this seemingly irrational commitment to a blatantly ineffective institution beyond a brief reference to the region's relative isolation and the relatively small number of *encomiendas* found there.

Finally, Calero accentuates the contradictory nature of political audits in the Pasto region. Designed to ameliorate Indian suffering, foster economic development, increase state revenues, and uphold royal authority, *visitas*—a central "point of juncture between competing interests in the New World" (p. 61)—were instead "subject to a number of pressures that undermined their objective" (p. 60). Administrators always found the district geographically challenging. Indian communities were in a constant state of flux. *Encomenderos* defended their prerogatives throughout the Habsburg era. Policy makers regularly preferred materialist advantage to humanitarian concern. The author's appreciation for this colonial complexity does not always translate into an organizationally smooth narrative. Readers will find topical information scattered through the text. Nonetheless, the book makes a worthwhile contribution to our understanding of the regional distinctiveness of both the Audiencia of Santa Fe and its southern provinces.

LANCE GRAHN
Marquette University

WILLIAM A. DEPALO, JR., *The Mexican National Army, 1822–1852*. (Texas A&M University Military History Series, number 52.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 1997. Pp. xi, 280. \$39.95.

Given the importance of army officers and military activities during the first decades of independent Mexico, it is remarkable that this is the first English-language study on the subject. Indeed, any study of Mexican presidents, cabinet ministers, regional governors, and their advisors up to mid-century illustrates that a great majority of these men commenced their careers in the Spanish royalist army prior to 1821 and

a minority with the insurgent forces. Senior officers—many of royalist origins—defended the new nation against the Spaniards at Tampico in 1829, the Texas Revolution, French invaders in the Pastry War, and in the Mexican-American War. Others became involved in the political factionalism, *pronunciamientos*, and uprisings that punctuated this chaotic epoch. The army was a national regular and militia force of officers and conscripts, as well as a parallel system of federalist state militias that represented their regions and resisted centralism.

William A. DePalo, Jr., opens his study with an overview of the colonial army and the independence wars. He reports an inflated total of 15,000 European Spanish expeditionary troops supporting Mexican royalists against the insurgent forces. Indeed, a large European force of this size might have suppressed insurgency or at least postponed independence. In fact, most of the peninsular units that arrived between 1812 and 1816—with the exception of the Infantry Regiment of Zaragoza—were under-strength single battalions. These expeditionary units recruited local replacements and soon assumed a composition little different from that of other Mexican royalist regiments. European Spanish soldiers died of disease, deserted, or often identified with the Mexican populace. For both sides, war exhaustion made Agustín de Iturbide's "Plan de Iguala" a convenient means to conclude the conflict with the outward appearance of legitimacy. Most royalist army professionals joined Iturbide, and few expeditionary officers or soldiers ever returned to Europe.

DePalo stresses that the continued presence of former royalists—creoles and Europeans—left comparatively few military posts for Mexican aspirants. In the confusion of the post-independence era, many senior officers used their command of armed forces to create political bases and alliances. The fact that Spain refused to recognize Mexican independence and launched the abortive 1829 invasion at Tampico prevented any immediate demobilization of Mexican forces. As in the past, levies of vagabonds, petty criminals, unemployed gamblers, and other miscreants rounded up by compulsion made regular army service unpopular. Most men preferred to serve in regional civic militias that defended state autonomy. In an 1832 campaign against Zacatecas that the Texans observed with apprehension, Antonio López de Santa Anna led a force that crushed the poorly trained civic militias. Marching north in 1836 to teach the Texans a similar lesson, he failed to overcome logistical deficiencies, poor training, disease, and deficient leadership. Following the loss of Texas and an uprising in Yucatán, the nation suffered chronic threats of coups initiated by rival military and political factions. Although it has been very difficult for scholars to gain access to the enormous holdings of the Archivo de la Secretaría de la Defensa Nacional in Mexico City, these records will cast additional new light on topics relating to army politics, operations, and conditions of service.

DePalo devotes two chapters to the Mexican-American War that underscore his previous themes. Armed with old British flintlock muskets and ancient cavalry carbines, Mexican soldiers lacked the training and firepower of the American invaders. There were only about 140 antiquated artillery pieces of different calibers in the country. Given the fact that Mexican soldiers suffered from terrible deprivations and sometimes questionable leadership, they did quite well under Santa Anna at the battle of Angostura. Nevertheless, effective American light artillery and Paixhan siege guns overcame Mexican forces in the north and in the conventional battles that followed the landing at Veracruz. The clashes at Cerro Gordo, Molino del Rey, and Chapultepec illustrated unsound Mexican tactics, poor command structure, and deficiencies in logistics, training, and military equipment.

Although DePalo understands the weaknesses suffered by Mexican forces, he expresses some surprise that they did not defend their territory better. If, as the author concludes, the Mexican army was indulged by government largess up to the time of General Winfield Scott's invasion, the nation lacked the identity, economic strength, and internal unity to defend itself. The convoluted political, social, and regional dynamics behind military defeat require further explanation. It is a bit unfair for DePalo to blame Mexican officers for having been "debauched by three decades of self-glorification and political manipulation" (p. 140) or for failing to offer adequate leadership and technical training. Moreover, DePalo's idea that ordinary people might have been motivated by nationalism was premature at best. A former professional soldier himself, in some areas DePalo experiences difficulties with the complex intricacies beyond military control that influenced the nineteenth-century Mexican army. Despite some quibbles over interpretation, however, this study provides a useful introduction to the post-independence Mexican military.

CHRISTON I. ARCHER
University of Calgary

PETER LESTER REICH. *Mexico's Hidden Revolution: The Catholic Church in Law and Politics since 1929*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1995. Pp. x. 193. \$28.95.

Mexico is often cited as a prime example of church-state conflict in modern Latin America. The unrelenting anticlericalism of the Mexican Revolution, enshrined in laws, recorded in the writings of Graham Greene, and burned into the public consciousness by the art of Diego Rivera, José Clemente Orozco, and others has long been taken as a given, a standard starting point for any account of the development of modern Mexico. Peter Lester Reich's well-documented revisionist history shows a very different picture. Reich demonstrates that, under the surface of ideological rhetoric and political conflict, there was a long-term process of rapprochement, reconciliation,

and active collaboration between church elites and political leaders. In the wake of the Cristero wars, the effort to secure peace and cooperation was spurred by national leaders on both sides. Detailed case studies in three regions enable Reich to show that this was not an isolated effort; regional and local efforts at collaboration were under way simultaneously. He uses new documentary sources to explode the traditional view of church-state conflict and to document a "hidden record of compromise that grew despite legal restrictions and extremist rhetoric" (p. 4). Beginning in the 1930s, leaders on both sides collaborated to evade the letter of anticlerical laws and to suppress extremists in their respective camps, and, in the process, they provided one another with ideological support and mutual legitimization.

After an incisive review of the history of church-state relations from the colonial period to 1929, chapter two details the workings of conflict and the emergence of cooperation. In the critical period following the end of the Cristero wars, a desire to avoid further destructive conflict spurred leaders on both sides to establish a new *modus vivendi*. Anti-religious persecutions were reined in by the vigorous assertion of federal supremacy over state governments in this area. Some church property was returned, even though the government technically remained its owner. For their part, Catholic bishops called on the faithful to respect the government and to engage in non-violent forms of political participation. Extremist Catholic groups such as the Liga, the Sinarquistas, and the Catholic youth movement were brought to heel and, in the case of the youth movement, effectively crushed. The next two chapters follow these issues at the national level through a period of renewed conflict in the 1930s to the slow construction of an effective and acknowledged working relationship between church and state.

Throughout the 1930s and until the government of Manuel Ávila Camacho, church-state relations hinged on the validity of restrictions on clergy (numbers and permitted public activities) and on the status of Catholic education and its relation to state-sponsored programs of socialist education. The relationship forged during the Cárdenas era was founded on a mutual agreement to ignore anticlerical laws, to restrain extremists on both sides, and to provide mutual ideological and political support. The bishops endorsed land reform and oil nationalization, and their support was gratefully and publicly acknowledged by the national government. Reconciliation required constant effort on both sides, given the deep roots that anticlerical ideas had in the revolutionary coalition and the long-standing suspicion of the revolution among Catholic leaders and activists. Reconciliation became fully institutionalized during the Ávila Camacho period, which Reich refers to as "a government of believers and a church of politicians" (pp. 68-72).

The national story outlined to this point is extended to other levels in chapters six and seven on "regional and local cooperation" and the Catholic Action move-

ment, respectively. The bishops managed Catholic Action through the Secretariado Social Mexicano in a way that combined a potential for mass mobilization with tight hierarchical control. Their goal throughout was to encourage and promote accommodation with the secular authorities. This sustained push for accommodation was driven by pragmatic understandings. In Reich's words, "Doctrine and stated ideology were less important to leaders of Church and State than was the political power of their respective institutions, to which mutual back scratching contributed. By the end of the Cárdenas administration, the hierarchy had offered a return to its 1929–31 policy of legitimation, which the government had implicitly accepted. It remained for the next president, Manuel Ávila Camacho, to seek out episcopal support explicitly, and thus confirm the Church's role as part of the regime" (p. 67). Chapter eight carries the story forward to the present and shows that trends toward reconciliation, cooperation, and mutual legitimation continued. A brief concluding chapter sets Mexico's experience of church-state conflict and gradual, non-official reconciliation in useful comparative perspective.

In sum, this book is a valuable exercise in rereading and reevaluating a history that "everybody knows." Working with new sources, Reich has significantly revised how we understand an important period in Mexican history. This is a well-documented and welcome piece of revisionist history.

DANIEL H. LEVINE
University of Michigan

IVÁN MOLINA JIMÉNEZ and STEVEN PALMER. *La voluntad radiante: Cultura impresa, magia y medicina en Costa Rica (1897–1932)*. (Plumsock Mesoamerican Studies.) San José: Porvenir. 1996. Pp. 159.

This chronicle of Avelino Alsina, the "Spanish Yankee," and Carlos Carballo Romero, the "Magician of Coney Island," represents both the promises and challenges of microhistorical studies. Alsina, a typographer from Barcelona, migrated to San José, Costa Rica, in 1897; there he gradually developed one of the country's largest publishing houses. Carballo, a Cuban occultist healer who labored under the pseudonym of Professor Carlos Carbell, arrived in Costa Rica in 1931, whereupon he became embroiled in a series of legal and social confrontations that eventually forced him to leave the country. Iván Molina Jiménez and Steven Palmer locate the stories of these immigrants in the rapid transformation of the literary and healing dimensions of Costa Rican popular culture between the 1890s and the 1930s. The fascinating accounts of Alsina and, especially, Carballo constitute the strength of this work; its shortcomings stem from the poor analytical integration of the two stories.

The word "Yankee" conveyed distinct meanings in turn-of-the-century Costa Rica; referring to Alsina as a Yankee spoke to his business aggressiveness, his work ethic, and his successful upward mobility. Alsina began

working for a private printing office in 1897; within a dozen years, he owned his own company and employed over forty workers, almost three times the labor force of most printing concerns. By 1914, his shop printed thirty percent of all magazines and one-quarter of all newspapers in the country. Connections to local politicians and to the state accounted for a great degree of this expansion, but so, too, did the capacity of the Alsina press to provide printing, photographic, lithographic, and other services to an increasingly differentiated reading audience. Molina Jiménez has done a fine job of researching these details, although his analysis is sparse. He provides excellent (but brief) insights into marketing to a changing literary culture, but he fails to explore fully the nature of political patronage.

Palmer more successfully contextualizes the meanings of Carballo. Professor Carbell began working in San José at a sideshow in an amusement park but soon established his own shop where he conducted healing sessions heavily influenced by occult beliefs, pills, and injections of inert agents. Palmer locates the Cuban immigrant within a transformed medical culture no longer dominated by the church and popular medicine—although not yet dominated by scientific medicine—that was strongly influenced by spiritist beliefs. Palmer thus makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the development of the pluralist medical system of contemporary Latin America. Patients from varied social sectors visited Carballo in sufficiently large numbers to attract the attention of public health authorities, who brought unsuccessful charges against the healer. This defense against local authorities invigorated Carballo to print articles in the local press, to publish a pamphlet that proclaimed the promise of occultist healing, and to utilize "talk-show" radio stations to propagate his messages. Corballo's use of these distinct media of communication reinforces the significance of the cultural changes alluded to by Molina Jiménez. As agents of the police prepared a second case against Carballo, his messages became increasingly apocalyptic. Carballo envisioned the emergence of a new medical system in which occultist practices largely replaced scientific tenets. His publications prophesied that the social and economic crisis of the Depression era would enable Central America to emerge as the leading region of the Americas, which Palmer suggests parallels the claims of such diverse figures as Nicaragua's Augusto César Sandino and El Salvador's Maximiliano Hernández Martínez.

Microhistory done well utilizes a limited documentary foundation to locate the lives of "commoners" within larger historical processes. The frequent paucity of sources in Latin America challenges investigators to stretch their interpretations and to offer analyses that draw together a wide variety of secondary sources. Palmer faces this challenge admirably, but he is only partially successful in illuminating the character of Costa Rican popular culture. The authors fall short analytically in joining the two stories. Their effort,

nevertheless, will serve as a useful source for other scholars.

DAVID SOWELL
Juniata College

DEBORAH J. YASHAR. *Demanding Democracy: Reform and Reaction in Costa Rica and Guatemala, 1870s-1950s*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1997. Pp. xix, 319. Cloth \$49.50, paper \$17.95.

Deborah J. Yashar's book is one of a handful of political science studies to take a historical approach to explaining the emergence of democratic regimes. Her choices for comparative history are polar opposites: Costa Rica, the only country in Latin America to experience uninterrupted, effective electoral democracy from 1950 to the present; and Guatemala, synonymous with brutal military dictatorship since the 1954 overthrow of a ten-year experiment with democracy and social reform.

Yashar's theoretical model tries to take into account the importance of both agency and structural conditions in democratization and regime endurance rather than advocating the primacy of one over the other. She argues that when there are at once publicly expressed political divisions within the elite and popular sector organizing, a "democratizing moment" exists, with possibilities to forge "multiclass coalitions and initiate [a] change of regime" (p. 17). If the latter condition exists without the former, then marginalization or repression occurs; if the reverse is true, then there are possibilities for change, but probably within the same regime. Where a divided elite intersects with popular mobilizing, the coalitions created are "analytical fulcrums for mediating between the weight of structural conditions and the possibilities of individuals to initiate an enduring regime change" (p. 23). Yashar's historical exploration of Guatemala and Costa Rica, with particular attention to the 1940s and the early 1950s, is an attempt to illustrate these dynamics.

These were pivotal years in each country's political narrative. In Guatemala, 1944 brought the overthrow of Jorge Ubico's dictatorship and the beginning of a democratic decade, radicalized after 1950 by the election of Jacobo Arbenz and a significant land reform. The notorious 1954 invasion of exiles, organized by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) but successful only because of existing divisions within the country, inaugurated a long period of reactionary military government.

Costa Rica's narrative is paradoxical. From 1940 to 1944, President Rafael Angel Calderón Guardia undertook an ambitious social reform. The extraordinary international situation allowed him to forge an alliance with the Communist Party. The mainly reactionary coalition opposed to "*Caldero-comunismo*" claimed fraud when Calderón's understudy won the elections of 1944, and its opposition became more trenchant and violent when Calderón ran for a second term in 1948. That disputed election was the backdrop to the 1948

civil war. Although the anti-Calderón coalition was victorious, its military leader was José Figueres, a social democrat who assured that the post-1948 polity would respect and further the social reforms begun by Calderón.

Yashar retells these stories using a broad range of secondary sources, supplemented occasionally by a reading of primary documents and interviews with historical actors. The result is thorough and most engaging when presenting primary research, although sometimes lacking in a sense of the historiographical debates and mysteries of these two processes. Had Yashar updated her secondary source material on Costa Rica to include studies published in the past six or seven years, her narrative might have included an account of the deep involvement of the Costa Rican state in social policy prior to the social reforms of the 1940s and an exploration of the important role of electoral politics from the turn of the century onward.

Yashar's model assumes that social reform and democratization go hand in hand, which was the case in Guatemala. In Costa Rica, however, social reform was undertaken by a regime of questionable democratic credentials and democratization demanded by an anti-reform coalition. Yashar never addresses the problem this presents to her model, and it is unclear exactly what constituted Costa Rica's "democratizing moment."

The book's concluding chapter argues that regimes endure in Latin America as long as they control the countryside. So, Yashar argues, Costa Rican democracy has endured since 1950 because the dominant political party, Liberación Nacional, received the majority of its vote from areas outside the four main cities. There is a questionable assumption here that democracy would have collapsed had Liberación not dominated the field. Moreover, this argument fails to take into account that Costa Rica's rural heartland, already highly integrated with the main cities, experienced rapid urbanization from 1950 on.

In sum, Yashar's attempt to illustrate theory with historical narrative works better with the Guatemalan case than it does with the Costa Rican one. Despite these concerns, Yashar has written an ambitious book that will be of interest to students of Latin America, comparative history, and politics.

STEVEN PALMER

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

FERNANDO CORONIL. *The Magical State: Nature, Money, and Modernity in Venezuela*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1997. Pp. xvii, 447.

This engaging and frustrating book by Fernando Coronil is written on three levels. First, it offers a historical sketch of Venezuelan state formation in the context of its becoming an "oil republic" in the twentieth century, considering especially the dictatorships of Juan Vicente Gómez and Marcos Pérez Jiménez, and the presidencies of Carlos Andrés Pérez. Second,

the book provides an ethnography of the state, especially its central apparatus and the networks of its rule, during the 1970s and 1980s. Finally, it offers a complex theoretical reflection and exposition on Karl Marx's theory of ground rent and its relation to an understanding of the strength and particular weakness of the state in twentieth-century Venezuela, on the "magic" of the state in the context of the petroleum boom, and on the importance of the knowledge of political and economic processes in places like Venezuela for understanding the constitution of a "subaltern modernity." The book's first two projects draw on two different kinds of knowledge and two relations to history and ethnography. The first is an interpretation of the historical literature and depends on secondary sources. Here the special nature of what Coronil is doing needs to be recognized. He places his account in critical relation to dominant "official" accounts, but by this he does not seem to mean all historical interpretations of Venezuela that appeared before his work. Indeed, he draws on a rich treasure of studies that have come out since the 1970s. The "official" history he criticizes is the history influenced by Acción Democrática, the hegemonic political party for most of the second half of the twentieth century. This constituted an especially powerful dominant tradition within Venezuela, with profound political and cultural effects that Coronil is most effective in examining.

The book's second project draws on Coronil's own ethnographic work on Venezuelan power, including an analysis of the complex interplay of interests in policy making in the automobile and tractor industries in the 1970s and a stunning mystery story involving a political murder in 1978. Here the material and interpretation are quite good and original. Coronil interviewed the principal state actors and corporate managers who were involved, on the one hand, in negotiations regarding corporate bids for state concessions of exclusive rights to establish automobile plants, and, on the other, the politics surrounding the establishment and quick demise of a tractor factory. The well-publicized murder of Ramon Carmona involved intrigues among figures from politics, business, and the police. Here, Coronil's analysis depends largely on press accounts. The three cases provide special insight into the dynamics of politics and corruption during the first presidency of Carlos Andrés Pérez, who presided over the massive oil boom of the 1970s. Beyond the specifics of the Venezuelan case, the analysis itself is quite innovative, illuminating state-society relations by concentrating on actual policies and practices and the lower level functionaries who formulate and implement them while sidestepping both the empty abstractions of political theory and the pronouncements of the better-known leaders.

Ironically, the book will find most of its readers because of the arguments and claims presented at its third, theoretical level, but it is at this level that Coronil's text is least satisfying. Coronil sees his book contributing to the study of a "subaltern modernity."

Drawing on recent work in both subaltern studies and postcolonial theory, he places his work in critical opposition to a body of assumptions he calls "occidentalism." In explicating his organizing assumptions and definitions here, Coronil is given to verbal fancy that plays with words and reverses meanings without confronting the conceptual difficulties his assumptions present. To say that "Subalternity defines not the being of a subject but a subjected state of being" (p. 16) conveys, as intended, a relational understanding of subalternity, but it does not quite address the question at hand: in what sense is this a "subaltern" study when it concentrates on the state and has little to say about *los de abajo*? Coronil's answer—that the Venezuelan state is dominant in Venezuela but subordinate ("subaltern") within a system dominated, politically, economically, and discursively, by "occidentalism"—is clear enough. But Coronil has read enough of dependency theory and its critics to know that this is an old claim in new language. The old claim was a statement of, not a resolution to, a problem. Restating the claim in the relatively new language of subaltern studies does not take us any closer to a resolution.

One hopes, then, that readers attracted by the theory can bring themselves to read about automobiles and tractors, along with the book's other central chapters. Here Coronil introduces truly new models, without fins.

WILLIAM ROSEBERRY

New School for Social Research

JOSÉ CARLOS CHIARAMONTE. *Ciudades, provincias, estados: Orígenes de la Nación Argentina (1800-1846)*. (Biblioteca del Pensamiento Argentino, number 1.) Buenos Aires: Ariel. 1997. Pp. 645.

José Carlos Chiaramonte's publications have earned him a reputation as a leading student of Spanish America's political ideas in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A subject thought to have become extinct during the 1970s, when social and economic history swept away the "merely" political, the history of political ideas in Latin America has made somewhat of a comeback. Although the more recent forays of the new cultural history have fruitfully exploited the synergy between Latin American culture and politics, they have concentrated on behaviors—often at the local or communal level—and have not been as effective in elucidating the political theories that competed for supremacy. The articulation of Spanish American political ideas helps us to understand the nature of the often difficult births of the republics. This Chiaramonte does in an occasionally ponderous exegesis of what nationhood meant to diverse and discordant historical actors. He focuses on the texts of leaders and journalists who articulated their visions for Argentina.

The book consists of two parts. The documents part contains sixty-six items from the 1780s to the 1840s. The documents include private "presentations" to the king, political pronouncements, parliamentary de-

bates, newspaper editorials, private letters, and official instruments of power and authority. Although any selection of documents is subject to debate as to what was left out or included, these represent an important and convenient resource. Strategically, they serve well as the foundation for the analytical section, in which Chiaramonte presents the historical evolution of key political concepts in the development of the Argentine Republic. He highlights the competing roles of traditionalism and modernity, refracted into key thematic dimensions such as the social contract, the structures and functions of education, and political identity. The spirit of reformism, observable in mid-1810, only days after the *cabildo* of Buenos Aires arrogated the stewardship of the rest of the region's destiny, was expressed in the desire for purposefulness among the institutions of authority. In education, for example, *El Correo de Comercio*, published in Buenos Aires, asked its readers how much longer doctrines would be offered as truths and words mistaken for knowledge. No one who has studied, it editorialized, could deny that most of the knowledge accumulated in the region of Spanish America had failed to achieve anything meaningfully practical.

Nothing was more practical or essential than the establishment of a national identity. Chiaramonte approaches this elusive concept through an exploration of the terms "Argentina" and "Argentine," as counterparts to other, more essentialist terms such as *paisano*, used to identify with one's immediate region or province, or *pueblos*, consciously pluralized for the purpose of reifying the distinct peoples who inhabited the former Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata. By bringing to light such diversity of texts, which rarely have been analyzed individually and never compiled as a documentary set, Chiaramonte contributes a new and broadened definition of political thought. The text of the political terrain invaded every medium and literary genre. It would be a mistake, says Chiaramonte, to persevere in the belief that until the "Generation of Thirty-Seven" began to publish its politically laden fiction and its programs for a new Argentina in the 1840s, the region lacked political thinkers and writers of influence in their own right. Moreover, he repeatedly warns us of the dangers of reading those texts without a precise understanding of their context: Jean-Jacques Rousseau meant one thing in Paris, something else in the provinces of Buenos Aires, Córdoba, or Corrientes.

The text is occasionally more convoluted than desirable. Still, Chiaramonte's contribution consists in unwinding some of the more nuanced arguments that were so tightly wrapped around the Argentine body politic during the first half of the 1800s. This was a complicated and volatile political landscape. The time frame incorporates the difficult shift from the traditional, organic view of the state and its people to the slowly evolving liberal vision of an active state charged with organizing society. Underlying these changing perspectives is the sense of the people as a historical

problem. For leaders of Buenos Aires, the people might refer to those ignorant and impoverished folks of the interior who insisted on sharing the wealth enjoyed by the port city. For the leaders of the interior, the people would refer to the merchants and *estancieros* of Buenos Aires who insisted on hegemonizing not only revenues but also public expenditures, concentrating on the city's enhancements at the expense of the rest of the country.

After reading this work, students of Argentina's political history can no longer rest comfortably in the received opinion that the basic nineteenth-century rift was between a centralist pull by Buenos Aires and a federalist reaction by the interior provinces. To the centralism-federalism dyad Chiaramonte adds confederacy as a vital dimension of the era's debates. Confederacy advocates commingled among the debaters of the different constitutional conventions. Representatives were sent to the conventions of 1815–1816 and 1824–1827 and to the Federalist Assembly of 1831 as diplomatic emissaries; that is, the notion prevailed among the majority of provinces that each was a sovereign state. Representatives to the conventions were in fact emissaries, constrained to act within the specific instructions given by their superiors and not free to speak as individuals charged with contributing to a superstructural document seeking a more perfect union. This was the perspective of regionalisms, characterized not by special conditions of production or demography but defined, instead, as sovereignties consisting of distinct peoples. Chiaramonte documents the novel idea that broke this pattern as emanating from the province of Corrientes. Corrientes had long been known for its resistance to the authority of Buenos Aires and as the fertile soil where José Gervasio Artigas had planted his flag of provincial rights and autonomy in the 1810s.

It was pastoral Corrientes, not sophisticated Buenos Aires, that advanced the idea that Argentina had long ago come into existence, that the moment of nationhood was at hand, and that unification was a superior and natural form of political association. No province, argued the *correntino* Pedro Ferré, can dictate to another province. This was consistent with the federalist tradition. But, he went on, no province may act as a sovereign state, nor may a province position itself above the nation represented by the union of provinces. This Buenos Aires was doing by dominating the political economy and by selling itself to foreign interests. Predicated on common sense, economic exigency, equality of rights among provinces, the assertion that the nation existed over and above individual identities, and the need to rein in a Buenos Aires long known for its hubris, Corrientes combined the necessary political ingredients and theory that would eventually win the day. Chiaramonte is to be commended for teasing out the richness and nuance of the historical actors and for bringing the interior squarely into

the picture. We owe it to ourselves to read this important contribution.

MARK D. SZUCHMAN
Florida International University

JAMES W. MCGUIRE. *Peronism without Perón: Unions, Parties, and Democracy in Argentina*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1997. Pp. xvii, 388. \$55.00.

Argentina's spectacular and depressing reversal of fortune in the second half of the twentieth century has produced a steady stream of works by social scientists seeking to explain the elements of that decline. Although we have come a long way in exploring this conundrum, many aspects need further study, and it is doubtful that totally satisfactory answers to most will ever be found.

Political scientist James W. McGuire focuses on one aspect—the failure to institutionalize democracy—by examining the weak party structure of the Peronists, who have been the dominant political force in Argentina for more than fifty years. According to McGuire, instead of creating a fully developed party, Peronism has remained a movement dominated by larger-than-life political figures who depend on plebscitarian ideas. He argues cogently that the weak institutionalization of Peronism gives both political and union leaders little stake in the survival of democratic systems. They, therefore, have tended to go outside the system and have helped to undermine democracy.

The book focuses on two periods, 1962–1966 and 1984–1988, when party-building attempts were begun, seemed promising, but ultimately failed. McGuire's discussion of the former period is the most interesting and original segment of the book. He does an excellent job of examining the effort led by union leader Augusto Vandor to circumvent the political restrictions that had been placed on Peronism after the overthrow of Juan Perón. Vandor hoped to create a Peronism without Perón, which would have necessitated a strong independent party structure. The effort was blocked by Perón's desire to control his own movement, by his abilities to mobilize voters, and by rival labor leaders who for various reasons of their own wanted to see Vandor fail. The exposition makes clear the reasons for the opposition to Vandor, but McGuire attempts to explain the opposition by using Kenneth Waltz's the-

ory of international relations. This is less than convincing, however, and weakens his exposition.

The second period is studied in a more general way. McGuire examines the attempt to create a new-style Peronist Party in the wake of the loss in the 1983 presidential election. A group of party leaders attempted to limit the influence of old-style union leaders and to modernize the party structures. Ultimately, they failed because Carlos Menem was able to win the nomination for president in the first open contest in the Peronist Party. After his election, he largely ignored the party, as he did most other potential restraints on his power. A Peronist in power once again governed above his party rather than through his party.

McGuire wrote this book with the intention to "advance the understanding of twentieth century Argentine politics in a way that illuminates options available to those who struggle for democracy and social justice" (p. xi). This is a commendable purpose, and McGuire succeeds quite well. However, McGuire's attention is focused on the leaders and not on the lesser players in these political struggles. He also dismisses too easily the widely held belief that a key reason for the failure to create a more traditional party structure for Peronism in the years after Perón's overthrow was the "impossible game." When the Peronists were permitted to run for office (and this did not always happen), they were frequently not permitted to hold offices won. Certainly this was a good reason to be discouraged with a supposed democratic political system. In addition, although he acknowledges it, the author does not make enough of the anomaly that the Peronist Party, not well institutionalized in some senses, is extremely well institutionalized in others. The party has committees in every political division in the country, and these are usually capable of organizing large number of political workers.

McGuire has produced an interesting, well-argued, thorough, and thoughtful book that points out both why Peronism never consolidated a real political party and what problems this has produced. It is a book that anyone who is interested in the politics of Argentina since 1955 needs to read.

JOEL HOROWITZ
Saint Bonaventure University

Film Reviews

GUIMBA THE TYRANT [*Guimba, un tyran une époque*]. Produced by Idrissa Ouedraogo; written and directed by Cheick Oumar Sissoko. 1995; color; 93 minutes. Mali/Burkina Faso/Germany. In French with English subtitles. Distributor: California Newsreel.

The film *Guimba the Tyrant* is set in the historic city of Djenné, or Jenné, in what is now Mali, West Africa. Djenné reached its zenith in the fifteenth century as a result of the trans-Saharan trade that effectively linked the region to Arabia, the Mediterranean, and Europe. Several western Sudanic states developed through the trans-Saharan trade, beginning with Ghana in the fifth century, followed by Mali in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the Songhay Empire in the sixteenth century. The wealth of these states was based on the gold trade, although, ironically, none of them had gold; they merely served as intermediary points on the trade route. The gold deposits were to the south of them. The states were all located in the same area of the Sudan, were multi-ethnic, had strong armies (with both infantry and cavalry), and had ruling lineages with some aspects of divine kingship. Also, all of these states used the services of Muslims in their courts, and some of the rulers even became Muslims (Basil Davidson, *Africa in History*, rev. edn., 1974).

The rulers of Djenné controlled the trade of the region, which made them prosperous, allowing them to exert power over their subjects. In the film, one such ruler in the fictional kingdom of Sitikali was Guimba, whose use of power was nothing less than tyrannical. Anyone who challenged his authority was beaten and otherwise abused. He disregarded any rights his subjects might have had. For instance, if he desired one of their wives, he simply took her and banished the husband from court.

A griot, Sambou the Bard, recounts the history of legendary Djenné under Guimba's rule. The griot is a subject entrusted with the memorization, recitation, and transfer of oral history from one generation to the next. Professional praise and criticism singers, these key figures have conveyed messages for their rulers since before the time of Sundiata (1230–1255), the first emperor of Mali. Because of their knowledge of the rulers' history, griots held secrets that could lead to their downfall. They were often paid well to recite only

praise and not criticism (John Lamphear and Toyin Falola, "Aspects of Early African History," in Phyllis M. Martin and Patrick O'Meara, eds., *Africa*, 3d edn., 1995). Sambou the Bard tried to please Guimba, even though at times he criticized his actions by implication, reminding Guimba of the goodness of his ancestors as opposed to his own cruelty.

Although *Guimba the Tyrant* is set in the pre-colonial past, it alludes to the near present: to a group of tyrannical leaders in modern Africa, such as Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, Samuel K. Doe of Liberia, Idi Amin of Uganda, and Emperor Jean-Bédél Bokassa of the Central African Republic, who established repressive and undemocratic systems of government. Like Guimba, they made no attempt to enhance the productivity of their countries, instead pursuing their own power by any means (including magic). The manipulation of nationalist ideology and the subversion of democratic forces by appealing to ethnicity were two of their principal tools of control. Guimba's political strategy, like that of his modern heirs, resembles Niccolò Machiavelli's politics of domination, cruelty, and exploitation as portrayed in *The Prince*. Against his subjects, Guimba employed the tactics of a slave driver.

The film traces the course of Guimba's political career as he fell victim to evil passions, revealing a despicable character driven by lust, greed, and self-aggrandizement. His physical abuse and ostracism of one of his nobles simply in order to take Meya, the man's wife, for his own son, Janguine, is but one example. His abuse even extended to members of his own family. When one of his daughters was preparing to leave his household to marry a man of whom Guimba did not approve, he shot and killed her. Eventually, he also killed Janguine for wanting to marry a woman Guimba did not find acceptable.

The film's plot revolves around the creation of an air of impregnability that made Guimba appear invulnerable to attack. Concomitantly, the severe and immediate cruelty that he inflicted on his subjects contributed to their perception of Guimba as being more dangerous than a lion or, indeed, more dangerous than any wild beast. The resultant image is one of deified evil, a devil.

The film also suggests that blatant abuse of power

will inevitably erode the strength of the state. In the case of Guimba, his power crumbled. The fruit of the personality cult that he created was his disgruntled subjects' mobilization against him. Like many historical leaders, his Achilles' heel proved to be lust. Kani, Meya's daughter, considered to be the most beautiful woman in the community, was the final object of Guimba's obsessive lust. He desired her more than anyone or anything else and wished to marry her at all costs. But Kani lured Guimba into the forest, where he was surrounded by his enemies, led by Siriman the Hunter, who slew him. With his death, the community was freed from oppression. A new ruler, Mambi (Meza's husband), returned from exile and was elected chief.

The film, although it is fictional, reminds us of the decadence, irresponsibility, limited vision, and brutality of many historical African political leaders. At the same time, it alludes to parallel abuses of power and the poisoning of politics by more recent African leaders. Because Guimba used his power to terrorize and humiliate his own people, he fell victim to his people's revenge. Modern rulers of one-man regimes have similarly been destroyed by their own excesses. Of greater consequence, however, is the legacy such leaders have left behind. In the contemporary crises of Central Africa, the dark side of that legacy is amply revealed.

AUGUSTINE KONNEH
Morehouse College

IT HAPPENED HERE. Produced, directed, and written by Kevin Brownlow and Andrew Mollo. 1966; black and white; 99 minutes. Distributor: Milestone Films, 275 West 96th Street, Suite 28C, New York, NY 10025 (212) 865-7449.

"The German invasion of England took place in July 1940 after the British retreat from Dunkirk. Strongly resisted at first, the German army took many months to restore order. But the resistance movement, lacking outside support, was finally crushed. Then, in 1944, the resistance movement reappeared."

It has taken Kevin Brownlow more than thirty years to regain the rights to his legendary *It Happened Here* (1966) and re-release it in its original form. The complete version, with seven minutes of controversial footage restored, is now available for the first time in the United States.

It Happened Here is a "rewrite" of history, an alternative time track, a paraphrase, as it were, of past historical events: What would have happened if the Nazis had defeated England in World War II? Brownlow's title is significant since it is a variant of Sinclair Lewis's *It Can't Happen Here*, published in 1935. Lewis's cautionary fable envisioned the nightmarish spread of an American dictatorship, from a small town in Vermont to Washington, D.C., and finally to the entire nation. (The story was adapted to the stage a year later, but plans by MGM to produce a film version

were blocked by a nervous Production Code Administration on grounds it was too controversial.) Nowhere in Brownlow's account of the making of the film (*How It Happened Here*, 1968) does he mention the Lewis novel as a possible inspiration, but the parallels seem obvious enough.

The film begins with a series of animated maps illustrating the Nazi takeover of England in 1943. Inhabitants of small towns have been evacuated to a demilitarized London, where they are pressed into service in the cause of forging a "New Europe" against the common enemies of Communism and Jewish capitalists. One of the evacuees, Pauline (Pauline Murray), is a trained nurse who flees the Salisbury area after narrowly escaping a battle between the Nazis and English partisans. In London, she decides the best thing for her is to accept England's defeat and to cooperate with the occupational forces. After a highly regimented indoctrination, she becomes a nurse in the fascist-controlled Immediate Action Organization (IA). An old friend, Dr. Richard Fletcher (Sebastian Shaw), a physician, is shocked by her decision. He has refused to cooperate with the IA, and his house is under surveillance.

Suspected of collaborating with Fletcher, Pauline is taken into custody by the SS and dispatched to work at a country hospital. To her horror, she discovers that this stately house, staffed by kindly doctors and nurses, is actually a euthanasia center for terminally ill patients. Placed under arrest for refusing to carry on, Pauline leaves the hospital in handcuffs. Soon after, her train is ambushed by partisans, and she is ordered to a field dressing station in a forward area, where the army of liberation is staging its offensive. While she tends to the wounded, Pauline listens numbly to radio accounts of partisan successes, while outside her tent partisans slaughter a captured SS unit with machine guns. Pauline's fate is emblematic. She is neither heroine nor villain, merely a woman whose instinct to survive has turned her into a passive pawn—and, ultimately, the victim—of both oppressors and oppressed.

Brownlow was only an eighteen-year-old office boy in the film industry and Andrew Mollo just a sixteen-year-old World War II buff when they first conceived the project in May 1956. After six years of planning, fund raising, improvising, and seeking help from their friends (Tony Richardson and Stanley Kubrick came through with money and 35-millimeter film stock), principal photography of *It Happened Here* began in July 1962 and finished in April of 1963 at a total cost of \$21,000 (Brownlow, *How It Happened Here*, 176).

Remarkably, this documentary-style narrative contains not one foot of stock footage. Every shot was created. World War II newsreel techniques were simulated by the use of hand-held cameras, grainy images, and jump cuts. (Brownlow himself faked period newsreels with a 1922 hand-cranked 16-millimeter Kodak camera.) Mollo provided his own collection of original military uniforms and equipment, and collectors con-

tributed a variety of trucks, taxis, private cars, and buses. (According to Brownlow, wartime London buses are about the rarest vehicles on wheels.) The radio broadcasts heard throughout were recorded by veterans of the BBC wartime staff: John Snagge, Alvar Lidell, and Frank Phillips. Exteriors were shot in and around London (including Parliament Square for a Nazi marching sequence and the former home of opera librettist W. S. Gilbert for the country hospital scenes). Most of the cast were non-professionals, including the lead actress, Pauline Murray, a doctor's wife from Wales.

Despite (or because of) its scrupulously realistic surface, *It Happened Here* is a nightmarish parable that suggests that "a vast fascist potential" (Brownlow's words) exists close to the surface in all of us. As a result of attending meetings of the British National Socialist Movement, Brownlow had become convinced that "the germ of a Nazi revival had taken root" in England: "It provided an expected and alarming topicality for our film," he later wrote (Brownlow, *How It Happened Here*, 66–70). Sure enough, by the end of the picture, as Nazis and English partisans slaughter each other, the propaganda and the brute force of one has become indistinguishable from the other. The ideological lines separating them have disappeared. Dr. Fletcher's words to Pauline echo in our ears: "The most appalling thing about Fascism is that it takes Fascist methods to get rid of it."

How close we all are to these extremes is revealed in the storm of controversy that greeted the film's release. Singled out for attack—and ultimately censored before its initial release—were not scenes of battlefield slaughter and street riots but an unscripted, spontaneous discussion among actual members of the British National Socialist Movement about euthanasia, Aryan superiority, and the "Jewish Problem." These are not ranting despots and thugs but ordinary people looking for all the world like properly tweedy Englishmen in their club recounting the daily news over brandy and cigars. "No film since the end of the war had given National Socialists carte blanche to express their opinions," wrote Brownlow, "with the result that few people had a clear idea of what they stood for, or of the insidious threat they represented." Angered by what they considered a "credo against the Jews," the *Jewish Chronicle* and other groups forced distributor United Artists into deleting the discussion scene. Now, after thirty years, the scene is restored and audiences, as Brownlow had intended all along, can see and hear for themselves how the Nazis "condemn themselves out of their own mouths" (Brownlow, *How It Happened Here*, 138).

Many who worked on the picture so long ago have gone on to brilliant careers—cinematographer Peter Suschitzky on *The Man in the Iron Mask* (1998) and *The Empire Strikes Back* (1980); producer Andrew Mollo as production designer on *Pascali's Island* (1988) and *Dance with a Stranger* (1985); production assistant Peter Watkins as director of *The War Game*

(1965) and *Edvard Munch* (1976); and writer-director Kevin Brownlow as an esteemed historian and restorationist, responsible for many books, documentary series, and restored classic films. This reissue of an apprentice work of their youth, however, though shot on a shoestring with the barest of technical resources and mostly volunteer personnel, needs no apology. Indeed, the years have been kind. Its blend of fact, fantasy, and political discussion may be more relevant now—and find a wider audience—than ever before. It deserves it. Thanks to Brownlow's restoration and Milestone Films' re-release, *It Happened Here* is "Happening Now."

JOHN C. TIBBETTS
University of Kansas

CHILE, OBSTINATE MEMORY [*Chile, la memoria obstinada*]. Produced by Yves Jeanneau and Eric Michel; written and directed by Patricio Guzmán. 1997; color; 58 minutes. Canada/France. In Spanish with English subtitles. Distributor: First Run/Icarus Films, 153 Waverly Place, New York, NY 10014, 1-800-876-1710, mail@frif.com.

In October 1998, London police arrested Chilean General Augusto Pinochet on Spanish charges of genocide, terrorism, and murder. Pinochet's arrest and Spanish Judge Baltasar Garzón's efforts to extradite him to Spain to stand trial for the general's role in the murder and disappearance of more than 4,000 people focused world attention on Chile and the human rights abuses that the military dictatorship, headed by Pinochet, committed during its seventeen-year regime (1973–1990).

The latest film by Chilean film director Patricio Guzmán, *Chile, Obstinat Memory* reveals the profound impact that the Pinochet dictatorship had on the Chilean people. Filmed in 1996, it records Chileans' reactions to seeing Guzmán's earlier film *The Battle of Chile* (1975–1979) for the first time. *The Battle of Chile*, shot in the months leading up to the coup that overthrew the Popular Unity government headed by Salvador Allende in 1973, portrays a society immersed in class struggle, defines the working class (with whom its sympathies obviously lie) as the protagonist of the conflict, and presents the fight for control of Chile as both multi-layered and complex. The working class and the leftist government emerge as dynamic forces that, though fully aware of the actions of both the Chilean bourgeoisie and the U.S. government to sabotage their socialist project, are confident that their program best meets the needs of Chileans and passionately defend it.

For thirteen years, the Pinochet dictatorship used censorship and repression to eliminate this vision of the Allende government. It attempted to inculcate its version of history and, thereby, convince people of its right to rule. In sharp contrast, *The Battle of Chile* offers its viewers the long-suppressed voices of those forces that the dictatorship worked to eliminate. As a

result, it provokes a variety of emotions from its audience, ranging from anger, self-righteousness, and dismissal from the military's supporters to sorrow, shock, and pride from its opponents. The intensity of the responses elicited by *The Battle of Chile* illustrates why a nation's vision of its own history is contentious, since it is central to its current definition of itself. *Chile, Obstinate Memory* illustrates how people's understanding of the present influences their construction of the past and vice versa.

The question of how Chileans understand the dictatorship's abuse of human rights permeates *Chile, Obstinate Memory*. It demonstrates what the controversy that erupted over England's arrest of Pinochet implied: most Chileans' attitude toward human rights reflects their overall political position. Rightist supporters of the military extol the armed forces because, they claim, their seizure of power actually saved lives by preventing a civil war from breaking out in Chile, as occurred in Central America during the 1980s. A group of high school girls debates whether or not Pinochet's economic policies, which they deem successful, justify the murder of Chileans who opposed his rule. A majority appears to think they do. The most passionate denunciations of Pinochet's abuse of human rights emerge from a gathering of young people who lost family members to the military repression. Overcome by emotion, some crying so hard they cannot even speak, they express the anger and bewilderment of the thousands in Chile whose loved ones were imprisoned, tortured, murdered, or disappeared by the dictatorship and who live in a society where these crimes are not only unpunished but unrecognized.

Many of the people interviewed in this film directly suffered from Pinochet's repression. The film opens

with scenes of the Chilean military bombing La Moneda, the presidential palace where both Allende and Chile's tradition of democracy died. Later, surviving members of Allende's bodyguard look at pictures of their former comrades, repeating as they turn to each new photograph, "Disappeared. Disappeared. Disappeared." The father of Jorge Müller Silva, the cinematographer who shot *The Battle of Chile* and who was subsequently murdered by the dictatorship, tells us that he had earlier fled Nazi Germany to avoid persecution and now mourns the loss of his beloved son. One woman, who lost five members of her direct family to military repression, refuses even to recognize a picture of herself participating in a pro-Popular Unity march when Guzmán shows her a scene from *The Battle of Chile*.

Chile, Obstinate Memory reveals what seventeen years of military dictatorship does to a nation's psyche. The film exposes a society still in profound conflict with itself, even though the struggles are more muted. The spirit of optimism and hope that the workers exuded in *The Battle of Chile* has been replaced by a sense of defeat and nostalgia. The economics professor who educated workers during the Popular Unity years about how capitalism works and why socialism is a more just economic system now practices yoga and refers to Popular Unity activists as a group of idealists who yearned for a utopia. The balance of power has shifted to those who supported the dictatorship and its neoliberal economic policies. It is the backers of Pinochet who exhibit a sense of triumph and arrogance, convinced that neoliberalism has made Chile into the economic success story of Latin America.

MARGARET POWER

Illinois Institute of Technology

Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

GENERAL

PETER BLICKLE, editor. *Gemeinde und Staat im Alten Europa*. Assisted by ROSI FUHRMANN *et al.* (Historische Zeitschrift, Beihefte; Neue Folge, number 25.) Munich: Oldenbourg. 1998. Pp. viii, 509.

PETER BLICKLE, Mit den Gemeinden Staat machen. BEAT HODLER, *Doléances, Requêtes und Ordonnances*: Kommunale Einflußnahme auf den Staat in Frankreich im 16. Jahrhundert. ROSI FUHRMANN, Amtsbeschwerden, Landtagsgravamina und Supplikationen in Württemberg zwischen 1550 und 1629. ANDREAS WÜRLER, Desideria und Landesordnungen. Kommunal- und landständischer Einfluß auf die fürstliche Gesetzgebung in Hessen-Kassel 1650–1800. BEAT KÜMIN, *Parish and Local Government*. Die englische Kirchgemeinde als politische Institution 1350–1650. RENATE BLICKLE, Laufen gen Hof. Die Beschwerden der Untertanen und die Entstehung des Hofrats in Bayern: Ein Beitrag zu den Varianten rechtlicher Verfahren im späten Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit. ROSI FUHRMANN, BEAT KÜMIN, and ANDREAS WÜRLER, Supplizierende Gemeinden: Aspekte einer vergleichenden Quellenbetrachtung. ANDRÉ HOLENSTEIN, Zittgesuche, Gesetze und Verwaltung: Zur Praxis "guter Policy" in Gemeinde und Staat des Ancien Régime am Beispiel der Markgrafschaft Baden(-Durlach). BEAT KÜMIN, Gemeinde und Revolution: Die kommunale Prägung der englischen Levellers. SIBYLLE HUNZIKER, Die ländliche Gemeinde in der juristischen Literatur 1300–1800.

DONALD T. CRITCHLOW and CHARLES H. PARKER, editors. *With Us Always: A History of Private Charity and Public Welfare*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 1998. Pp. vi, 270. Cloth \$56.00, paper \$22.95.

CHARLES H. PARKER, Poor Relief and Community in the Early Dutch Republic. KATHRYN NORBERG, Religious Charity and Cultural Norms in Counter-Reformation France. THOMAS M. ADAMS, The Provision of Work as Assistance and Correction in France, 1534–1848. BRIAN PULLAN, Good Government and Christian Charity in Early Modern Italy. ANTHONY BRUNDAGE, Private Charity and the 1834 Poor Law. E. WAYNE CARP, Orphanages vs. Adoption: The Triumph of Biological Kinship, 1800–1933. ELIZABETH MCKEOWN, Claiming the Poor.

ELLIS W. HAWLEY, Herbert Hoover, Associationalism, and the Great Depression Relief Crisis of 1930–1933. ALICE O'CONNOR, Neither Charity Nor Relief: The War on Poverty and the Effort to Redefine the Basis of Social Provision. DONALD T. CRITCHLOW, Implementing Family Planning Policy: Philanthropic Foundations and the Modern Welfare State. JAMES T. PATTERSON, "Reforming" Relief and Welfare: Thoughts on 1834 and 1996.

KEVIN SHARPE and STEVEN N. ZWICKER, editors. *Refiguring Revolutions: Aesthetics and Politics from the English Revolution to the Romantic Revolution*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1998. Pp. x, 376. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$19.95.

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ARTICLES

TO THE EDITOR:

In their article, "Medievalisms Old and New: The Rediscovery of Alterity in North American Medieval Studies" [*AHR* 103 (June 1998): 677–704], Paul Freedman and Gabrielle M. Spiegel call attention to some interesting current trends in the writing of medieval history. The new work that they discuss is welcome, of course. The great body of recent writing on women's history has proved to be especially valuable. But a few caveats are in order. The authors refer to Karl F. Morrison's study of PhD theses in medieval history from 1960 to 1978 (n. 21). They might have carried their research a bit further. A quick check of some more recent years (from 1990 to 1996) turned up a pattern in some ways similar to the one Morrison described. I found the same high concentration of works on medieval England, with many of them devoted to the traditional themes of legal, constitutional, and ecclesiastical history. There were also notably more works on the topics discussed by Freedman and Spiegel. It seems that the new interests of medievalists are supplementing the older ones, not supplanting them. And this, I would argue, is just as it should be.

The authors suggest that the study of Western constitutional history and constitutional thought has become outmoded because of disillusion with the modern state. Do they never read the newspapers? We live at a crucial time in the development of Western institutions. During the next century, many millions of Asian people may opt for Western constitutional forms of government. Or they may not. The outcome is unpredictable. At such a time, there can hardly be a more urgent task for historians than to understand as

fully as possible all the contingent circumstances within which the Western constitutional state first grew into existence and then came to survive. It is not a question of imposing modern ideas on the past or even of accepting an "optimistic image" of the Middle Ages. The medieval Western experience was highly unusual. In investigating it, we have to be aware that then, as now, "The actual movement of events, while it is going on, is a series of discontinuous idiosyncratic episodes." (I am quoting some words of Karl Morrison from the study mentioned above, describing one of my own works.) But to understand how these idiosyncratic episodes helped to shape our modern world is still a worthwhile undertaking. There is a great deal still to be done. When, a few years ago, I began to investigate the medieval origins of natural rights theories, I found a largely neglected field of study. I suspect that, if Western historians abandon this task, it will be taken up by a new generation of Asian scholars.

Another point concerns the alterity or "otherness" of the Middle Ages. I do not think that any of the old-fashioned historians mentioned by Freedman and Spiegel were ever unaware of this alterity. They knew all about the grotesqueries and cruelties and superstitions of the medieval world. But they just assumed, correctly, that everyone else already knew about these things, and so they preferred to write on what seemed more rewarding topics. If, now, some medieval historians want to reemphasize the old platitudes, they may treat us to a titillating sense of "déjà vu all over again"; the danger is that they may also present a picture as one-sided as the old "golden Middle Ages" myth. I doubt whether an exclusive concentration on such themes would contribute to a continued flourishing of medieval studies. Once again, the new interests should supplement the older ones, not supplant them.

There is one final point. The authors mention the "linguistic turn" in modern scholarship as closely allied to the other postmodern topics they discuss—women's history and medieval alterity. As the authors note, this new approach treats documents "as texts rather than sources," and it suggests "the instability and opacity of all and any knowledge of the past." (This is not the same as the old argument about historical relativism; that is something else altogether.) Here I think the authors make a serious category error. Hermeneutical

skepticism is not just a spicy element adding zest to the other ingredients in the stew of postmodernism. It is radically destructive of the other components. When historians such as Suzanne Wemple or Barbara Hanaway write about medieval women, and when others emphasize the less edifying, "predatory" aspects of medieval government, they are using documents precisely as sources. They think they are really telling us something about medieval women and medieval rulers. One cannot investigate either medieval women or medieval alterity by using a technique that, from the outset, precludes "all and any knowledge" about the Middle Ages.

The authors mention the experience of growing up in the 1960s as a formative influence on many of the medievalists who are contributing to the new trends in historical writing. These scholars might do well to remember that the students they are trying to reach grew up in the 1990s, and that to them the 1960s are just an episode in a remote historic past, something "other"—like the Middle Ages.

BRIAN TIERNEY
Cornell University

The authors thank Brian Tierney for his interesting viewpoint but do not wish to reply.

THE EDITORS

TO THE EDITOR:

In "Gender, Consumption, and Commodity Culture" (*AHR* 103 [June 1998]: 817–44), Mary Louise Roberts considers several intriguing approaches to the past. Although I cannot speak to developments in France that Roberts verges on exploring, an analysis of the commodification of identity that anticipates some of her intimations appeared in my essay "Cosmetics and the Crisis of Gender Identity in the Early Twentieth Century," in *Soft Soap Hard Sell: American Hygiene in an Age of Advertisement* (1992). In modern America, the politics of identity is inextricably intertwined in market mechanisms.

My findings indicated that the consumption of goods employed specifically to distinguish genders altered radically in the 1920s to signify and to frame what was perceived to be a radically altered structure of opportunity for the portrayal of "female" in the United States. In American historiography, at least in that modest respect, the "New Woman" has already been isolated as what Roberts claims to expect to find in the theaters of Paris, "a central figure in the history of gender and consumption" (p. 843).

Those who recognize the significance of the questions posed in the monographs that she reviews might mostly agree with Roberts's lament that an air of academic "condescension" and polemical "suspicion" (p. 820) has contributed to scholarly neglect of the meanings of consumption. One might then expect that Roberts would detract from rather than add to "these

prejudices [that] have crippled historical interest" (p. 821) by adopting a standard of critical expectation no less attainable than that one would accord oneself. When one chooses to be "hard-nosed" (p. 840), as Roberts puts it, one ought not to blow it.

She dismisses the fascinating work of Lori Anne Loeb, in part, because Loeb "radically oversimplifies" (p. 831) the nature of Colin Campbell's notion of hedonism, although Roberts does not plumb the depth of Loeb's transgression. Just a few pages earlier, however, Roberts seems quite comfortable trying to jam the genius of Thorstein Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class*, as well as the voluminous literature his observations have inspired over the course of a century, into a solitary paragraph. Elsewhere, Roberts asserts as fact, "in fact, an interesting question is why soap as a commodity has emerged as such a preoccupation of historians of consumerism" (p. 837). Scholars might indeed have something better to do, but instead of discounting this line of inquiry, an examination of these studies might offer insight into why, a few musings later, in terms that might have been lifted from a toiletry ad, Roberts insists that "we are obliged to be fastidious" about things having nothing to do with hygiene (p. 840).

One may also agree wholeheartedly with her aversion to ostensibly historical interpretation that "evades empirical analysis" (pp. 830, 831), as indeed it is the data that distinguish our form of literature from fiction. Our shared commitment to the appropriate use of evidence is, after all, what extracts students of the history of culture from the realm of the cultural critic.

At the same time, however, if, as she suggests (p. 840), she knows "how we must or must not employ" that universe of ubiquitous commercial images in which we have lived; the incalculable quantity of magazine ads, radio broadcasts, and television commercials; the endless footage of numberless reels of film; the untold unquantifiable manifestations of commodity culture that constitute data, each with its own sets of weird complexities when used as evidence, one expects that Roberts may soon publish rules.

Students of these issues should be wary not least of the biases that they impose on their inquiries when they access this database. A severe limitation may inhere, for instance, in Roberts's assertion that, "Like commodities themselves, the culture governed by the commodity cultivates little accountability or responsibility to anything, let alone a set of strategic political goals, such as feminism" (p. 844). In my study of the rise of the American beauty parlor, in the volume cited above, one discovers that the intervention of the state—the politics of government—is explicitly implicated in the construction of culture through its responsibility to property and to the profit motive. By promoting the segregation of barbering services on the basis of the gender of patrons, for example, the regulations imposed on the marketplace had direct, conscious, and intimate impact on the packaging of self and the politics of identity in the United States.

Protecting the property interests of owners of beauty shops and the markets of manufacturers of parlor goods, legislators acceded to the agenda of lobbyists whose strategic political goals were not so much feminist as feminine. To come to understand the concept of "culture governed by the commodity," contrary to Roberts's supposition, one might find it useful to challenge working assumptions that suspend questions of accountability.

VINCENT VINIKAS
University of Arkansas

MARY LOUISE ROBERTS REPLIES:

I would like to respond to Vincent Vinikas's letter by addressing the ways in which, in my opinion, he has misunderstood my review essay "Gender, Consumption, and Commodity Culture." The difficulty in writing such an essay is that one is forced to pursue a topic in its broadest outlines, both in order to synthesize a body of historical material and to appeal to a readership as diverse as that of the *American Historical Review*. In following such a broad agenda, my purpose was not, in Vinikas's words, to "publish rules" about how historians should use documents related to consumer culture. Clearly, our approaches to such documents must vary with the specific research situations in which we find ourselves. The aim of my essay was merely to examine problems that certain forms of evidence—pornography, advertisements, and films—have presented to us as historians, in the hopes of grappling with these difficulties more successfully in the future.

Nor did I set out to create a definitive, comprehensive metanarrative of the rise of commodity culture in the Western world. Hence when I argued that identity was commodified in the worlds of journalism and theater in *fin-de-siècle* France, I did not mean to "steal the spotlight" from Vinikas's own work on this subject, as he seems to imply. In fact, I regret not including his important book *Soft Soap Hard Sell*, because it anticipates not only my work but also that of Kathy Peiss, which I explore in detail. But what distinguishes my current research from that of Vinikas is that it concerns the "new woman" of the 1880s and 1890s, not the 1920s. Because I have also had occasion to study the "new" or "modern woman" of the 1920s in France (in my first book, *Civilization without Sexes: Reconstructing Gender in Postwar France, 1917–1927*), I can argue with confidence that there are very real differences between the pre-war and postwar eras in the way gender identity becomes commodified.

The broad, synthetic nature of my essay also forced me to treat Thorstein Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class* in too cursory a manner. For this, I apologize. But again, my explicit intention here was merely to make a point about how women were situated as both consumer and commodity in Veblen's work. Never did I make claims to treat him in a comprehensive or exhaustive manner—obviously an impossible task in a

review essay of this kind. As for Lori Loeb's oversimplification of Colin Campbell, this has less to do with how much *space* she devotes to Campbell in her book than with how she reduces his complex, subtle notion of hedonism to the pure, unfettered drive for pleasure.

Twice in his letter, Vinikas takes quotes from my essay out of context, then misinterprets them. First, in asking the question "why soap as a commodity has emerged as such a preoccupation of historians of consumerism" (p. 837), I never meant, in his words, to "discount" soap as a topic of historical inquiry. The question was sincere: was there something specific about soap that made it such an important product for colonial markets? In note 96, I provided one possible answer given to me by an anonymous reviewer of the *AHR*: companies with large, complex product lines used soap as a quick entry into colonial markets because it was a cheap, easy way to gain company loyalty. Second, when I stated that "the culture governed by the commodity cultivates little accountability or responsibility to anything, let alone a set of strategic political goals, such as feminism" (p. 844), I was speaking specifically about social movements of resistance. My concern here was the political "value" of commodity culture in terms of sustained, formal, and collective efforts to change women's lives. Although the newly commodified worlds of journalism and theater encouraged certain women to transgress gender roles in *fin-de-siècle* France, these transgressions were personal and spontaneous rather than cooperative and strategic. But Vinikas has quoted me as making a much more general argument: that there was no accountability at all in commodity culture. This is obviously untrue. I agree with him wholeheartedly that the state is implicated in the construction of commodity culture by its "responsibility to private property and to the profit motive."

MARY LOUISE ROBERTS
Stanford University

TO THE EDITOR:

In reference to Omer Bartov's essay "Defining Enemies, Making Victims: Germans, Jews, and the Holocaust" (*AHR* 103 [June 1998]: 771–816), Bartov would have immeasurably strengthened a crucial part of his otherwise well-done thesis had he found some primary sources that clearly and unambiguously established that German bureaucrats, soldiers, and policemen officially planned and decreed the systematic annihilation of every last Jew in Europe (not to be confused, as some find convenient to do, with eliminating Jewish influence in Europe).

Unfortunately, he has gone around the well-worn track of citing secondary sources who have themselves drawn conclusions also based on secondary sources which in turn have done the same. Around and around—all citing one another—nary a primary source between them. Although they may believe they are

reinforcing their theses, in reality, it is a futile exercise leading nowhere. Sadly, we have descended to such a state of fear and intimidation in this area that your best friends will not point this out.

Fortunately, for historical truth and unfortunately for those narrow-minded censors, all the name calling in the world can't change the facts.

JOHN MORTL
Bala, Ontario

OMER BARTOV REPLIES:

The French "negationist" Robert Faurisson has argued that, since there are no witnesses who can report on the operation of a gas chamber from within, it is impossible to provide conclusive evidence of the existence of such killing installations. Similarly, the British historian David Irving, much beloved by neo-Nazis everywhere, has claimed that, since no document signed by Adolf Hitler ordering the "Final Solution" has been found (and was probably never written), the Führer cannot be charged with responsibility for the Holocaust. Such arguments indeed go in circles, and it is normally best to ignore them altogether, since arguing with those who deny the Holocaust merely provides them with the legitimacy they otherwise lack.

While I am uncertain about the motivation and intent of John Mortl's letter, the decision by the *AHR* to publish it compels me to respond. And despite the fact that a vast number of documents on the planning and implementation of the genocide of the Jews have been uncovered, published, and carefully analyzed by historians, all I can do is to briefly cite a few such documents in order to demonstrate the preposterousness of Mortl's assertion.

On March 26, 1941, the High Command of the Army (OKH) ordered its formations to collaborate with the Einsatzgruppen, the murder squads of the SS and SD. On March 30, 1941, Hitler declared in a speech to his military leaders concerning the planned attack on the Soviet Union that it would be "a war of extermination." On May 19, 1941, the Supreme Command of the Wehrmacht (OKW) instructed the troops that the war in Russia would be "a struggle [that] requires ruthless and energetic action against Bolshevik agitators, guerrillas, saboteurs, and Jews." On June 22, 1941, the Wehrmacht invaded the USSR. On July 2, 1941, Reinhard Heydrich, chief of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), ordered SS leaders in Russia to "execute . . . Jews in the service of the Party or the State." By August at the latest, the Einsatzgruppen were killing all Jews. On December 1, 1941, Karl Jaeger, commander of Einsatzkommando 3, reported that "the Jewish problem for Lithuania has been achieved . . . There are no more Jews in Lithuania apart from the work-Jews and their families." All other SS commanders submitted similar reports. Meanwhile, as early as October 10, 1941, Field Marshal von Reichenau, commander of 6 Army, instructed his

troops to "show full understanding for the necessity for the severe but just atonement being required of the Jewish subhumans," stressing that the soldiers' duty included "the merciless extermination" of "the Jewish-bolshevist system."

On July 31, 1941, Hermann Goering charged Heydrich "with making all necessary preparations with regard to organizational, technical and material matters for bringing about a complete solution of the Jewish question within the sphere of influence in Europe." Adolf Eichmann, chief of the Jewish desk in the RSHA, reported to his Israeli interrogator in 1960 that, in August or September 1941, Heydrich stated that "the Führer . . . ordered the physical extermination of the Jews." Rudolf Hoess, commandant of Auschwitz, reported in 1946 that, "in the summer of 1941," Heinrich Himmler told him that "the Führer . . . ordered that the Jewish question be solved once and for all," and that since "the existing extermination centers in the East are not in a position to carry out the large actions which are anticipated," Himmler "earmarked Auschwitz for this purpose." On December 16, 1941, Hans Frank, governor general of the General Government (part of occupied Poland), told his senior officials that "the Jews . . . have to be finished off . . . We must exterminate them wherever we find them." On January 20, 1942, Heydrich convened the Wannsee conference, in which representatives of all relevant Nazi agencies and government ministries were present. Heydrich declared that, "in the process of carrying out the final solution, Europe will be combed through from west to east," and the estimated 11 million Jews living in Europe would be "brought in stages to so-called transit ghettos in order to be transported from there further east." There, "those fit for work" would "be conscripted for labor," and "undoubtedly a large number of them will drop out through natural wastage. The remainder who survive . . . will have to be dealt with accordingly." Eichmann, who wrote the report, stressed in his trial that the participants spoke in "very blunt terms—not in the language that I had to use in the minutes . . . The talk was of killing, elimination, and annihilation."

On January 30, 1942, Hitler told the Reichstag that "the war can only end either in the extermination of the Aryan nations or in the disappearance of Jewry from Europe." On October 4, 1943, Himmler spoke to a gathering of SS officers in Posen "about a very grave matter" of which "we will never speak . . . publicly," namely, "the extermination of the Jewish people," which he described as "a glorious page in our history and one that has never been written and can never be written." On May 5, 1944, Himmler reminded a meeting of generals in Sonthofen that, in 1939, Hitler had warned the Jews that if they "once again incite the European nations to wage war on each other, then the result will be not the extermination of the German people but the extermination of the Jews." He went on to say that, in the meantime, "the Jewish question has been solved . . . in an uncompromising fashion," and

asked his audience to “understand how difficult it was for me to carry out this military order which I was given and which I implemented out of a sense of obedience and absolute conviction.” On the night of April 28–29, 1945, shortly before his suicide, Hitler dictated his political testament: “Centuries may lapse, but from the ruins of our cities and monuments will rise anew the hatred for that people to whom we owe all this, who are ultimately responsible: international Jewry and its acolytes! . . . I have no doubt left, that . . . the people guilty of this murderous conflict will be called to account: Judaism! I have also made it amply clear, that this time . . . the real culprit will have to expiate his guilt, though by more humane means.” The means Hitler had in mind were the gas chambers.

For the documents quoted, see J. Noakes and G. Pridham, eds., *Nazism, 1919–1945: A Documentary Reader* (Exeter, 1988), 1086–1200; Gerald Fleming, *Hitler and the Final Solution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984), 92–93, 186–87.

OMER BARTOV
Rutgers University

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITOR:

I have just received Virginia R. Dominguez’s review of my book (*The Masada Myth*) that was published in the *AHR* 103 (February 1998): 240–41. There are three points in the review that, with your permission, I would like to respond to and clarify.

First, and contrary to Dominguez’s interpretation, contextual constructionism does not claim to know the absolute “truth” or be “objective.” Rather, it tries to bypass the epistemological problematics involved in deciding on “objectivity” by establishing a consensus of relevant experts based on careful examination of empirical facts. Thus the problem is not making distinctions between what Dominguez implies are “real” and “unreal” facts but one of making an informed and intelligent selection of the relevant and important facts for specified narratives. While this agreed-upon, fact-based consensus is temporary and relative, it provides a powerful base line that we can use to evaluate a variety of claim-making activities. In fact, when I use the word “objective” in my text, it is indeed placed within quotation marks, precisely because of this reason. Strict constructionism, as explained in my text, assumes the equality of all narratives (including the scientific), regardless of the validity, reliability, or even usefulness, of empirical evidence. Contextual constructionists cannot accept this extreme relativist position simply because the empirical world does not behave in this fashion. This is highly relevant to the next point.

Second, I find the claim that Josephus Flavius’s narrative, written only a few years after the events (by an important, involved, relevant, knowledgeable, and contemporary figure), is equal to imaginary mythical

and fabricated narratives concocted by a variety of creative moral entrepreneurs some 1,800 years later to be quite incredible. That Josephus’s narrative is “ancient” has absolutely nothing to do with using it as a “base line.” Greek mythology is ancient, too, and is not taken as history *ipso facto*. Moreover, contrary to Dominguez’s claim, I very specifically state (p. 29 of my book) that the accuracy or validity of Josephus’s writings is *not* being judged, tested, or challenged because all I do is to contrast his version (which I use as a “base line”) to the Masada myth. Had the myth been based on a careful and justified textual reexamination of Josephus or on new evidence—I would have then had to reevaluate my contrast. But the Masada myth was most certainly not based on such work. It was created by deliberate and false inventions and fabrications, not based on any evidence. It is important to be reminded that the *only* historical version that exists of the relevant events is the narrative provided by Josephus. Except for this, the myth makers had nothing. The reasons why, and the ways in which, these myth makers subverted Josephus is the central focus of the book. In this sense alone, Josephus’s text is useful as a methodological tool, not as a sort of sacred ancient text not to be challenged.

And third, yes, the book was deliberately structured as, and reflects, a scientific effort: solving a puzzle, driven by data and based on evidence. Contrary to what Dominguez’s review may imply, I do not believe that there is any need to apologize for, or explain, that.

NACHMAN BEN-YEHUDA
Hebrew University

VIRGINIA DOMINGUEZ REPLIES:

It is surprising and unfortunate that Nachman Ben-Yehuda missed the overall point of the review, i.e. that it is a book that has much to offer.

He may also have overlooked an important point about readership. This review was written, by invitation, for an audience of historians who need to know that his book will not read like most of their books. No one is asking Ben-Yehuda to apologize for being a sociologist, but his readers—especially those who might turn to his book after reading my review—are entitled to know that he is a sociologist and that his primary theoretical frame is a sociological one, not a historical one.

We may live in an era in which there is much talk about interdisciplinarity, and in which many of us genuinely care about reading works across disciplinary lines, engaging with colleagues trained in other disciplines, and even getting an audience across more than one discipline. But disciplinary differences still run deep, and here we see one example. It would be interesting, for instance, to imagine what a social historian, a military historian, a political historian, or even a historian of the book would do with the kind of material Nachman Ben-Yehuda worked with as he

wrote this book. I am sure that contextual constructionism would be neither their framing device nor their primary agenda. It is quite fine that it is Ben-Yehuda's prime concern, but historians reading this journal are entitled to know that.

Finally, many historians probably share Ben-Yehuda's impatience with contemporary scholarly literature that seems to imply that there is no such thing as an incontestable fact and, hence, no unarguable evidentiary ground on which to stand when attempting to produce good scholarship. These readers will like the spirit of his book, although they may still choose to skip over the explicitly theoretical articulation of what Ben-Yehuda takes to be the value of "contextual constructionism." Ben-Yehuda's main sentiment will be shared, too, by many of us who still believe in the value of the scholarly effort and in the importance of critical but substantial use of evidence. Yet I remain somewhat puzzled by the intensity of Ben-Yehuda's investment in "contextual constructionism."

He clearly wants to find, articulate, and defend an argument—stated in theoretical terms—that "tries to bypass the epistemological problematics involved in deciding on 'objectivity.'" It is clearly very important to him not to be read as unaware of the "epistemological problematics," and this suggests a debate he may be in the midst of having with people in some segments of sociology and anthropology. I would have thought his materials interesting enough on their own to have warranted a book that merited serious consideration without the explicit argument about "contextual constructionism."

Ben-Yehuda and I differ on whether or not he succeeds in convincing us of the transcendent possibilities of "contextual constructionism." This seems, sadly, to bother him greatly. I think he honestly wants to find a way to continue to think in terms of "empirical evidence," "validity," "reliability," and "data" while attempting to understand the theoretical positions current in much of science studies, cultural studies, cultural anthropology, and feminist scholarship that seriously complicate the epistemology of knowledge production. I think his explicit theoretical statements in *The Masada Myth* show this effort very openly. But I suspect he is not aware of the ways in which he continues to think like the scientist he was trained to be, or that, if he does, he does not see the inconsistencies it produces in his work. Indeed, *The Masada Myth* "was deliberately structured as, and reflects, a scientific effort: solving a puzzle, driven by data and based on evidence." I could not agree more.

VIRGINIA R. DOMINGUEZ
University of Iowa

TO THE EDITOR:

I must protest at the extremely misleading account R. W. Hoyle provides of my book *The Pilgrimage of Grace* [*AHR* 103 (June 1998): 879–80]. In his review,

he makes repeated accusations that do not stand up. For example, my so-called "cursory historiographical introduction" covers seven pages. The Lincolnshire revolt is not "barely discussed" but receives ten pages to itself and further consideration in chapters 2 and 3. To say that there is "little on the political, religious, or regional context of the revolt" is just wrong, and perversely so, as the book proceeds by discussing a succession of regions and why they were disaffected politically and religiously. Likewise, Hoyle's remark that there is no account of Thomas Lord Darcy's defense of Pontefract overlooks the section headed "The Yielding of Pontefract Castle" (pp. 94–101). As for "no sustained account of [Robert] Aske": look at the index. On the evidence for agrarian grievances featuring in the Ryedale revolt led by Thomas Percy, I am accused of twisting the little there is to suit the purpose when I, in fact, offer a careful and reserved consideration. Hoyle suggests that, to account for the involvement of the gentlemen, I have a conspiracy theory close to that of "my old teacher" Professor Geoffrey Elton; but the two theories are worlds apart, especially since I recognize the revolts as initially a popular uprising in which gentlemen eventually became involved, whereas Elton sees them as an aristocratic plot that managed to engage the people.

On a number of points, Hoyle accuses me of invention—that is, of making statements unfounded on evidence: for example, on Aske's travels between Lincolnshire and Yorkshire at the start of the northern revolt and on the development of a war and a peace party in the pilgrim host at Doncaster. Yet there is good evidence for both points, referenced in the footnotes. Where the evidence is slight, I try to tread with care, as with the question of whether Aske wrote a letter to raise Beverley. I cannot win. This causes Hoyle to accuse me of being unable to make up my mind.

Hoyle is, of course, entitled to his opinions; and bearing in mind that (as he admits in the review) he had planned a book himself on the same subject, and also that my book shows the little work he has so far published on the subject to be seriously flawed, one should not expect too much of him by way of dispassionate comment. However, purveying misrepresentation on this extravagant scale requires some reply. Even more worrying is the insight he provides of himself as a teacher. "I shall spend years," he boasts, "striking . . . out of undergraduate essays" any mention of the northern uprisings of 1535. Yet such uprisings are not a figment of the imagination: they occurred in the West Riding, Lancaster, Cumberland, and Westmorland. This deplorable picture of teacher as ignorant tyrant and proud of it is deeply disturbing. Don't students and the historical profession deserve something better?

M. L. BUSH
University of Manchester

R. W. Hoyle does not wish to reply.

THE EDITORS

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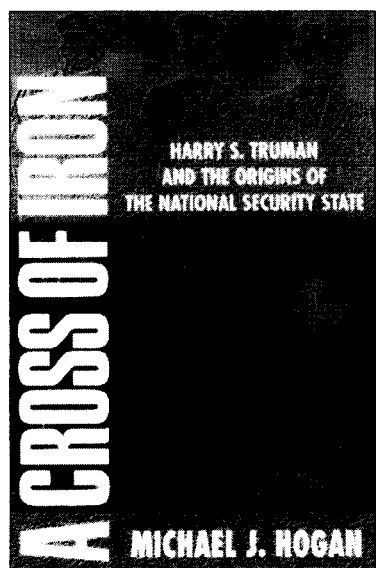
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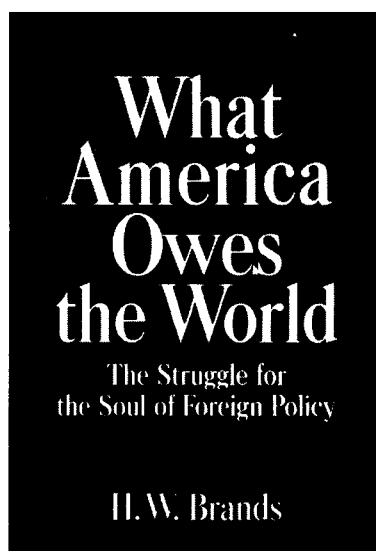
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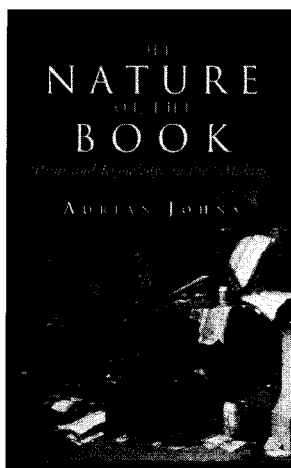
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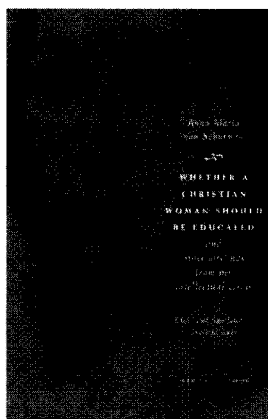
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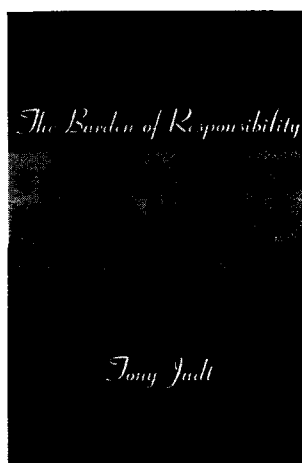
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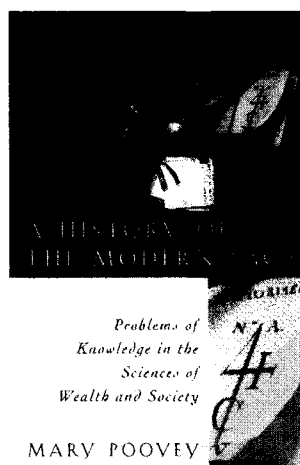
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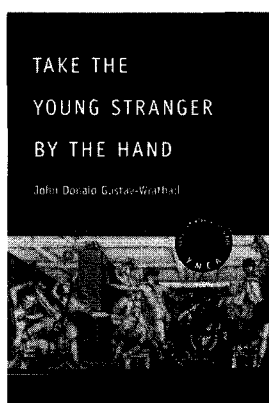
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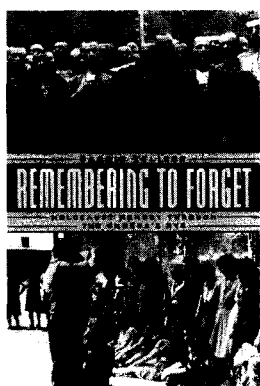
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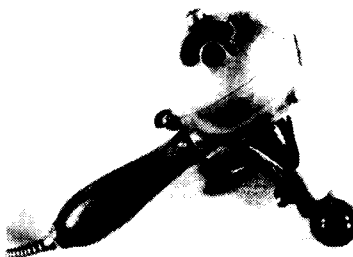
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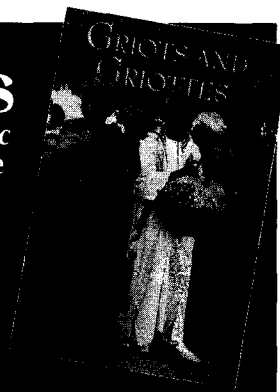


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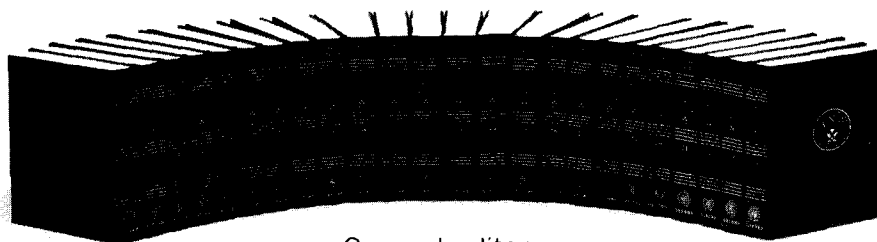
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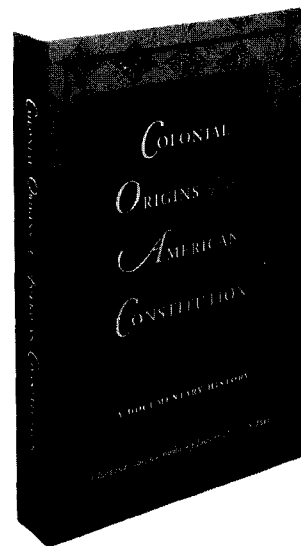
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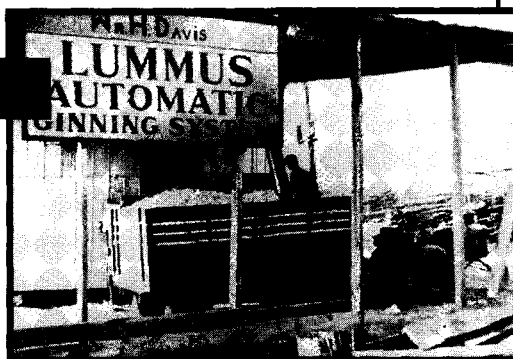
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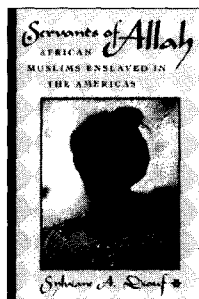
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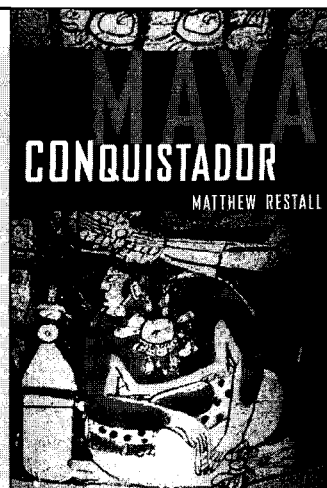
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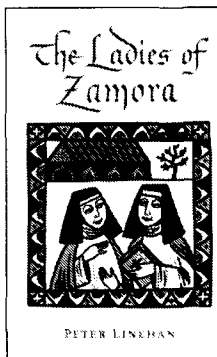
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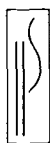
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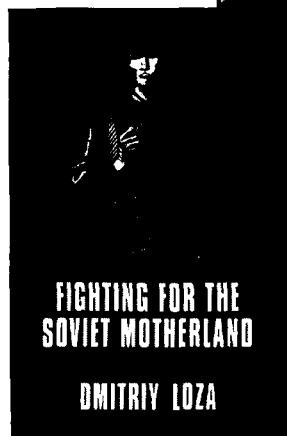
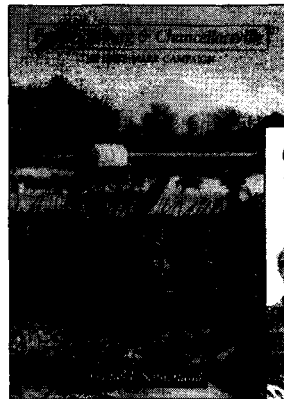
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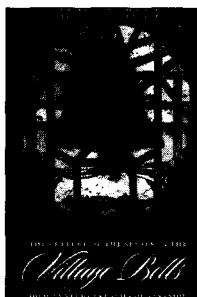
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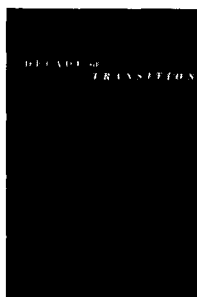
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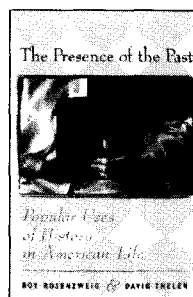
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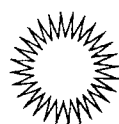
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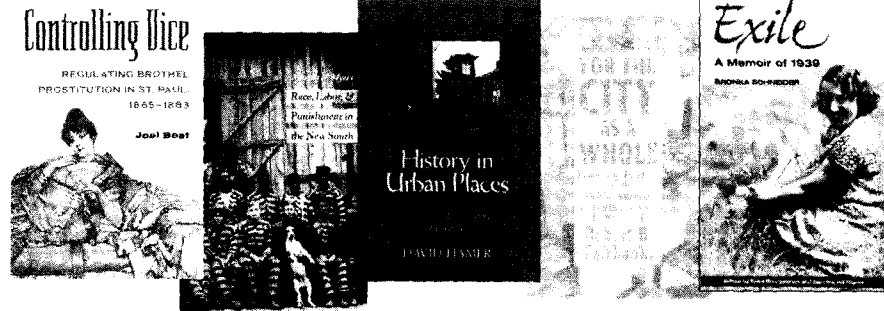
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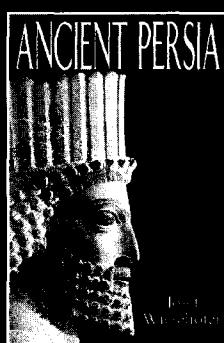
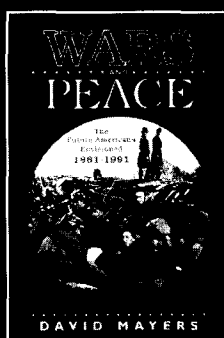
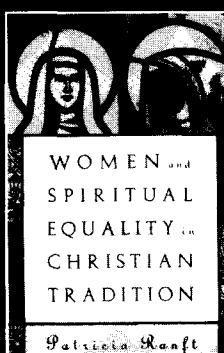
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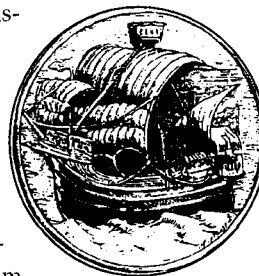
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